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**VOYAGERS AND DISCOVERERS.**

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# LIVES AND EXPLOITS

OF THE

MOST DISTINGUISHED

## VOYAGERS, ADVENTURERS AND DISCOVERERS,

IN

EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA, AMERICA, THE SOUTH  
SEAS, AND POLAR REGIONS.

AMONG WHICH ARE THOSE OF

COOKE, CAVENDISH, CLAPPERTON, MACKENZIE, PARK,  
PARRY, ROSS, FRANKLIN, LANDER, DENHAM, DAM-  
PIER, SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, DELLA VALLE,  
NIEBUHR, SIR JOHN CHARDIN, &c.

COMPRISING

AN ACCOUNT OF THEIR VOYAGES, JOURNIES, PERILS, SUFFERINGS AND REMARKA-  
BLE ESCAPES, A DESCRIPTION OF THEIR MODE OF TRAVELLING, A HIS-  
TORY OF THEIR MOST IMPORTANT DISCOVERIES, AND OF THE  
MOST INTERESTING OBJECTS WHICH CAME UNDER  
THEIR OBSERVATION IN EVERY COUNTRY.

ILLUSTRATED BY NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS.

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BY J. A. ST. JOHN, SIR HUGH MURRAY, AND OTHERS.

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## CIRCUMNAVIGATORS.

	PAGE.
Sir Francis Drake, - - - - -	9
Thomas Cavendish, - - - - -	72
William Dampier, - - - - -	105
James Cook, - - - - -	196

## VOYAGERS AND DISCOVERERS.

[ASIA.]

[illegible]

[AFRICA.]

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# CONTENTS.

## [NORTH AMERICA.]

Samuel Hearne, - - - - -	568
Sir Alexander Mackenzie, - - - - -	580
William Edward Parry, - - - - -	594
Sir John Ross, - - - - -	621
Sir John Franklin, - - - - -	628
The Great Arctic Problem Solved, - - - - -	659

## P R E F A C E .

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THE object of the present work is to acquaint the Reader with the eventful lives and arduous labors of those Adventurers, who, regardless of toil and peril, have penetrated into unknown countries, traversing ocean, and sea, and continent, to explore the condition of the earth and its inhabitants. The names of Cook, Park, Parry, Denham, Clapperton, Ross, Franklin, the Landers, and others, are inseparably connected with dangers, vicissitudes, new scenes, and striking incidents. And if an exhibition of boldness and fortitude in braving dangers and vanquishing obstacles can enlist the attention, the work cannot fail to interest.

Whoever accompanies the Adventurer in his journies and voyages, as delineated in the following pages, will be greeted by a constant succession of remarkable exploits, and new and striking objects. He will see him encountering the most dreadful extremeties of cold amid the dreary but stupendous and sublime scenery of the arctic regions; the scorching heat and pestilential vapors of tropical climates; the fury of oceans and tempests, and the merciless barbarity of savages. In a word, he will be found braving almost every species of danger by which the patience and courage of man can be tried. By thus accompanying him through his distant enterprises, often far more useful than any undertaken by king or conqueror, we acquire an affection for his person, and regard his toils and perils as something which nearly concern ourselves.

From the nature of the subject, the present work will convey much important and useful information. Adventurers in the same country are classed together and arranged in the order of time. Thus, those who gave the first impulse to the spirit of discovery, by circumnavigating the globe and exploring the great Southern Ocean, occupy the first part of the book; then follow several romantic and adventurous travellers in different parts of Asia; and finally Park, Denham, Clapperton, the Landers, afford us a succinct history of the progress of discovery in Africa; and Hearne, Mackenzie, Parry, Ross, and Franklin, in the regions of the Northern Polar Sea.

It has been justly remarked by Dr. Southey, that of books of travels we cannot have too many, and that because they contribute to the instruction of the learned, their reputation suffers no diminution by the course of time, but age rather enhances their value; and, adds another distinguished writer, every man whose comprehensive mind enables him to sympathize with human nature under all its various aspects, and to detect, through the endless disguises superinduced by strange religions, policies, manners, or climate, passions; weaknesses, and virtues akin to his own, must peruse the relations of voracious travellers with peculiar satisfaction and delight. In the spirit of sentiments like these the Publisher of this work commends it to public consideration and patronage.



## SIR FRANCIS DRAKE,

THE FIRST ENGLISH CIRCUMNAVIGATOR.

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SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, son of Mr. Edmund Drake, of Tavistock in Devonshire, was born in 1545. Being early destined for the sea, he received that kind of education which was best adapted to the object of his pursuits. Sir John Hawkins, his kinsman, a celebrated navigator, is said to have early taken him under his protection. At the age of eighteen he was purser of a ship trading to Biscay. At twenty he made a voyage to Guinea, and at twenty-two he was promoted to the command of the *Judith*. In 1570 and 1572 he was

engaged in expeditions against the Spaniards in the West Indies. While prosecuting these enterprises he was assisted by an Indian nation, equally hostile with himself to the Spanish name. The prince of this nation was named Pedro, to whom Drake made a fine present of a cutlass from his side, which he perceived the Indian greatly admired. Pedro, in return, gave him four large wedges of gold, which Drake threw into the common stock, with this emphatic observation, "that he thought it just that such as bore the charge of such uncertain undertakings on his credit, should share the utmost advantages they produced." Then embarking his men, with all the wealth he had obtained, he bore away for England, where he arrived in 1573.

This success in this expedition, joined to his honorable conduct towards the owners and towards his men, gained him a high reputation, and the application of his newly acquired riches, still greater. For, fitting out three stout frigates at his own expense, he sailed to Ireland, and serving as a volunteer, under Walter, Earl of Essex, performed some prodigies of valour. After the death of this noble patron, he returned to England, where Sir Christopher Hatton, a mighty favourite with the queen, introduced him to her majesty, and procured him countenance and protection at court. Thus basking in the beams of royal favour, his views expanded to nobler aims than he had yet attempted; and he projected that expedition to the Great South Sea, which will render his name immortal. This expedition we are about to relate.

When a man once gives up the reins of imagination to views of interest or ambition, nothing will appear difficult which gives him a chance of gratifying his favorite passion. Such was the case with Drake. Having once had a prospect of the Great South Sea, he was determined that no human obstacle should deter him from endeavouring to revisit America, and from spreading his sails on that ocean. But indefatigable as he was in the pursuit of this design, it was not until the year 1577, that he had collected a force sufficient to

man five vessels, and by a pretended royal authority, appeared as admiral, or as the phrase then was, general of the squadron.

The fleet, equipped for this new expedition, consisted of the *Pelican*, the flag ship; the *Elizabeth*, John Winter, vice admiral; the *Marygold*, commanded by captain Thomas; the *Swan*, captain John Chester; and the *Christopher*, of fifteen tons, which was committed to the charge of one of his carpenters.

These ships were fitted out, partly at his own risk, and partly at the expense of others; and were manned with one hundred and sixty-four chosen seamen. They were well stored with all necessary provisions; and at the same time, were furnished with whatever could contribute to ornament or delight; carrying expert musicians, rich furniture, and choice productions of the country. Not only the admiral's table, but the cook-room was provided with silver utensils; partly to command a higher degree of respect, and perhaps, partly to gratify personal vanity.

This cautious commander, reflecting on the difficulties to which his men had been exposed in former expeditions, which might have deterred the less resolute; or, more probably, to conceal his real designs from the enemy, had engaged his crews for a voyage to Alexandria; nor was the real destination known till they reached the coast of Brazil.

Every thing being ready, Drake sailed from Plymouth on the 15th of November 1577, but soon after was forced by stress of weather into Falmouth, where he was detained till the 13th of December, when he took his final departure, with all the auspices of a favourable voyage. On the 27th of the month, the squadron anchored off Mogadore, an island about a mile from the continent of Barbary. Here having got ready the frames of his pinnaces, which he had carried out with him, he began to put them together. The Moors observing these proceedings, sent two of their chiefs on board of the admiral's ship, receiving two Englishmen as hostages. These Moors were handsomely entertained by Drake, that they might form a favourable opinion

of the English nation. Next day, however, this friendly intercourse was at an end. One John Fry leaping on shore from the ship's boat, was immediately mounted on horseback, and conveyed up the country. Though this man, after being closely interrogated, was dismissed with apologies and assurances, that the natives had mistaken this squadron for the Portuguese, from whom they expected an invasion, the admiral resolved not to protract his stay in that place. Accordingly he departed on the last of December, and on the 17th of January, 1578, reached Cape Blanco, having on the cruise captured three caunters, as the Spanish fishing-boats were called, and two, or else three, caravels,—the accounts on this, as on several other minor points, being often contradictory. A ship which was surprised in the harbour with only two men on board shared the same fate. At Cape Blanco they halted for five days, fishing; while on shore, Drake exercised his company in arms, thus studying both their health and the maintenance of good discipline. From the stores of the fishermen they helped themselves to such commodities as they wanted, and sailed on the 22d, carrying off also a caunter of forty tons burthen, for which the owner received, as a slight indemnification, the pinnace Christopher. At Cape Blanco fresh water was at this season so scarce, that instead of obtaining a supply, Drake, compassionating the condition of the natives, who came down from the heights, offering ambergris and gums in exchange for it, generally filled their leathern bags without accepting any recompense, and otherwise treated them humanely and hospitably. Four of the prizes were released here. After six days' sailing they came to anchor on the 28th at the west part of Mayo,—an island where, according to the information of the master of the caravel, dried goat's flesh might be had in plenty, the inhabitants preparing a store annually for the use of the king's ships. The people on the island, mostly herdsmen and husbandmen, belonging to the Portuguese of the island of St. Jago, would have no intercourse with the ships, having probably been warned of danger. Next day a party of sixty men landed, commanded by Captain



Winter and Mr. Doughty,—a name with which, in the sequel, the reader will become but too familiar. They repaired to what was described as the capital of the island, by which must be understood the principal collection of cabins or huts, but found it deserted. The inhabitants had fled, and had previously salted the springs. The country appeared fertile, especially in the valleys; and in the depth of the winter of Great Britain, they feasted on ripe and delicious grapes. The island also produced cocoanuts, and they saw abundance of goats and wild hens; though these good things, and the fresh springs, were unfortunately too far distant from the ships to be available. Salt produced by the heat of the sun formed here an article of commerce; and one of the prizes made was a caravel bound to St. Jago for salt.

Leaving Mayo on the 30th, on the south-west side of St. Jago, they fell in with a prize of more value,—a Portuguese ship bound to Brazil, laden with wine, cloth, and general merchandise, and having a good many passengers on board. The command of this prize was given to Doughty, who was however soon afterward superseded by Mr. Thomas Drake, the brother of the general. This is the first time we hear of offences being charged against the unfortunate Doughty. It is said he appropriated to his own use presents, probably given as bribes to obtain good usage, by the Portuguese prisoners. These captives Drake generously dismissed at the first safe and convenient place, giving every passenger his wearing apparel, and presenting them with a butt of wine, provisions, and the pinnace he had set up at Mogadore. Only the pilot was detained, Nuno de Silva, who was acquainted with the coast of Brazil, and who afterward published a minute and accurate account of Drake's voyage.

Here, near the island named by the Portuguese *Isla del Fogo*, or the Burning Island, where, says the Famous Voyage, "on the north side is a consuming fire, the matter whereof is said to be sulphur," lies Brava, described in the early narratives as a terrestrial paradise; "a most sweet and pleasant island, the trees whereof

are always green, and fair to look upon; in respect of which they call it *Isla Brava*, that is, *The Brave Island*." The "soil was almost full of trees; so that it was a storehouse of many fruits and commodities, as figs always ripe, cocoas, plantains, oranges, lemons, citrons, and cotton. From the brooks into the sea do run in many places silver streams of sweet and wholesome water," with which ships may easily be supplied. There was, however, no convenient harbour nor anchoring found at this "sweet and pleasant" island,—the volcanic tops of *Del Fogo* "not burning higher in the air" than the foundations of *Brava* dipped sheer into the sea.

The squadron now approached the equinoctial line, sometimes becalmed, and at other times beaten about with tempests and heavy seas. In their progress they were indebted to the copious rains for a seasonable supply of water. They also caught dolphins, bonitos, and flying-fish, which fell on the decks, and could not rise again "for lack of moisture on their wings." They had left the shore of *Brava* on the 2d February. On the 28th March their valuable Portuguese prize, which was their wine-cellar and store, was separated in a tempest, but afterward rejoined at a place which, in commemoration of the event, was called *Cape Joy*. The coast of *Brazil* was now seen in  $31\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  south. On the 5th April, the natives, having discovered the ships on the coast, made great fires, went through various incantations, and offered sacrifices, as was imagined, to the Devil, that the prince of the powers of the air might raise storms to sink the strangers. To these diabolical arts the mariners doubtless attributed the violent lightning, thunder, and rain, which they encountered in this latitude.

About *Cape Joy* the air was mild and salubrious, the soil rich and fertile. Troops of wild deer, "large and mighty," were the only living creatures seen on this part of the coast, though the footprints of men of large stature were traced on the ground. Some seals were killed here, fresh provisions of any kind never being neglected. On the 14th of April, Drake anchored

within the entrance of Rio de la Plata, where he had appointed a rendezvous in case of a separation after leaving the Cape de Verd Islands; and here the caunter, which had separated in a gale on the 7th, rejoined, when the expedition sailed eighteen leagues farther into the river, where they killed sea-wolves (seals,)—"wholesome but not pleasant food." Still farther in, they rode in fresh water; but finding no good harbour, and having taken in water, the fleet, on the 27th, stood out, and afterward southward. The Swan lost them on the first night, and the caunter, ever apt to go astray, was separated ten days afterward. In 47° south a headland was seen, within which was a bay that promised safe harbourage; and having, on the 12th May, entered and anchored, Drake, who seldom devolved the duty of an examination on an inferior officer, went off in the boat next morning to explore the bay. Before he made land, a thick fog came on, and was followed by bad weather, which took from him the sight of the fleet. The company became alarmed for their protector and general, in whom all their hopes of fortune, fame, and even of preservation, were placed. The Marigold, a bark of light weight, stood in for the bay, picked up the captain-general, and came to anchor. In the meanwhile the other ships, as the gale increased, had been compelled to stand out to sea. The fog which had fallen between Drake and the fleet also took from his sight an Indian, who, loudly shaking a rattle, danced in time to the discordant music he made, and by his gestures seemed to invite the strangers on shore. Next day Drake landed, and several Indians came in sight, to whom a white flag was waved in token of amity, and as a signal to approach. The natives acknowledged the symbol of peace, but still kept at a wary distance.

Drake now ordered fires to be lighted as signals to the ships; and they all rejoined, save the two vessels formerly separated.

In a sort of storehouse here, above fifty dried ostriches were found, besides other birds laid up, dry or drying for provision, by the Indians. It was believed by some

of the English that these had been left as a present ; and Drake, whether believing or not in so rare an instance of hospitality, appropriated the dried birds to the use of his company. It is a charitable conjecture that some of his own wares were left in return. The manner in which these ostriches, whose flesh supplied food, while their feathers furnished ornaments, were snared, deserves notice. Plumes of feathers were affixed to a stick, made to resemble the head and neck of the bird. Behind these decoys the hunter concealed himself, and, moving onwards, drove the ostriches into some narrow tongue of land, across which strong nets were placed to intercept the return of the bird, which runs, but cannot fly. Dogs were then set upon the prey, which was thus taken.

The choice of the place in which the fleet now lay had been dictated by necessity alone. On the 15th it was abandoned, and on the 17th they anchored in a good port, in  $47\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  south. Here seals were so plentiful that upwards of two hundred were killed in an hour. While the crews were filling the water-butts, killing seals, and salting birds for future provision, Drake in the Pelican, and Captain Winter in the Elizabeth, set out on different courses in quest of the Swan and the Portuguese prize. On the same day Drake fell in with the Swan, and, before attempting the straits, formed the prudent resolution of diminishing the cares and hazards of the voyage by reducing the number of his ships. The Swan was accordingly broken up for firewood, after all her materials and stores had been removed.

When the ships had lain here a few days, a party of the natives came to the shore, dancing, leaping, and making signs of invitation to a few of the seamen then on a small island, which at low water communicated with the main land. They were a handsome, strong, agile race, lively and alert. Their only covering was the skin of an animal, which, worn about their middle when walking, was wrapped round their shoulders while they squatted or lay on the ground. They were painted over the whole body after a grotesque fashion. Though fancy and ingenuity were displayed in the

figures and patterns, and in the contrast and variety of colours, it is reasonable to conclude that the practice had its origin in utility, and was adopted as a defence against cold, ornament being at first only a secondary consideration, though, as in more refined regions, it sometimes usurped the place of the principal object. These Indians being first painted all over, on this groundwork many freaks of fancy were displayed: white full moons were exhibited to advantage on a black ground, and black suns on a white one. Some had one shoulder black and the other white; but these were probably persons who carried the mode to the extreme.

On seeing that the signals made were interpreted in a friendly way, Drake sent a boat to the shore with bells, cutlery, and such small wares as were likely to be attractive and acceptable to the tastes of the natives. As the boat neared the shore, two of the group, who had been standing on a height, moved swiftly down, but stopped short at a little distance. The presents were fastened to a pole, and left on the beach; and after the boat put off they were removed, and in return such feathers as the natives wore, and the carved bones which they used as ornaments, were deposited near or fastened to the same pole. Thus a friendly, if not profitable or useful, traffic was established. For such trifles as the English bestowed they gave in return the only articles they possessed to which value was attached. These were bows, arrows made of reeds and pointed with flint, feathers, and carved bones. Their mode of exchange was to have every thing placed on the ground, from whence the goods were removed, and the article bartered for substituted. By some of the voyagers these people are described as of gigantic stature. They were of a gay and cheerful disposition; the sound of the trumpets delighted them; and they danced merrily with the sailors. One of their number, who had tasted wine, and became, it is stated, intoxicated with the mere smell before the glass reached his lips, always afterward approached the tents crying, "Wine, wine!" Their principal article of food was seals, and sometimes the flesh of other animals; all of which they roasted, or

rather scorched for a few minutes, in large lumps of six pounds' weight, and then devoured nearly raw,—“men and women tearing it with their teeth like lions.”

The fleet sailed from Seal Bay, as this place was named, on the 3d of June, and on the 12th came to anchor in a bay where they remained for two days, during which they stripped the caunter, and allowed it to drift. Drake had thus reduced his force to a more compact and manageable form. The place from which this vessel was sent adrift is sometimes called the Cape of Good Hope, but seems to have been named Cape Hope. From the 14th to the 17th of May, the fleet cruised about in search of the Mary, the Portuguese prize, and then came to anchor in a bay  $50^{\circ} 20'$  south. On the 19th the missing vessel was found, and next day the whole squadron anchored in the Port St. Julian of Magellan in  $40^{\circ} 30'$  south; where, says one relation, “we found the gibbet still standing on the main where Magellan did execute justice upon some of his rebellious and discontented company.” So soon as the ships were safely moored, Drake and some of his officers went off in a boat to examine the capabilities of this part of the coast, and on landing met two men of immense stature, who appeared to give them welcome. These were of the Patagonian tribes of Magellan. A few trifles presented to them were accepted with pleasure, and they were apparently delighted by the dexterity with which the gunner used the English bow in a trial of skill, sending his arrow so far beyond their best aim. Nothing, however, can be more fickle and capricious than the friendship of most savage tribes. An Indian of less amiable disposition than his companions approached, and with menacing gestures signified to the crew to be gone. Mr. Winter, an English gentleman, displeased with the interruption given to their pastime by this churlish fellow, between jest and earnest drew a shaft, partly in intimidation, but also to prove the superiority of the English bow and skill. The bowstring unfortunately snapped; and while he was repairing it a sudden shower of arrows wounded him in the shoulder and the side. Oliver, the gunner, instantly levelled his

piece; but it missed fire, and the attempt proved the signal for his destruction. He was pierced through with an arrow, and immediately dropped. At this critical moment Drake ordered the rest of the party to cover themselves with their targets and advance upon the Indians, who were fast mustering. With ready presence of mind, he directed his men, at the same time, to break every arrow aimed at them, as the assailants must thus soon expend their stock. The captain-general might at this juncture have remembered that in the affray where Magellan lost his life the same arrows were picked up by the people of Matan, and repeatedly shot, as they drove the Spaniards into the water. At the same instant in which he gave the order, Drake seized the gunner's piece, and taking aim at the man who had killed Oliver and begun the affray, he shot him in the belly. This turned the fate of the hour, and probably prevented the massacre of the whole party of English; for many more of the Patagonians were seen hastening from the woods to support their countrymen, when the hideous bellowing of the wounded man struck with panic those already engaged, and the whole fled. It was not thought prudent to pursue them, nor even to tarry on shore; Mr. Winter was therefore borne off to the ships; but in the haste of embarkation the body of the gunner was left. Next day, when looked after, the body was found uninjured, save that an English arrow had been thrust into the left eye. The clothes were in part stripped off, and formed into a pillow or truss, which was placed under the head of the corpse. Winter soon afterward died of his wounds.

This unfortunate affray appears to have been more the consequence of misunderstanding than design; and the usage of the dead body and subsequent conduct of the natives evince a less revengeful and ferocious disposition than is usually displayed even among the mildest savage tribes when inflamed by recent battle. During the remainder of the time that the fleet lay here no further molestation was offered to the English.

The stature of these tribes, and of those in the straits, has been the subject of dispute among navigators from

the voyage of Magellan to our own times, each succeeding band being unwilling to yield an inch to their precursors, or to meet with "giants less formidable than those which had been previously seen. Cliffe, however, says, "they were of ordinary height, and that he had seen Englishmen taller than any of them;" and then, like a true seaman of the period, he imputes their exaggerated stature to the "lies" of the Spaniards, from whom no good thing could come; and who, in the imaginary impunity of escaping detection from the navigators of other nations, related these marvellous tales. "The World Encompassed" makes the height of these people seven feet and a half. It is not unlikely that the mists, haze, and storms through which the natives were often partially seen in the straits, or on those wild coasts, perched on a rock or grovelling on the ground, may be the origin of the pigmies and giants of the early navigators; but that tribes of tall though not gigantic stature were seen in the South Sea islands, and also on the western coasts of the continent of America, from its southern extremity as far north as was then explored, does not admit of doubt.\*

While the fleet lay at Port St. Julian an event occurred, which, as the contradictory evidence is viewed, must either be termed the most heroic or the most questionable act in the life of Admiral Drake. Mr. Thomas Doughty, a man of talent, and too probably of ill-regu-

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\* The Patagonian race is still among the least known of all the South American tribes. There is no doubt, however, of its existence, nor of the fact that it is characterized by proportions exceeding the ordinary dimensions of mankind. The Patagonian people are of limited numbers, and inhabit the eastern shores of the most southern point of the New World, under a cold and sterile climate. They wander about from one district to another, and are but imperfectly civilized. Their dispositions, however, are peaceable, although their great bodily strength would seem to fit them for warlike enterprise; but it sometimes happens that gigantic forms are not accompanied by a corresponding increase of physical energy. The average height of these people is about six feet, which height is also extremely frequent among the chiefs and nobles of the South Sea islands. The complexion of the Patagonians is tawny; their hair, of which the colour is black or brown, is lank, and for the most part very long. It appears that this tribe have succeeded in the training of horses,—an unusual accomplishment in a tribe otherwise so uncivilized; but this, of course, must have been a comparatively modern exercise of their ingenuity, as horses were unknown in America prior to the period of the Spanish conquest.



lated ambition, had served as an officer in the fleet, and it is said enjoyed in a high degree the affection and confidence of the captain-general, who must voluntarily have selected him as one of his company. Doughty was at this place accused of conspiracy and mutiny; of a plan to massacre Drake and the principal officers, and thus defeat the whole expedition; as if the first-imagined crime did not constitute sufficient guilt. The details of this singular affair are scanty, obscure, and perplexed; and no contemporary writer notices any specific fact or ground of charge. The offence of Doughty is purely constructive. Cliffe dismisses the subject in one seaman-like sentence, merely saying, "Mr. Thomas Doughty was brought to his answer,—accused, convicted, and beheaded." The account in "The World Encompassed" is more elaborate, but not much more satisfactory. It contains strong general charges, but no record of facts, nor a shadow of proof of the general allegations. These early chroniclers appear either thoroughly convinced of the guilt of the culprit, or indifferent to the propriety of convincing others of the justice and necessity of their captain's sentence, or they were fully convinced that the accused merited his fate. Doughty had previously been called in question for his conduct in accepting gifts or bribes while in the Portuguese prize, and he had afterward strayed once or twice with the same vessel, which was burnt to prevent like accidents. According to one account his treason was of old date; and before the fleet left Plymouth he had been hatching plots against his commander, who refused to believe "that one he so dearly loved would conceive evil against him, till perceiving that lenity and favour did little good, he thought it high time to call those practices in question, and, therefore, setting good watch over him, and assembling all his captains and gentlemen of his company together, he propounded to them the good parts that were in this gentleman, and the great good will and inward affection, more than brotherly, which he had, ever since his first acquaintance, borne him, and afterward delivered the letters which were written to him (Drake,) with the par-

ticulars from time to time, which had been observed not so much by himself as by his good friends; not only at sea, but even at Plymouth; not bare words, but writings; not writings, but actions, tending to the overthrow of the service in hand, and making away his person. Proofs were required, and alleged so many and so evident, that the gentleman himself, stricken with remorse, acknowledged himself to have deserved death, yea, many deaths; for that he conspired, not only the overthrow of the action, but of the principal actor also." The account continues in the same strain, asserting that forty of the principal men of Drake's band adjudged the culprit to deserve death, and gave this judgment under their hand and seal, leaving the manner to the general, who allowed the unfortunate man the choice of being either abandoned on the coast, taken back to England to answer to the lords of the queen's council, or executed here. He chose the latter, requesting, it is said, that he might "once more receive the holy communion with the captain-general before his death, and that he might not die other than the death of a gentleman." The circumstances of the execution are striking. Mr. Fletcher celebrated the communion on the next day. Drake received the sacrament with the condemned man, and afterward they dined together "at the same table, as cheerfully in sobriety as ever in their lives they had done; and taking their leaves, by drinking to each other, as if some short journey only had been in hand." Without further delay, all things being in readiness, Doughty walked forth, requested the bystanders to pray for him, and submitted his neck to the executioner.

Camden's version of this transaction does not differ materially from the above. The chaplain of the fleet, Mr. Francis Fletcher, left a manuscript journal of the voyage, now deposited in the British Museum, which contradicts many of the important statements in the other relations. He asserts that the criminal utterly denied the truth of the charges against him, upon his salvation, at the time of communicating, and at the hour and moment of his death. Mr. Fletcher likewise affirms that no choice of life or death was given him upon any

conditions. It is evident, that in the opinion of the chaplain, Doughty was an innocent and a murdered man; the victim of a conspiracy not rigidly sifted by the general, and in which the actors too probably consulted his secret wishes.

The fleet had not long left England when the affair of the Portuguese prisoners, in which there might be dishonour, but no crime deserving severity of punishment, and still less death, was brought against him. But in Port St. Julian, Fletcher remarks, "more dangerous matter is laid to his charge, and by the same persons (John Brewer, Edward Bright, and others of their friends,) namely, for words spoken by him to them in the general's garden at Plymouth, which it had been their part and duty to have discovered them at the time, and not have concealed them for a time and place not so fitting." Besides the vague charges made of plots and mutinous conduct, and the anomalous offence of being "an emulator of the glory of his commander," another cause is assigned for the death of Doughty, which, if it were supported by reasonable proof, would fix a deeper stigma on the character of Drake than all his other questionable deeds put together. In England the age of dark iniquitous intrigue had succeeded the times of ferocity and open violence; but the dependants and partisans of the leading men in the state were still as criminally subservient to the flagitious designs of their patrons as when their daggers had been freely drawn in their service. It was alleged that Captain Drake had carried this man to sea to rid the powerful Earl of Leicester of a dangerous prater, and in time and place convenient to revenge his quarrel.

It is probable that the intimacy of Doughty with captain Drake had commenced in Ireland, as both had served under Essex; and it is affirmed that the real crime of the former was accusing Leicester of plotting the secret murder of his noble rival, of which few men in England believed him wholly guiltless. On the other hand, Essex was the patron of Drake, who, it is reasonably urged, was thus much more likely to protect than punish a friend brought into trouble for freedom of

speech on an occasion that would have moved stocks or stones. It may be further pleaded in behalf of Drake, that, with the exception of the chaplain, whose relation has however every mark of sincerity and good faith, no man nor officer in the fleet has left any record or surmise of objection to the justice of the execution, though the affair, after the return of the expedition, was keenly canvassed in England.\* In his whole course of life, Drake maintained the character of integrity and humanity; nor did he lack generosity in fitting season. He at all times discovered a strong sense of religion, and of moral obligation, save in the case of the Spaniards and "Portugals," for which, however, "sea-divinity" afforded an especial exception. That he could have put an innocent man to death to conceal the crimes, or execute the vengeance of Leicester, is too monstrous for belief; and that, conscious of the deepest injustice, he should have gone through the solemn religious observances which preceded the perpetration of his crime, presents a picture of odious hypocrisy and cold-blooded cruelty more worthy of a demon than a brave man. The case resolves itself into the simple necessity of maintaining discipline in the fleet, and sustaining that personal authority which, in a commander, is a duty even more important than self-preservation. Drake's notions of authority might have been somewhat overstrained; nor is it unlikely that he unconsciously imbibed slight feelings of jealousy of "this emulator of his glory." Every one who mentions Doughty speaks of him as a man of great endowments. Mr. Fletcher is warm in his praise. "An industrious and stout man," says Camden, even when relating his crimes, and one, it appears, of sufficient consequence to be imagined the cause of disquiet to the still all-powerful Leicester.

Immediately after the execution, Drake, who to his

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\* In an old relation (written by himself) of the adventures of "Peter Carder, a shipwrecked Seaman," belonging to Drake's fleet, we find that when, after his long detention and miraculous escape from the savages and the "Portugals," he returned to England, on being examined before the queen, and relating his marvellous haps, she questioned him "of the manner of Master Doughty's execution."

other qualities added the gift of a bold natural eloquence, addressed his whole company, "persuading us to unity, obedience, love, and regard of our voyage; and for the better confirmation thereof, wished every man the next Sunday following, to prepare himself to receive the communion as Christian brethren and friends ought to do; which was done in very reverent sort, and so with good contentment every man went about his business."

Doubt and darkness will, however, always hang over this transaction, though probably only from the simple reason of no formal record being kept of the proceedings. Doughty was buried with Mr. Winter and the gunner on an island in the harbour, and the chaplain relates that he erected a stone, and on it cut the names of these unfortunate Englishmen, and the date of their burial.

The ships, by the breaking up of the Portuguese prize, were now reduced to three; and being "trimmed" and supplied with wood and water, and such other necessities as could be obtained, they sailed from this "port accursed" on the 17th of August. Cliffe relates, that while they lay here, the weather, though in July and August, was as cold as at mid-winter in England. On the 20th they made Cape de las Virgines, entered the strait, and on the 24th anchored thirty leagues within it.

There is a considerable variation in the accounts of Drake's passage of the straits. The statements are even absolutely contradictory on some points, though the disagreements, when the facts are sifted, are more apparent than real, every narrator noting only what he had himself witnessed or casually gathered from the information of others. The original narrative of the passage by the Portuguese pilot, Nuno de Silva, is among the most interesting and accurate; but in the present account an attempt is made to combine whatever appears most striking and important in the different relations. The eastern mouth of the strait was found about a league broad; the land bare and flat. On the north side Indians were seen making great fires; but on the south no inhabitants appeared. The length was com-

puted at one hundred and ten leagues. The tide was seen to rise (setting in from both sides) about fifteen feet. It met about the middle, or rather nearer the western entrance. The medium breadth was one league. Where the ships came to anchor on the 24th were three small islands, on which they killed three thousand "of birds (penguins) having no wings, but short pinions which serve their turn in swimming." They were as "fat as an English goose."

"The land on both sides was very huge and mountainous; the lower mountains whereof, although they be very monstrous to look upon for their height, yet there are others which in height exceed them in a strange manner, reaching themselves above their followers so high that between them did appear three regions of clouds. These mountains are covered with snow at both the southerly and easterly parts of the strait. There are islands among which the sea hath his indraught into the straits even as it hath at the main entrance. The strait is extreme cold, with frost and snow continually. The trees seem to stoop with the burden of the weather, and yet are green continually, and many good and sweet herbs do very plentifully increase and grow under them."

Such are the natural appearances described. Near the western entrance a number of narrow channels, with which the whole of that side abounds, occasioned some difficulty in the navigation; and Drake, with his usual caution, brought the fleet to anchor near an island, while he went out in his boat to explore these various openings to the South Sea. In this expedition, Indians of the pigmy race, attributed to a region abounding in all monstrous things, were seen; though both the gigantic and diminutive size of these tribes are brought in question even by contemporary writers. Yet these pigmy Indians were seen close at hand, in a canoe ingeniously constructed of the bark of trees, of which material the people also formed vessels for domestic use. The canoes were semicircular, being high in the prow and stern. The seams were secured by a lacing of thongs of sealskin, and fitted so nicely that there was

little leakage. The tools of these ingenious small folks were formed of the shell of a very large species of muscle, containing seed-pearls, which was found in the straits. These shells they tempered, if the word may be used, so skilfully that they cut the hardest wood, and even bone. One of their dwellings, which might, however, be but a fishing-hut, was seen rudely formed of sticks stuck in the ground, over which skins were stretched.

Early in September the western entrance was reached; and, on the 6th of the same month, Drake attained the long-desired happiness of sailing an English ship on the South Sea.

The passage of Drake was the quickest and easiest that had yet been made, fortune favouring him here as at every other point of this voyage. The temperature was also much milder than had been experienced by former navigators, or the English seamen might probably be more hardy and enduring than those of Spain.

One main object of Drake in leaving England was undoubtedly the discovery of a north-west passage, by following the bold and novel track his genius chalked out, and in which he might still hope to anticipate all other adventurers, whether their career commenced from the east or the west. On clearing the straits he accordingly held a north-west course, and in two days the fleet had advanced seventy leagues. Here it was overtaken by a violent and steady gale from the north-east, which drove them into  $57^{\circ}$  south latitude, and two hundred leagues to the west of Magellan's Straits. While still driving before the wind under bare poles, the moon was eclipsed at five o'clock in the afternoon of the 15th, but produced neither abatement nor change of the wind. "Neither did the ecliptical conflict of the moon improve our state, nor her clearing again mend us a whit, but the accustomed eclipse of the sea continued in his force, we being darkened more than the moon sevenfold."

On the 24th the weather became more moderate, the wind shifted, and they partly retraced their course, for seven days standing to the north-east, during which land

was seen, near which a vain attempt was made to anchor. Their troubles did not end here,—once more the wind got back to its old quarter, and with great violence; and on the 30th the Marigold was separated from the Elizabeth and the Golden Hind, as Drake on entering the South Sea had named his ship, in compliment it is said to his patron Sir Christopher Hatton. They made the land; but the Marigold was borne to sea by the stress of the gale, and was never heard of more! We do not even find a conjecture breathed about the fate of this ship. On the evening of the 7th of October, the Golden Hind and Elizabeth made a bay near the western entrance of Magellan's Straits, which was afterward named the Bay of Parting Friends; and here they intended to lie by till the weather improved. During the night the cable of the Hind broke, and she drove to sea; nor did Captain Winter, in the Elizabeth, make any attempt to follow his commander. Heartily tired of a voyage of which he had just had so unpleasant a specimen, he next day entered the straits, secretly purposing to return home. Edward Cliffe, who sailed in the Elizabeth, and whose relation stops with her return to England, stoutly denies for the seamen the craven intention of abandoning their commander, Captain Drake; and even asserts that some efforts were made to find the admiral's ship, though of a very passive kind. Anchoring in a bay within the straits, fires were kindled on the shore; so that, if Drake sought them in this direction and on that day, there was a chance of his finding them. This duty discharged, they went into secure harbourage in a place which they named Port Health, from the rapid recovery of the crew, who had lately suffered so much from cold, wet, and fatigue. In the large muscles and other shellfish found here they obtained pleasant and restorative food; and remained till the beginning of November, when the voyage was formally abandoned, "on Mr. Winter's compulsion, and full sore against the mariners' minds." Winter alleged that he now despaired of the captain-general's safety, or of being able to hold his course with the Elizabeth for the imagined Ophir of New Spain.



It was the 11th of November before the Elizabeth got clear of the straits,—an eastward voyage that had only been once performed, and by a Spanish navigator, Ladrilleros, twenty years before, and believed to be next to impossible,—and June in the following year before Winter returned to England, with the credit of having made the passage of the straits eastward, and the shame of having deserted his commander, while his company, with nobler spirit, showed unshaken fidelity and unabated ardour.

There is more interest in following the fortunes of the *Hind*, which we left tossed about in the misnamed Pacific. Drake was once more carried back to 55° south, when he judged it expedient to run in among the islands or broken land of Terra del Fuego; where, together with a supply of seals and fresh water, a season of repose was found from the continual fatigues of the last month. But this interval of ease was of short duration; they were once more driven to sea in a gale, and suffered the further calamity of being parted from the shallop, in which were eight seamen with almost no provisions. While the *Hind* drove farther and farther south, the shallop was in the first instance so far fortunate as to regain the straits, where the men salted and stored penguins for future supply. They soon lost all hope of rejoining the captain-general; so, passing the straits, they contrived to make, in their frail bark, first for Port St. Julian, and afterward Rio de la Plata, where six of them, wandering into the woods in quest of food, were attacked by a party of Indians. All were wounded with arrows; but, while four were made prisoners, two escaped, and joined their two comrades left in charge of the boat. The Indians pursued, and the whole four were wounded before the natives were beaten back and the shallop got off. The Englishmen made for a small island at three leagues' distance, where two of their number died of their wounds:—nor was this the last calamity they were to endure; the shallop was dashed to pieces in a storm.

A melancholy interest is connected with this fragment of Drake's original company. On the desolate

island in which they remained for two months, no fresh water was to be found; and though they obtained food from eels, small crabs, and a species of fruit resembling an orange, their sufferings from intense thirst came to an extremity too painful and revolting to be made the subject of narrative. At the end of two months a plank ten feet long, which had drifted from Rio de la Plata, was picked up, smaller sticks were fastened to it, and a store of provision was laid in; then committing themselves to God, paddling and clinging to this ark, they in three days and two nights made the mainland, which had so long tantalized their sight. In relating the issue of this adventure, the words of Peter Carder, the survivor, are adopted:—"At our first coming on land we found a little river of sweet and pleasant water, where William Pitcher, my only comfort and companion, although I dissuaded him to the contrary, overdrank himself, being perished before with extreme thirst; and, to my unspeakable grief and discomfort, died half an hour after in my presence, whom I buried as well as I could in the sand."

The subsequent adventures of Peter Carder among the savages on the coast of Brazil, and his captivity among the Portuguese of Bahia de Todos los Santos, form an amusing and interesting section of Purchas' Pilgrims. After a nine years' absence he got back to England, and had the honour of relating his adventures before Queen Elizabeth, who presented him with twenty-two angels, and recommended him to her lord high admiral, Howard.

To return to Drake. His ship, now driven southward farther than before, again ran in among the islands. This is an important stage in the navigation of Drake as a voyage of discovery. He had reached the southern extremity of the American continent, and been driven round it; for "here no land was seen, but the Atlantic and South Sea meeting in a large free scope."

On the 28th of October, the weather, which since the 6th of September, when they entered the Pacific, had been nearly one continued hurricane, became moderate, and the Golden Hind came to anchor in twenty fathoms

water, though within a gunshot of the land, in a harbour of an island of which the southern point has long been known as Cape Horn.

Sir Richard Hawkins, the son of Sir John, and the reputed kinsman of Admiral Drake, relates that he was informed by the navigator himself that "at the end of the great storm he found himself in  $50^{\circ}$  S.," which was sufficient proof that he had been beaten round without the strait; and, moreover, that from the change of the wind not being able to double the southernmost island, he anchored under the lee of it, cast himself down upon the extreme point, and reached over as far as was safe; and after the ship sailed, told his company that he had been "upon the southernmost point of land in the world known or likely to be known, and farther than any man had ever before ventured."

Mr. Fletcher, the chaplain, also landed here. He found this island three parts of a degree farther south than any of the other islands.

To all the islands discovered here Drake gave the general name of the *Elizabethides*, in compliment to his royal mistress. They were inhabited, and the natives were frequently seen, though little appears to have been learned of their character or customs.

Having thus discovered and landed on the southernmost part of the continent, Drake changed the *Terra Incognita*\* of the Spanish geographers into the *Terra bene nunc Cognita*† of his chaplain, and on the 30th of October, with a fair wind from the south, he held a course north-west; but being bent on exploring, afterward kept east, not to lose the coast. On the 25th of November they anchored at the island of Mocha, off the coast of Chili, where the captain-general landed. Cattle and sheep were seen here, and also maize and potatoes. Presents were exchanged with the Indians, and next day a watering party, which Drake accompanied, rowed towards the shore, in full security of their pacific dispositions. Two seamen who landed to fill the water-casks were instantly killed, and the rest of the party

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\* Land unknown.    † Land now well known.

narrowly escaped an ambush laid for them in case they should come to the assistance of their countrymen. They were fiercely assailed with arrows and stones, and every one was wounded more or less severely. The general was wounded both in the face and on the head, and the attack was continued so warmly and close that the Indians seized four of the oars. This unprovoked attack was imputed by the ship's company to the hatred which the inhabitants of Chili bore the Spaniards, whom, it was presumed, they had not yet learned to distinguish from other Europeans. In this view, it was forgiven by men whose prejudices and animosity were equally strong with those of the Indians.

Sailing along the coast, with the wind at south, on the 30th of November they anchored in a bay about  $32^{\circ}$  S., and sent out a boat to examine the shores, which captured and brought before the captain an Indian found fishing in his canoe. This man was kindly treated. A present of linen and a chopping-knife gained his affections, and he bore the message of Drake to his countrymen, who, induced by the hope of like gifts, brought to the ship's side a fat hog and poultry. It was at this time of more consequence to one main object of the voyagers, who, doing much for the glory of England and Elizabeth, wished at the same time to do a little for themselves, that an intelligent Indian repaired to the ship who spoke the Spanish language, and, believing them mariners of that nation, unwittingly gave them much valuable information. From him they learned that they had by six leagues oversailed Valparaiso, the port of St. Jago, where a Spanish vessel then lay at anchor. The innocent offer of Felipe, when he saw their disappointment, to pilot them back, was eagerly accepted. On the 4th of December they sailed from Philip's Bay, as they named this harbour, in honour of their Indian pilot, and next day, without any difficulty, captured the ship, the Grand Captain of the South Seas, in which were found 60,000 pesos of gold, besides jewels, merchandise, and 1770 jars of Chili wine. This was a joyful beginning; each peso was reckoned worth eight shillings. The people of the town, which con-

sisted of only nine families, fled ; and Drake's followers revelled in the unforbidden luxury of a general pillage of wine, bread, bacon, and other things most acceptable to men who had been so long at sea, both for present refreshment and also for storing the ship. In every new Spanish settlement, however small, a church rose as it were simultaneously. The small chapel of Valparaiso was plundered of a silver chalice, two cruets, and its altar-cloth, which, to prevent their desecration, and to obtain a blessing on the voyage, were presented to Fletcher, the pastor of this ocean-flock. They sailed on the 8th with their prize, taking, however, only one of the crew, a Greek, named Juan Griego, who was capable of piloting them to Lima. Their Indian guide Felipe was rewarded, and sent on shore near his own home. From the most southern point of this coasting voyage, Drake had been continually on the outlook for the Marigold and the Elizabeth ; and the Hind being too unwieldly to keep in near the coast in the search, a pinnace was intended to be built for this duty, as well as for other operations which the captain-general kept in view. A convenient place for this purpose had been found at Coquimbo. Near the spot selected the Spaniards had raised or collected a considerable force ; and a watering party of fourteen of the English was here surprised, and with some difficulty escaped from a body of three hundred horse and two hundred foot. One seaman was killed, owing, however, to his own braggart temerity.

In a quieter and safer bay the pinnace was set up, and Drake himself embarked in it to look after the strayed ships ; but the wind becoming adverse he soon returned. They quitted this harbour on the 19th of January, 1579, invigorated by a season of repose, by the refreshments and booty obtained, and by the hopes of richer plunder and more glorious conquest. With few adventures they sailed along the coast, till accidentally landing at Tarapaza they found a Spaniard asleep on the shore, with thirteen bars of silver lying beside him, as if waiting their arrival. Advancing a little farther, on landing to procure water, they fell in with a Span-

iard and an Indian boy driving eight lamas, each of which was laden with two leathern bags containing fifty pounds of silver, or eight hundred pounds in all. The lamas, or Peruvian sheep, are described by the old voyagers as of the size of an ass, with a neck like a camel, and of great strength and steadiness, forming the beast of burden of these countries. They were indeed the mules of the New World, but a much more valuable animal, as the wool is fine and the flesh good. The credulity of the most credulous of the family of John Bull—his sons of the ocean—was here amusingly displayed. If the coast of Peru was not literally strewed with gold, pure silver was found so richly mixed with the soil that every hundred weight of common earth yielded, on a moderate calculation, five ounces.

The eight lamas and their precious burden being brought on board, the *Golden Hind* next entered the port of Arica, where two or three small barks then lay. These, when rifled, were found perfectly unprotected, the crews being on shore, unable to imagine danger on this coast. Arica is described as a beautiful and fertile valley. The town contained about twenty houses, which, the *Famous Voyage* states, "we would have ransacked if our company had been better and more numerous; but our general, contented with the spoil of the ships, put to sea, and sailed for Lima," in pursuit of a vessel very richly laden, of which they had obtained intelligence. The ship, of which they were now in hot pursuit, got notice of her danger in time to land the treasure with which she was freighted,—eight hundred bars of silver, the property of the King of Spain. Drake, now preparing for active measures, rid himself of every encumbrance, by setting all the sails of his prizes, and turning them adrift whithersoever the winds might carry them. The arrival of these tenantless barks on some wild coast or lonely island, may yet form the theme of Indian tradition, though more probably they must all have been dashed to pieces.

Tidings of the English being upon the coast had by this time been dispatched over land to the governor at Lima; but the difficulty of travelling in these still

tangled and trackless regions, enabled Drake to outstrip the messenger, and on the 13th of September to surprise the Spanish ships lying in Callao, the port of Lima. The spoil was trifling for the number of vessels. In boarding a ship from Panama, which was just then entering the port, an Englishman was killed. Another account says he was shot from a boat while pursuing the crew, who were abandoning the vessel. In one ship a chest of ryals of plate and a considerable store of linens, silks, and general merchandise were obtained. From the prisoners Drake learned that ten days before, the Cacafuego, laden with treasure, had sailed for Panama, the point from whence all goods were carried across the isthmus. This information at once determined the course of our navigator; and as ships from Callao to Panama were in the habit of touching at intermediate places, he reckoned the Cacafuego already his prize. As a measure of precaution the mainmasts of the two largest prizes found here were cut away, the cables of the smaller ones were severed, and, the goods and people being previously removed, the whole were abandoned to the mercy of the winds and waves; while Drake bore northward in full sail, or when the wind slackened was towed on by the boats, each man straining to reach the golden goal. But this rather anticipates the course of the narrative.

When intelligence of Drake's ship at last reached Lima, it was presumed that some of the Spanish crews had mutinied, and that the Golden Hind was a Spanish vessel turned pirate, so little was an attack by the English on this side of the continent deemed possible, or that the ships of any nation save Spain could pass the intricate and fatal Straits of Magellan. On being apprized of the real fact and of the danger impending, Don Francisco de Toledo, the viceroy at Lima, immediately repaired to the port with a force estimated by Lopez Vaz at two thousand horse and foot. The Golden Hind still remained in sight of the port, and nearly becalmed. Two vessels, in each of which two hundred fighting men were embarked, were equipped in all haste, and the capture of Drake, the pirate-heretic, was al-

ready confidently reckoned upon. At the same hour in which they left the port to make the attack a fresh gale sprung up, and the English ship pressed onward. The flight and pursuit were continued for some time, as it was not the policy of Drake, with his very inferior force, to risk an action. By an oversight, most fortunate for the English, the Spaniards, in their eagerness and confidence of an easy conquest, had neglected to take provisions on board. Famine compelled them to abandon the pursuit; but Don Francisco lost no time in remedying this inadvertence. A force of three ships, fully equipped, was despatched under the command of Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, but arrived too late. The same commander afterward long watched, and waited in vain, the return of Drake by the straits. On his recommendation they were afterwards fortified and a colony planted,—an abortive attempt, which cost Spain much treasure and many lives.

Near Payti, a small vessel, in which some silver ornaments were found, was rifled and dismissed; and on passing Payti, from the crew of a vessel which was searched they learned that the Cacafuego had the start of them now only by two days. Every nerve was fresh braced for pursuit; but the future advantage hoped for did not lead them in the mean time to despise present small gains. Two more vessels were intercepted, rifled, and turned adrift, the crews being first landed. In one of these some silver and eighty pounds of gold were found, and a golden crucifix, in which was set “a goodly and great emerald.” They also found a good supply of useful stores and a large quantity of cordage, which made most part of the cargo. On the 24th February they crossed the line, the Cacafuego still ahead and unseen; and Drake, to animate the hopes and quicken the vigilance of his company, offered as a reward to whoever should first descry the prize the gold chain which he usually wore. The reward was gained by Mr. John Drake, who at three o’clock in the afternoon of the 1st of March, from the mast-head, discerned the prize, which by six o’clock was boarded and taken. This capture was made off Cape Francisco. The cap-



tain, a Biscayan, named Juan de Anton, was so little aware of his danger, that seeing a vessel coming up to him under a press of sail, he concluded that the viceroy had sent some important message, and struck his sails to await the approach of the Golden Hind. When aware from closer inspection of his mistake, he tried to escape; but he was already within reach of Drake's guns, and possessed no defensive weapons of any kind. Yet, with the brave spirit of his province, the Biscayan refused to strike till his mizzenmast was shot away and he himself wounded by an arrow.

This ship proved to be a prize worth gaining. It contained twenty-six tons of silver, thirteen chests of ryals of plate, and eighty pounds of gold, besides diamonds and inferior gems,—the whole estimated at three hundred and sixty thousand pesos.

Among the spoils were two very handsome silver gilt bowls belonging to the pilot, of which Drake demanded one; which the doughty Spaniard surrendering, presented the other to the steward, as if he disdained to hold any thing by the favour of the English.

Had Drake, thus richly laden, now been assured of a safe and an easy passage to England, it is probable that the Golden Hind might not on this voyage have encompassed the globe. The advanced season, however, and the outlook which he was aware the Spaniards would keep for his return, forbade the attempt of re-passing the straits; while the glory of discovery, and the hope of taking his immense treasure safely to England, determined him in the resolution of seeking a north-west passage homeward. Though not in general communicative, his plans were no sooner formed than he unfolded them to the ship's company, with the persuasive eloquence of a man eminently fitted for command. The crew were now in high spirits, and full of confidence in their skilful, bold, and successful leader. His counsel, which carried all the weight of command, was "to seek out some convenient place to trim the ship, and store it with wood, water, and such provisions as could be found, and thenceforward to hasten our intended journey for the discovery of the said passage,

through which we might with joy return to our longed-for homes.

With this resolution they steered for Nicaragua, and on the 16th March anchored in a small bay of the island of Canno, which proved a good station to water and refit. The pinnacle was once more on active duty, and a prize was brought in laden with honey, butter, sarsaparilla, and other commodities. Among the papers of the prize were letters from the King of Spain to the governor of the Philippines, and sea-charts, which afterward proved of use to the English. While Drake lay here a violent shock of an earthquake was felt. From Canno they sailed on the 24th March, the captain-general never loitering in any port beyond the time absolutely necessary to repair the ship and take in water. On the 6th of April they made another valuable prize. Being already well supplied with stores, their choice was become more nice and difficult; and selecting only silks, linen, delicate porcelain, and a falcon of finely wrought gold, in the breast of which a large emerald was set, the vessel was dismissed, and of her crew only a negro and the pilot detained, who steered them into the harbour of Guatalco. Landing, according to their approved good practice, to ransack the town, it is related in the *Famous Voyage* that they surprised a council then holding on certain negroes\* accused of a plot to burn the place. To their mutual astonishment, judges and culprits were hurried on board in company, and the chief men were compelled to write to the townspeople to make no resistance to the English. The only plunder found in ransacking this small place, in which there were but fourteen persons belonging to Old Spain, consisted of about a bushel of ryals of plate. One of the party, Mr. John Winter, seeing a Spaniard taking flight, pursued and took from the fugitive a chain of gold and some jewels. This is related with great exultation, as a feat of peculiar dexterity and merit. All the Spaniards on board the *Golden Hind* were now set at

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\* Probably Indians, the name Negro or Indian being used indiscriminately by the early voyagers.

liberty. The Portuguese pilot, Nuno Silva, who had been brought from the Cape de Verd Islands, was also dismissed, and probably at this place wrote the relation of the voyage from which quotations have been made in this memoir. Silva's account was sent to the Portuguese viceroy in India, and long afterward fell into the hands of the English.

Satiated with plunder on sea and shore, Drake, on the 16th of April, sailed on that bold project of discovery formerly communicated to his company, and by the 3d of June had gone over fourteen hundred leagues, in different courses, without seeing land. They had now reached  $43^{\circ}$  north, the cold was becoming very severe, and, in advancing two or three degrees farther, so intense, that meat froze the instant it was removed from the fire, and the ropes and tackling of the ship became rigid from the influence of the frost. On the 5th, being driven in by the winds, land was seen, and they anchored in a small bay, too unsheltered, however, to admit of their remaining. Drake had not expected to find the coast stretching so far westward. The wind was now become adverse to holding a northerly course, although the extreme cold, and the chill, raw, unwholesome fogs which surrounded them had made such a track desirable. The land seen here was in general low; but wherever a height appeared it was found covered with snow, though now almost midsummer. The land seen was the western coast of California. On the 17th of June they anchored in a good harbour, on an inhabited coast. As the *Hind* drew near the shore the natives approached, and an ambassador or spokesman put off in a canoe, who made a formal harangue, accompanied with much gesticulation. When the oration was concluded, he made a profound obeisance and retired to the land. A second and a third time he returned in the same manner, bringing, as a gift or tribute, a bunch of feathers neatly trimmed and stuck together, and a basket made of rushes. Of these rushes it was afterward found that the natives fabricated several useful and pretty things. The females, though the men were entirely naked, wore a sort of petticoat composed of rushes, previously

stripped into long threads resembling hemp. They also wore deer skins round their shoulders ; and some of the men occasionally used furs as a covering. It was remarked, that the Indians appeared as sensible to the extreme severity of the weather as the English seamen,—cowering, shivering, and keeping huddled together, even when wrapped up in their furs. The basket brought by the Indian ambassador or orator was filled with an herb which, in some of the original relations of the voyage is called *tabah*, the native name, and in others tobacco. The Indian was either afraid or unwilling to accept of any present from the English in return for this simple tribute, but picked up a hat which was sent afloat towards him. The kindness of Drake ultimately gained the confidence of these people.

The ship had some time before sprung a leak, and it was here found necessary to land the goods and stores that she might be repaired. On the 21st this was done, though the natives appeared to view the movement with suspicion and dissatisfaction. They, however, laid aside their bows and arrows, when requested to do so, and an exchange of presents further cemented the growing friendship. They retired apparently satisfied ; but had no sooner reached their huts, which stood at a considerable distance, than a general howling and lamentation commenced, which lasted all night. The females especially continued shrieking in a wild and doleful manner, which, if not absolutely appalling to the English, was yet to the last degree painful. Drake, whose presence of mind never forsook him, and who was seldom lulled into false security by appearances of friendship, mistrusting the state of excitement into which the Indians were raised, took the precaution of intrenching the tents, into which the goods and the crew had been removed while the repairs of the ship were in progress. For the two days following “the night of lamentation,” no native appeared. At the end of that time a great number seemed to have joined the party first seen ; and the whole assembled on a height overlooking the fortified station of the ship’s company, and appeared desirous of approaching the

strangers. The ceremonies were opened by an orator or herald making a long speech or proclamation, with which the audience were understood to express assent by bowing their bodies at the conclusion, and groaning in chorus—*oh !* or *oh ! oh !* After this friendly demonstration, for as such it was intended, a deputation of the assembly stuck their bows into the earth, and, bearing gifts of feathers and rush baskets with *tabah*, descended towards the fort. While this was passing below, the women, mixed with the group on the height, began to shriek and howl, as on the “night of lamentation,” to tear their flesh with their nails, and dash themselves on the ground, till the blood sprung from their bodies. This is said, in the Famous Voyage, to have been part of the orgies of their idol or demon worship. Drake, it is said, struck with grief and horror, and probably not without a tincture of superstition, ordered divine service to be solemnized. The natives sat silent and attentive, at proper pauses breathing their expressive “*oh !*” in token of assent or approbation. With the psalms, sung probably to one of the simple solemn chants of the old church, they appeared affected and charmed ; and they repeatedly afterward requested their visitors to sing. On taking leave they declined the gifts tendered, either from superstitious dread, or as probably on the same principle which makes a clown at a fair afraid to accept the tempting shilling offered by a recruiting sergeant,—from no dislike to the coin, or reluctance to drink the king’s health, but from great distrust of the motives of the giver. The voyagers, with amusing self-complaisance, ascribe this fear or delicacy to the deep veneration of the natives, and to their thinking “themselves sufficiently enriched and happy that they had free access to see us.”

The Indians here managed their foreign relations with a ceremonial that might have sufficed for more refined societies. The news of the arrival of the English having spread, on the 26th two heralds or pursuivants arrived at head-quarters, craving an audience of the captain-general on the part of their *hioh* or king. The precursor of majesty harangued a full half-hour, his associate dic-

tating to, or prompting him, and concluded by demanding tokens of friendship and safe conduct for the chief. These were cheerfully given.

The approach of the *hioh* was well arranged, and imposing in effect. First came the sceptre or mace-bearer as he is called, though club-bearer would be the more correct phrase. This officer was a tall and handsome man, of noble presence. His staff or club of office was about five feet in length, and made of a dark wood. To this were attached two pieces of net-work or chain-work, curiously and delicately wrought, of a bony substance, minute, thin, and burnished; and consisting of innumerable links. He had also a basket of *tabah*. These net-cauls or chains were supposed to be the insignia of personal rank and dignity, akin to the crosses, stars, and ribands of civilized nations, the number of them worn denoting the degree of consequence, as the importance of a pasha is signified by the number of his tails. The king followed his minister, and in his turn was succeeded by a man of tall stature, with an air of natural grandeur and majesty which struck the English visitors. The royal guard came next in order. It was formed of one hundred picked men, tall and martial-looking, and clothed in skins. Some of them wore ornamental head-dresses made of feathers, or of a feathery down which grew upon a plant of the country. The king wore about his shoulders a robe made of the skins of the species of marmot afterward described. Next in place in this national procession came the common people, every one painted, though in a variety of patterns, and with feathers stuck in the club of hair drawn up at the crown of their heads. The women and children brought up the rear, carrying each, as a propitiatory gift, a basket, in which was either *tabah*, broiled fish, or a root that the natives ate both raw and baked.

Drake, seeing them so numerous, drew up his men in order, and under arms, within his fortification or block-house. At a few paces' distance the procession halted, and deep silence was observed, while the sceptre-bearer, prompted as before by another official, harangued for a full half-hour. His eloquent address, whatever it

might import, receiving the concurrent "*oh!*" of the national assembly, the same orator commenced a song or chant, keeping time in a slow, solemn dance, performed with a stately air, the king and all the warriors joining both in the measure and the chorus. The females also moved in the dance, but silently. Drake could no longer doubt of their amicable feelings and peaceful intentions. They were admitted, still singing and moving in a choral dance, within the fort. The orations and songs were renewed and prolonged; and the chief, placing one of his crowns upon the head of the captain-general, and investing him with the other imagined insignia of royalty, courteously tendered him his whole dominions, and hailed him king! Songs of triumph were raised, as if in confirmation of this solemn cession of territory and sovereignty. Such is the interpretation which the old voyagers put upon a ceremony that has been more rationally conjectured to resemble the interchange or exchange of names, which in the South Sea islands seals the bonds of friendship; or as something equivalent to a European host telling his visiter that he is master of the house. "The admiral," it is shrewdly observed, "accepted of this new-offered dignity in her majesty's name, and for her use; it being probable that, from this donation, whether made in jest or earnest by these Indians, some real advantage might hereafter redound to the English nation and interest in these parts." We are expressly informed that the natives afterward actually worshipped their guests; and that it was necessary to check their idolatrous homage. They roamed about among the tents, admiring all they saw, and expressing their attachment to the English in their own peculiar fashion. It was for the youngest of the company these fondnesses were imbibed. To express affection, the Indians surrounded and gazed upon them, and then began to howl and tear their flesh till they streamed in their own blood, to demonstrate the liveliness and strength of their affection. The same unnatural and uncouth shows of regard continued to be made while the English remained on the coast; and obeisances and homage were rendered, which, being considered as ap-

proaching to sacrifice or worship, were strenuously and piously disclaimed. These people are described as an amiable race; of a free, tractable, kindly nature, without guile or treachery. To mark their esteem of the English, and confidence in their skill and superiority, it may be noticed that they applied for medicaments for their wounds and sores.

The men, as has been noticed, were generally naked; but the women, besides the short petticoat woven of peeled bulrushes, wore deer skins, with the hair on, round their shoulders. They were remarked to be good wives,—very obedient and serviceable to their husbands. The men were so robust and powerful that a burden which could hardly be borne by two of the seamen, a single native would with ease carry up and down hill for a mile together. Their weapons were bows and arrows, but of a feeble, useless kind. Their dwellings were constructed in a round form, built of earth, and roofed with pieces of wood joined together at a common centre, somewhat in form of a spire. Being partly under ground, they were close and warm. The fire was placed in the middle, and beds of rushes were spread on the floor.

Before sailing, Drake made an excursion into the interior. Immense herds of deer were seen, large and fat; and the country seemed one immense warren of a species of cony of the size of a Barbary rat, “their heads and faces like rabbits in England; their paws like a mole, their tails like a rat. Under their chin on each side was a pouch, into which they gathered meat to feed their young, or serve themselves another time.” The natives ate the flesh of those animals, and greatly prized their skins, of which the state-robcs worn by the king at his interview with Drake were made.

The admiral named this fair and fertile country New Albion, and erected a monument of his discovery, to which was nailed a brass plate bearing the name, effigy, and arms of her majesty, and asserting her territorial rights, and the date of possession being taken.

Drake had spent thirty-six days at this place,—a long but necessary sojourn; but the repairs of the ship being



completed, on the 23d of July he bore away from Port Drake, the kind-hearted natives deeply bewailing the departure of their new friends. The regret, good-will, and respect were indeed mutual. The Indians entreated the English to remember them, and as a farewell offering or homage secretly provided what is called a sacrifice. While the ship remained in sight, they kept fires burning on the heights. It is delightful at this time to hear of Europeans leaving grateful remembrances of their visits on any coast, and the pleasure is enhanced by being able to claim this honour for our countrymen. It was from some fancied resemblance to the white cliffs of England that Drake bestowed on the coast he had surveyed, the name of New Albion.\*

Next day a store of seals and birds were caught at some small islands which are now supposed to be the Farellones of modern charts.

Thus far had Drake boldly explored in search of a passage homeward, either through an undiscovered strait, or around the northern extremity of the continent of America; but now this design, so honourable to his enterprise and even to his sagacity, was for the present abandoned; the winds being adverse, and the season too much advanced to prosecute farther so perilous an adventure. Leaving the scene of his discoveries on the western coast of America, which are reckoned to begin immediately to the north of Cape Mendocino and to extend to  $48^{\circ}$  N., Drake, with the unanimous consent of his company, having formed the design of returning home by India and the Cape of Good Hope, sailed westward for sixty-eight days without coming in sight of land. On the 13th of September he fell in with some islands in  $8^{\circ}$  N. As soon as the Golden Hind appeared, the natives came off in canoes, each containing from four to fourteen men, bringing cocoanuts, fish, and fruits. Their canoes were ingeniously formed and prettily or-

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\* After passing Punta de los Reyes, Captain Beechey awaited the return of day, off some white cliffs, which he believed must be those which made Sir Francis Drake bestow on this tract of country the name of New Albion.

namented, hollowed out of a single tree, and so high at the stern and prow as to be nearly semicircular. The islanders were not yet sufficiently enlightened in mercantile affairs to have learned that honesty is the dealer's best policy. Drake, however, instead of imitating the conduct of Magellan, and instantly shooting them for thieving, or burning their houses, endeavoured to bring them to a sense of propriety merely by refusing to traffic with those who were found dishonest. This excited their displeasure, and a general attack of stones was commenced. A cannon, not shotted, fired over their heads to scare them away had only this effect for a short time. The general was at last compelled to adopt more severe measures of retaliation, and we are told in vague terms that "smart was necessary as well as terror." The natives of those Islands of Thieves, as they were named by the English, had the lobes of their ears cut out into a circle, which hung down on their cheeks. Their teeth were black as jet, from the use of a powder which they constantly employed for the purpose of staining them. This powder they carried about with them in a hollow cane. Another peculiarity observed was the length of their nails, which was above an inch. It has been conjectured, with every mark of probability, that Drake's Islands of Thieves are the islands named De Sequeira, discovered by Diego da Rocha, and the Pelew Islands of our own times; if so, the morals of the inhabitants must have improved greatly in the long interval which elapsed between this first visit of the English and that made by Captain Wilson in the Duff. The wind coming fair, on the 3d of October the Golden Hind stood westward, and on the 16th of the month made the Philippines in  $7^{\circ} 5'$  north of the line. They first fell in with four islands having a thick population, or the appearance of it. These they visited, and afterward anchored in Mindanao. Sailing hence on the 22d, they kept a southerly course, and passed between two islands about six or eight leagues south of Mindanao, supposed to be the Sarangan and Candigar.

On the 3d of November the Moluccas were seen, and they steered for Tidore; but in coasting along Motir a

boat came off, from which Drake learned that the Portuguese, expelled from Terrenate, or Ternate, by the king of that island, had fixed their head-quarters at Tidore. In this boat was the Viceroy of Motir, which island was under the sovereignty of the powerful and warlike king of Ternate. As soon as the viceroy understood that Drake had no reason either to love or trust the Portuguese, he entreated him to change his destination; and the ship accordingly steered for the port of Ternate.

Previous to coming to an anchor before the town, a courteous offer of friendship was made by the general through a messenger whom he sent on shore with a velvet cloak as a present to the king, and who was instructed to say that the English came hither only to trade and to procure refreshments. The viceroy of Motir had previously disposed the king to give Drake a favourable reception. To the general's message a gracious answer was returned. All that the territories of the King of Ternate afforded, were at the disposal of the English, and that prince was ready to lay himself and his whole dominions at the feet of so glorious a princess as the Queen of England. By some of the voyagers this flourish of oriental hyperbole is most literally interpreted. The English envoy was received with great pomp; and as credentials, or safe-conduct, a signet (we are not told in what form) was transmitted through him to the captain-general. Before the ship came to anchor the king put off to pay it a visit of welcome and ceremony. The royal equipment consisted of three state barges, or canoes, filled with the most distinguished persons of his retinue. They wore dresses of white muslin,—“white lawn, of cloth of Calicut.” Over their heads was a canopy or awning of perfumed mats, supported on a framework of reeds. Their personal attendants, also dressed in white, stood next them; and beyond these were ranks of warriors armed with dirks and daggers. These again were encircled by the rowers, of which there were eighty to each barge, placed in galleries raised above the other seats, three on each side. They rowed, or rather paddled, in cadence to the clashing of

cymbals, and altogether made a gallant show. The king, who advanced in the last barge, was saluted with a discharge of all the great guns, and the martial music which Drake employed on occasions of ceremonial, struck up. The canoes paddled round and round the ship, the king appearing delighted with the music, and gratified by the signs of wealth and magnificence exhibited by his visitors. He was himself a tall, stout, graceful man, and celebrated as a conqueror and warrior. By policy and force of arms he had not only expelled the Portuguese from this island, but subdued many others, so that seventy islands now owned his sway. He professed the faith of Mohammed, which was now become the religion of all his dominions. It is worthy of remark, that in the ceremonies and external observances of royalty the native princes of these Indian islands might have vied with the most polished courts of Europe. Elizabeth, whose board was daily spread with lowly bends and reverences, was not more punctilious in ceremonial and etiquette than the sovereign of Ternate. His courtiers and attendants approached the royal presence with the most profound respect, no one speaking to the king save in a kneeling posture. As soon as the ship came to an anchor the king took leave, promising another visit on the following day.

That same evening a present of fowls, rice, sugar, cloves, and *frigo* was received, and "a sort of fruit," says the Famous Voyage, "they call *sago*, which is a meal made out of the tops of trees, melting in the mouth like sugar, but eating like sour curd; but yet when made into cakes will keep so as to be very fit for eating at the end of ten years." It is pleasant to come thus upon the first simple notice of those productions of other climes which have so long contributed to the comfort, variety, or luxury of European communities.

Instead of coming on board next day the king sent his brother to bear his excuses, and to remain as a hostage for the safe return of the captain-general, who was invited to land. The invitation was not accepted, the English having some doubts of the good faith of the fair-promising sovereign of Ternate. But some of the

gentlemen went on shore; their first acquaintance, the Viceroy of Motir, remaining as a hostage, as well as the king's brother. On landing, they were received with the pomp which had been intended to grace the entrance of Drake into the capital; another brother of the king and a party of the nobles conducted them to the palace, which stood near the dismantled fort of the expelled Portuguese. There they found an assembly of at least a thousand persons, sixty of them being courtiers or privy-counsellors, "very grave persons," and four Turkish envoys, in robes of scarlet and turbans, who were then at the court of Ternate concluding a treaty of commerce. The king was guarded by twelve lances. "A glorious canopy embroidered with gold was carried over his head." His garb was a robe of cloth of gold, hanging loose about his person; his legs were bare, but on his feet he wore slippers of Cordovan leather. Around his neck hung a weighty chain of gold, and fillets of the same metal were wreathed through his hair. On his fingers "were many fair jewels." At the right side of his chair of state stood a page cooling him with a fan two feet in length and one in breadth, embroidered and adorned with sapphires, and fastened to a staff three feet long, by which it was moved. His voice was low, and his aspect benign.

Drake did not afterward land; and the offers made of exclusive traffic with the English were, it appears, received by him with indifference.

Having procured a supply of provisions and a considerable quantity of cloves, the *Golden Hind* left the Moluccas on the 9th of November, and on the 14th anchored at a small island near the eastern part of Celebes, which they named Crab Island. This place being uninhabited and affording abundance of wood, though no water was found, tents were erected on shore, and fences formed around them; and here they resolved effectually to repair the ship for her homeward voyage. This proved a pleasant sojourn. The island was one continued forest of a kind of trees, large, lofty, and straight in the stem, nor branching out till near the top; the leaves resembling the broom of England. About

these trees flicker innumerable bats "as big as hens." There were also multitudes of shining flies no bigger than the common fly in England, which, skimming up and down in the air, between the trees and bushes, made them appear "as if they were burning." There were also great numbers of land-crabs, described as a sort of crayfish, "which dig holes in the earth like conies, and are so large that one of them will dine four persons, and very good meat."

At a small neighbouring island water was procured, and on the 12th of December, having lain at Crab Island about a month, the *Hind* sailed for the west, and soon got entangled among islets and shoals, which induced them to steer for the south, to get free of such dangerous ground. At this time occurred the most imminent peril and providential escape that attended this remarkable voyage,—an incident as much resembling a visible interposition of Divine aid where human hope had perished as any to be found among the almost miraculous records of preservation contained in the relations of maritime adventure.

After being teased for many days, on the 9th of January they flattered themselves that the shoals were at last cleared. On that same evening, early in the first watch, while the *Golden Hind* with all her sails set was running before a fair wind, she came suddenly upon a shelving rock, and stuck fast. Violent as was the shock she had sprung no leak, and the boats were immediately lowered to sound, and ascertain if an anchor could be placed in such a situation as would permit the ship to be drawn off into deep water. But the rock in which she was as it were jammed, shelved so abruptly that at the distance of only a few yards no bottom could be found. A night of great anxiety was passed; and when the dawn permitted a second search for anchorage-ground, it only ended in more confirmed and bitter disappointment. There seemed no help of man; yet in the midst of their calamity several fortunate, or more properly providential, circumstances intervened. No leak had been sprung; and though the ebb-tide left the ship in only six feet of water, while, so deeply was she

treasure-laden, thirteen were required to float her, a strong and steady gale blowing from the side to which she must have reeled as the tide gradually receded, supported her in this dangerous position. In this dreadful situation, instead of giving themselves up to despair or apathy, Drake and his company behaved with the manliness, coolness, and resolution which have ever in the greatest perils characterized British seamen. The crew were summoned to prayers, and, this solemn duty fulfilled, a last united effort was made for the common safety. A quantity of meal, eight of the guns, and three tons of cloves were thrown overboard. This partial lightening produced no visible effect; the ship stuck as fast as before. The simple language of the original narrative is so much more forcible and touching than any modern paraphrase, that we at once adopt it. In a single sentence it displays the manly and self-depending character of Drake, and the veneration and implicit confidence with which his crew regarded him:—"Of all other days," says one old relation, "on the 9th of January, in the yeere 1579 (1580,) we ranne upon a rocke, where we stuck fast from eight of the clocke at nighte till four of the clocke in the afternoon of next day, being, indeed, out of all hope to escape the danger; but our generall, as hee had alwayes shown himselfe couragious, and of a good confidence in the mercie and protection of God, so now he continued in the same; and lest he should seem to perish wilfully, both hee and wee did our best endeavour to save ourselves, which it pleased God so to bless that in the ende we cleared ourselves most happily of the danger." It was, however, by no effort of their own that they were finally extricated, though nothing that skill and courage could suggest or accomplish was wanting. The wind slackened and fell with the tide, and at the lowest of the ebb veered to the opposite point, when the vessel suddenly reeled to her side. The shock loosened her keel, and at the moment of what appeared inevitable destruction she plunged into the deep water once more as freely-afloat as when first launched into the ocean. The thankfulness of the

ship's company may be imagined.\* This dangerous shoal or reef is not far from the coast of Celebes, in  $1^{\circ} 56' S$ .

Their perilous adventure made them afterward very wary; and it was not till some weeks had elapsed that, cautiously exploring their way, they finally extricated themselves from this entangled coast.

On the 8th of February they fell in with the island of Baratane, probably the island now called Booton, a pleasant and fruitful place. It afforded gold, silver, copper, and sulphur. The fruits and other natural productions were ginger, long pepper, lemons, cocoas, cucumbers, nutmegs, frigo, sago, &c. &c. Ternate excepted, this island afforded better and greater variety of refreshments for the mariner than any land at which our navigators had touched since they had left England. The inhabitants were worthy of the fertile region they inhabited. In form and features they were a handsome people; in disposition and manners, mild and friendly; fair in their dealings, and obliging in their behaviour. The men were naked, save a small turban and a piece of cloth about their waists; but the women were clothed from the middle to the feet, and had their arms loaded with bracelets fashioned of bone, horn, and brass. The men universally wore ornaments in their ears. These islanders received the English with kindness and civility, and gladly supplied their wants.

Leaving Baratane with very favourable impressions of the country and the people, they made sail for Java, which was reached on the 12th of March. Here the navigators remained for twelve days in a course of con-

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\* It has been shrewdly remarked, that these pious seamen never for one moment seem to have entertained the idea of throwing any part of their immense treasure overboard, which would have materially lightened the ship. The account of the escape given in "the Famous Voyage" differs from the above, which is, however, regarded as the most authentic relation of this almost miraculous preservation. It states, that after the ship was lightened, "the wind (as it were in a moment by the special grace of God,) changing from the starboard to the larboard side, we hoisted our sails, and the happy gale drove our ship off the rocks into the sea again, to the no small comfort of all our hearts; for which we gave God such praise and thanks as so great a benefit required."



stant festivity. The island was at this time governed by five independent chiefs or rajahs, who lived in perfect amity, and vied with each other in showing hospitality and courtesy to their English visitors.

The social condition of the Javans at this comparatively early period exhibits a pleasing and attractive picture of semi-barbarous life, if a state of society may be thus termed, which appears to realize many of our late Utopian schemes of visionary perfection. The Javans were of good size and well-formed, bold, and warlike. Their weapons and armour were swords, bucklers, and daggers of their own manufacture, the blades admirably tempered, the handles highly ornamented. The upper part of their bodies was entirely naked, but from the waist downwards they wore a flowing garment of silk of some gay and favourite colour. In every village there was a house of assembly, or public hall, where these social and cheerful people, whom we may call the French of the Indian islands, met twice a day to partake of a kind of picnic meal and enjoy the pleasures of conversation. To this common festival every one contributed at his pleasure or convenience, bringing fruits, boiled rice,\* roast fowls, and sago. On a table raised three feet the feast was spread, and the party gathered round, "every one delighting in the company of another." While the Hind lay here a constant intercourse and interchange of kindnesses and civilities were maintained between the sea and shore; the rajahs coming frequently on board either singly or together.

But the delights of Java could not long banish the remembrance of England, to which every wish was now directed. Making sail from Java, the first land seen was the Cape of Good Hope, which they passed on the 15th of June. The Spaniards had not more studiously magnified the real dangers of Magellan's Straits than

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\* The Javan cookery of rice, as described by Drake's crew, is worthy of a place in English cookery books. An earthen vessel of a conical form, open at the widest end, and perforated with holes, was filled with rice, and plunged into a larger vessel of boiling water. The rice, swelling, soon stopped the holes, and the mass was steamed till it became firm and hard like bread, when it was eaten with spices, fruit, sugar, meat, oil, &c. &c.

the Portuguese had exaggerated and misrepresented the storms and perils which surround the Cape; and it required the characteristic intrepidity and consummate skill of Drake to venture with his single bark on this doubtful and almost untried navigation. It is, however, probable that he suspected the craft which suggested this attempt to hoodwink and delude all other maritime nations, that Portugal might long retain a monopoly of her important discovery. Certain it is, that the ship's company were surprised that close by the Cape—"the most stately thing and goodliest cape seen in the circumference of the whole earth"—no violent tempests or awful perils were encountered; and they accordingly shrewdly concluded the report of the "Portugals most false."

Deeming it unsafe or inexpedient to halt here, Drake stood for land of which he had better knowledge, and on the 22d of July arrived at Sierra Leone. Water was obtained, and the refreshment of fruits and oysters, of which, we are told, "one kind was found on trees spawning and increasing wonderfully,—the oyster suffering no bud to grow." It was imagined the 26th of September, 1580, when, without touching at other land, Captain Drake, after a voyage of two years and ten months, came to anchor, whence he had set out, in the harbour of Plymouth. The day of the week was Monday, though by the reckoning kept by the voyagers Sunday, and the 27th the true time; the same loss of a day having befallen them which had puzzled Magellan's crew,—a mystery now clear to the most juvenile student in geography.

The safe return of the expedition, the glory attending so magnificent an enterprise, and the immense mass of wealth brought home, made the arrival of Drake be hailed throughout England as an event of great national importance. Such in fact it was, as his success gave an incalculable impetus to the rapidly-increasing maritime spirit of the country.

The bravery, the exploits, and the wonderful adventures of Drake, immediately became the theme of every tongue. Courtiers patronised and poets praised him;

and, to complete his celebrity, envious detractors were not wanting, who with some plausibility, represented that England and Spain, though cherishing the bitterest national antipathy, being still nominally at peace, his enterprises were at best but those of a splendid corsair; and that his spoliation of the subjects of Spain must provoke reprisal on such merchants as had goods and dealings in that country. It was urged that, of all countries, a trading nation like England, should carefully avoid offending in a kind which laid her open to speedy punishment, and must frustrate the advancement of her maritime prosperity. On the other hand, the friends and admirers of the navigator contended, that he of all men, who had been so deep a sufferer from their perfidy, was entitled to take the punishment of the Spaniards into his own hands; and that his gallant enterprise, while it inspired foreign nations with a high opinion of the maritime talent and power of England, would at home excite the noblest emulation,—an effect which it already had, the island, from the one extreme to the other, being now inflamed with the ardour that his splendid achievements had kindled, and which was soon to be manifested in a series of actions emanating directly from his expedition.

In the mean while Drake lost no time in repairing to court. Elizabeth, who with all her faults, never favoured the despicable, was more purely the fountain of all favour and honour than any preceding sovereign, and her personal regard more the object of ambition. Drake was graciously received, but not yet openly countenanced. The queen permitted the first fervours of both his admirers and enemies to abate before she openly declared her own sentiments. A show of coldness was also a necessary part of the subtle game she was still playing with Spain.

The complaints of the Spaniards were violent and loud; and the queen deemed it prudent to place the wealth brought home under sequestration till their claims should be investigated; or, more correctly, till the complainers could be either baffled or wearied out

in solicitation. It was the policy of Elizabeth to protract the long-impending hostilities between the countries, and among other means the plundered gold was employed. As a foretaste, or a bribe to purchase peace a little longer, several small sums were paid to the agent for Spanish claims; but, when tired of the game of diplomacy, which the queen relished as much for the enjoyment of the play as the value of the stakes, she suddenly took the resolution of openly countenancing the daring navigator, whose boldness, discretion, and brilliant success, were so happily adapted to gain her favour.

On the 4th of April, 1581, the queen went in state to dine on board the *Golden Hind*, now lying at Deptford; and Drake, who naturally loved show and magnificence, spared no pains in furnishing a banquet worthy of his royal guest. After dinner the queen conferred upon him the honor of knighthood,—enhancing the value of the distinction by politely saying, “that his actions did him more honor than the title which she conferred.” The queen also gave orders that his ship should be preserved as a monument of the glory of the nation and of the illustrious commander. This was done, and when it would no longer hold together, a chair was made of one of the planks, and presented as a relic to the University of Oxford.\* On the day of the queen’s visit, in compliment to her majesty’s scholarship, a variety of Latin verses, composed by the scholars of Winchester College, were nailed to the mainmast, in which the praises of the ship and the queen were alternated and intermingled. The *Golden Hind* afterward became the theme of the muse of Cowley. One translation of a Latin epigram on the ship, we select from a multitude

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\* The particulars of this “stately visit,” would unduly swell the narrative. On this day Elizabeth, who, like King William IV., loved to be surrounded by her subjects, was attended in her progress to Deptford by an immense concourse of people, who crowded so thickly upon the temporary bridge, or planks placed between the river’s bank and the ship, that it gave way, and some hundreds fell into the water. This was an unlucky adventure, but no one was either killed or hurt, which the ready-witted princess attributed solely to the good fortune of Drake.

of verses, as its quaintness is redeemed by its elegance :—

The stars above will make thee known,  
If man were silent here ;  
The Sun himself cannot forget  
His fellow-traveller.

The reputation of Sir Francis Drake had now obtained that court-stamp which, without increasing value, gives currency. Though Elizabeth had so far temporized as to sequester for a time the wealth brought home, the Spanish complaints of the English sailing in the South Sea, she scornfully dismissed,—denying “ that, by the Bishop of Rome’s donation, or any other right, the Spaniards were entitled to debar the subjects of other princes from these new countries; the gift of what is another’s constituting no valid right ;—that touching here and there, and naming a river or cape, could not give a proprietary title, nor hinder other nations from trading or colonizing in those parts where the Spaniards had not planted settlements.” One objectionable part of Drake’s conduct thus obtained royal vindication ; and as the war, long impending, was no longer avoidable, his alleged depredations were forgotten even by his envious detractors, and his fame became as universal as it was high. Envy itself had ever been forced to acknowledge, not merely his maritime skill and genius for command, but the humanity and benevolence that marked his dealings with the Indians, and the generosity with which he uniformly treated his captives of that nation of all others the most hateful to Englishmen, and in some respects the most injurious to himself.

Hostilities with Spain, so long protracted by the policy of Elizabeth, were now about to commence in good earnest ; and Drake may be said to have struck the first blow. War was not formally declared when he projected an expedition in concert with Sir Philip Sidney ; the two most popular men of their time being to command, the one the land, and the other the sea force. On the part of Sir Philip the design was abandoned at the express command of the queen, who required his servi-

ces in the Netherlands, where he had already been usefully employed for the public cause, and where, in the following year, he met his early and glorious death. Sir Francis Drake's armament consisted of twenty-five sail, of which two vessels were queen's ships. His force amounted to two thousand three hundred seamen and soldiers. Under his command were several officers of experience and high reputation. His lieutenant-general was Christopher Carlile, his vice-admiral the celebrated navigator, Martin Frobisher; and Captain Francis Knollys, and other officers of celebrity, were among his coadjutors in an enterprise, the object of which was to unite public advantage with private emolument.

The fleet stood at once for the coast of Spain, where Drake meditated a bold stroke at the enemy's naval force, and this without very rigid preliminary inquiry whether war had been declared or not. His demand to know why an embargo had been laid upon the goods of certain English merchants, was answered in terms so pacific, that finding it impossible to fasten a quarrel upon the Spaniards which would justify reprisal, the fleet cruised from Sebastian's to Vigo, capturing some small tenders. They next stood for the Cape de Verd Islands, where, landing one thousand men in the night, Drake, with a handful of them, surprised and took St. Jago, which the inhabitants hastily abandoned. This was on the 17th of November, 1585, and the day of Elizabeth's accession, which was celebrated by the guns of the castle firing a salute, to which those of the fleet replied. The conquest had proved easy, but the booty was in proportion inconsiderable, consisting chiefly of trifling merchandise, and the tawdry, worthless wares employed in trading with the Indians of the islands and on the shores of the continent of America. If there had been any treasure in the place, it was either carried away or effectually concealed; and the threats of the invaders to burn and slay, unless the terms of ransom which they dictated were complied with, produced no effect. The islanders seemed determined either to weary or to starve out the invaders; and their

easy conquest soon became no desirable possession. On the 24th, a village twelve miles in the interior, named St. Domingo, was taken; but the islanders still kept aloof; and posting placards, denouncing the former cowardice and cruelty of the Portuguese, and their present pusillanimity, the English prepared to depart. Then, for the first time, a force appeared hanging off and on, as if to annoy their retreat. Burning the town, and every place within reach, the English re-embarked in good order, and stood for the West Indies.

In palliation of what may appear useless severity, it must be stated that, besides refusing the terms of ransom offered them, the Portuguese had perpetrated the most wanton cruelty on an English boy who had straggled, and whose corpse was found by his countrymen, torn, disfigured, and dismembered,—as if he had rather fallen into the hands of the most ferocious tribe of cannibals than among a Christian people. The islanders had also, five years before, murdered, under the protection of a truce, the crew of a Bristol vessel commanded by Captain William Hawkins. The vengeance which may afterward be taken by their countrymen forms a strong protection to a single ship's company, or to a weak crew on a distant coast; and if there may not be strict equity, there is at least commendable policy in a commander showing that neither former kindness nor yet treachery to the people of his nation is either unknown or forgotten.

While the fleet lay here, that malignant fever which proves the scourge of soldiers and seamen in these climes broke out with great inveteracy, and carried off between two and three hundred of the men.

They next touched at St. Christopher's and Dominica, where they had a friendly interview with some of the aborigines, at which the toys and wares of St. Jago were liberally exchanged for tobacco and cassada.

Attracted by the fame of "the brave city" of St. Domingo, one of the oldest and wealthiest of the Spanish settlements in the West Indies, it was determined to carry it. Drake's common plan of attack was simple and uniform: a party was landed in the night to make

the assault from the land side, while the ships co-operated from the water. On New-year's day the English landed ten miles to the westward of the town, and, forming into two divisions, made the attack at opposite gates; and to save themselves from the guns of the castle, rushed forward, sword in hand, pellmell, till according to agreement, they met in the market place in the centre of the town, and changed the fight of the Spaniards into precipitate retreat. Here they hastily barricaded themselves, resolved to maintain their post, and confidently expecting an attack. But the Spaniards gave them little trouble. Struck with panic, they next night abandoned the castle to the invaders, and escaped by boats to the other side of the haven. The following day the English strengthened their position, planting the ordnance which they took within their trenches,—and, thus secured, held the place for a month, collecting what plunder was to be found, while they negotiated with the Spaniards for the ransom of the city. The terms were such that the inhabitants were unable to redeem the town; and burning and negotiation went on simultaneously and leisurely. Two hundred seamen, and as many soldiers forming their guard, were employed daily in the work of destruction; but the buildings being lofty piles, substantially constructed of stone, their demolition proved a fatiguing duty to the men; and after much labour, spent with little loss to the enemy and no profit to themselves, the ransom of twenty-five thousand ducats was finally accepted for the safety of what remained of the city. The plunder obtained was very inconsiderable, for the size and imagined riches of the place.

A little episode in the history of this enterprise against St. Domingo deserves notice, as it places the energetic character of Drake in a striking point of view. A negro boy, sent with a flag of truce to the leading people while the negotiation for ransom was pending, was met by some Spanish officers, who furiously struck at him, and afterward pierced him through with a horseman's spear. Dreadfully wounded as he was, the poor boy tried to crawl back to his master, and while relating the cruel



treatment he had received, he fell down and expired in the presence of Drake. The insult offered to his flag of truce, and the barbarous treatment of the lad, roused the captain-general to the highest pitch of indignation. He commanded the provost-marshal, with a guard, to carry two unfortunate monks, who had been made prisoners, to the place where his flag was violated, there to be hanged. Another prisoner shared the same fate; and a message was sent to the Spaniards, announcing that until the persons guilty of this breach of the law of nations were given up, two Spanish prisoners should suffer daily. Next day the offenders were sent in; and, to make their merited punishment the more ignominious and exemplary, their own countrymen were forced to become their executioners.

Among other instances of Spanish boasting and vain-glory recorded by the historians of the voyage, is an account of an escutcheon of the arms of Spain, found in the town-hall of the city, on the lower part of which was a globe, over which was represented a horse rampant, or probably volant, with the legend *Non sufficit orbis*.\* This vaunt gave great offence at this particular time to the national pride of the English, who told the negotiators, that should their queen be pleased resolutely to prosecute the war, instead of the whole globe not satisfying his ambition, Philip would find some difficulty in keeping that portion of it which he already possessed.

Their next attempt was directed against Carthagena, which was bravely defended and gallantly carried, Carlile making the attack on the land side, while Drake's fleet presented itself before the town. The governor, Alonzo Bravo, was made prisoner; and after holding the place for six weeks, and destroying many houses, the trifling ransom of eleven thousand ducats was accepted for the preservation of the rest of the town. The Spaniards might have not got off on such easy terms, but that the fearful pest, the deadly bilious fever, which

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\* The whole world is not enough for us.

has so often proved fatal to English expeditions in the very same locality, now raged in the fleet, and compelled the commanders to revise their plans and lower their demands. About seven hundred men perished in this expedition of the *calentura*\* alone, as the disease, since described by Smollet and Glover and others, was then named. Those who struggled through this frightful malady, if we may fully credit the early accounts, were even more to be pitied than those that sunk under the disease. Though they survived, it was with loss of strength, not soon if ever recovered; and many suffered the decay of memory and impaired judgment; so that, when a man began to talk foolishly and incoherently, it became a common phrase in the fleet to say that such a one had been seized with the calenture.

The design of attempting Nombre de Dios and Panama, "there to strike the stroke for treasure," of which they had hitherto been disappointed, was abandoned in a council of war; and sailing by the coast of Florida, they burnt St. Helena and St. Augustin, two forts and small settlements of the Spaniards, and brought off from Virginia, Mr. Lane, the governor, with the remains of an unfortunate colony sent out under the auspices of Sir Walter Raleigh in the former year.†

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\* The calenture, ague, bilious, and yellow fever,—for by all these names is the Carthagena fever known,—has never been more truly and vividly described than in Roderick Random, and in Smollett's account of the "Expedition against Carthagena," where the sufferings of Drake's expedition were acted over again. In Raynal's History of the Indies, we find the same causes assumed for this fatal distemper to which it was attributed by Drake's company, the pestiferous night-dews of a climate where even the long-continued rains of the wet season never cooled the air, and where the night is as hot as the day. The men on watch were found peculiarly liable to its attacks. Though there is some difference of opinion about the causes of the disease, the symptoms were the same in 1585 as in our own day. "The disease," says Raynal, "manifests itself by vomitings, accompanied by so violent a delirium, that the patient must be confined to prevent him from tearing himself to pieces. He often expires in the midst of these agitations, which seldom last above three or four days." He adds that the fever of Carthagena, like the small-pox and some other diseases, is never taken but once—a point, however, like many others, on which doctors differ in opinion.

† The colony carried home at this time by Drake, with the tobacco which they brought along with them, first, according to Camden, introduced the use of that commodity into Britain, where it now yields about £3,000,000 of yearly revenue. In Virginia they had learned the uses of the herb. It how-

It was in July, 1586, before the armament returned, bringing two hundred brass and forty iron cannon, and about sixty thousand pounds sterling in prize-money, of which twenty thousand pounds sterling was divided among the men, and the remainder allotted to the adventurers. Though the private gains resulting from the expedition were trifling, the dismantling of so many fortresses at the beginning of a war, was a service to the country of no inconsiderable value. It was but the first of many which our navigator performed in its progress.

The next exploit of Drake was wholly for the public service. The rumour of that formidable armament fitted out by Spain to invade England, and first in fear, though afterward in jest, named the Invincible Armada, had spread general alarm. In a noble spirit of patriotism, the merchants of London, at their own expense, fitted out twenty-six vessels of different sizes, to be placed under the command of Drake, to annoy the enemy, and, if possible, frustrate or delay the boasted design of invading England. To this armament the queen added four ships of the royal fleet; and with this considerable force Drake bore for Lisbon, and afterward for the harbour of Cadiz, where he had the good fortune to burn and destroy ten thousand tons burthen of shipping, either destined for the threatened invasion, or subservient to this purpose. Here he remained for a short time, annoying the enemy's galleys, which he destroyed piecemeal, though his great enterprise had been accomplished in one day and two nights. Drake, having thus happily accomplished his public duty, was impelled by gratitude and gallantry to attempt a stroke which might enable him to reward the spirited individuals who had enabled him so essentially to serve their common country. Having private information that the *St. Philip*, a Portuguese carrack from the East Indies, was about this time expected at Terceira, he sailed for the Azores.

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ever still remains undecided whether tobacco was introduced into England by Raleigh or Drake. To Drake the introduction of potatoes is universally ascribed.

Before he fell in with the prize the fleet became short of provisions; but by dint of promises and threats, Drake prevailed with his company to bear up against privations, and soon had the happiness of bringing in triumph to England the richest prize that had ever yet been made, and the first fruits of the numerous captures to which his success soon led the way, both among the Dutch and English. The name of the prize was hailed as an omen of future victory to England. Drake is blamed for discovering undue elation at the close of this triumphant expedition. He is said to have become boastful of his own deeds, though the only ground of charge is gayly describing his bold and gallant service as "burning the Spanish king's beard." But surely this may well be forgiven to the hero who, delaying the threatened Armada for a year, laid the foundation of its final discomfiture.\* Nor were Drake's eminent services to his country limited to warlike operations. In the short interval of leisure which followed this expedition, he brought water into the town of Plymouth, of which it was in great want, from springs eight miles distant, and by a course measuring more than twenty miles.

In the following year his distinguished services received the reward to which they were fully entitled; in his appointment of vice-admiral under Lord Charles Howard, of Effingham, high-admiral of England.

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\* So keenly were the deeds of Drake resented by the court of Spain, even before this great stroke at the maritime power and strength of that country, that, when terror was presumed to be struck into the very heart of the nation, and the queen quailing in dismay, expecting the formidable armament every day to put to sea, the Spanish ambassador had the temerity to propose terms for her acceptance, wrapped up, in the pedantic fashion of the time, in Latin verses, which are thus translated:—

"These to you are our commands:  
Send no help to the Netherlands.  
Of the treasure took by DRAKE,  
Restitution you must make;  
And those abbeyes build anew  
Which your father overthrew."

To this insolent demand the lion-hearted Protestant princess replied in the same vein:

"Worthy king, know this your will  
At Lattar Lammas we'll fulfil."

Drake had hitherto been accustomed to give orders, not to obey them; and his vivacity under command had nearly been productive of serious consequences. Positive information had been received of the sailing of the Invincible Armada, but it was likewise known that the fleet had been dispersed in a violent tempest; and, believing that the attempt would be abandoned at this time, orders were despatched to the lord-high-admiral to send four of his best ships back to Chatham, as the frugal government of Elizabeth grudged the expense of keeping them afloat an hour longer than they were positively required. This order had hardly been given, when Howard was made aware by the information of Thomas Fleming, the captain of an English pinnace, of the close approach of the fleet; and it soon after passed Plymouth, where he lay taking in supplies after cruising on the Spanish coasts looking out for it. It was four in the afternoon of the 19th of July, 1588, when the intelligence of Fleming put the lord-high-admiral upon the alert; and by next day at noon his ships were manned, warped out, and in fighting trim. At the same hour the Spanish fleet came in sight; and on the 21st, Howard, with his greatly inferior force, ventured the attack which, by the blessing of Heaven on the valour and skill of the English, was continued from day to day in various quarters, till the proud Armada was swept from the English channel. On the night of the 21st, Drake, who had been appointed to carry the lantern, forgot this duty, and gave chase to several hulks which were separated from the fleet, and thus so far misled the high-admiral, that, following the Spanish lantern under the idea that it was carried by his own vice-admiral, when day dawned he found himself in the midst of the enemy's ships. The high-admiral instantly extricated himself; and Drake amply atoned for this oversight by the distinguished service performed by his squadron in harassing, capturing, and destroying the Spaniards. On the day following this erring night he performed a memorable action. Among the fleet was a large galleon commanded by Don Pedro de Valdez, a man of illustrious family and high official rank, with whom nearly fifty

noblemen and gentlemen sailed. His ship had been crippled and separated from the fleet, and Howard, in hot pursuit, had passed it, imagining that it was abandoned. There was on board a crew of four hundred and fifty persons; who, when summoned to surrender in the formidable name of Drake, attempted no resistance. Kissing the hand of his conqueror, Don Pedro said, they had resolved to die in battle, had they not experienced the good fortune of falling into the hands of one courteous and gentle, and generous to the vanquished foe; one whom it was doubtful whether his enemies had greater cause to admire and love for his valiant and prosperous exploits, or dread for his great wisdom and good fortune; whom Mars, the god of war, and Neptune, the god of the sea, alike favoured. To merit this high eulogium, Drake behaved with the utmost kindness and politeness to his involuntary guests, who were sent prisoners to England. Two years afterward he received £3500 for their ransom. In the ship 55,000 ducats were found, and liberally divided among the crew. The broken running fight between the fleets was renewed from day to day, and from hour to hour, as the superior sailing of the light English vessels promised advantage, till the Spaniards were driven on that line of conduct which ended in the complete destruction of their mighty armament. In the fight of the 29th, which was desperate on both sides, Drake's ship was pierced with forty shot, two of which passed through his cabin. Of one hundred and thirty-four ships which left the coast of Spain only fifty-three returned.

In the following year Drake, as admiral, commanded the fleet sent to restore Don Antonio of Portugal, while Sir John Norris led the land-forces. Differences arose between the commanders about the best mode of prosecuting their joint enterprise. The failure of Norris' scheme gives probability to the assertion that the plan of operations suggested by Drake would, if followed, have been successful. It is at least certain that the expedition miscarried, which had never happened to any single-handed undertaking in which Drake engaged. Don Antonio, taken out to be made a king by the prow-

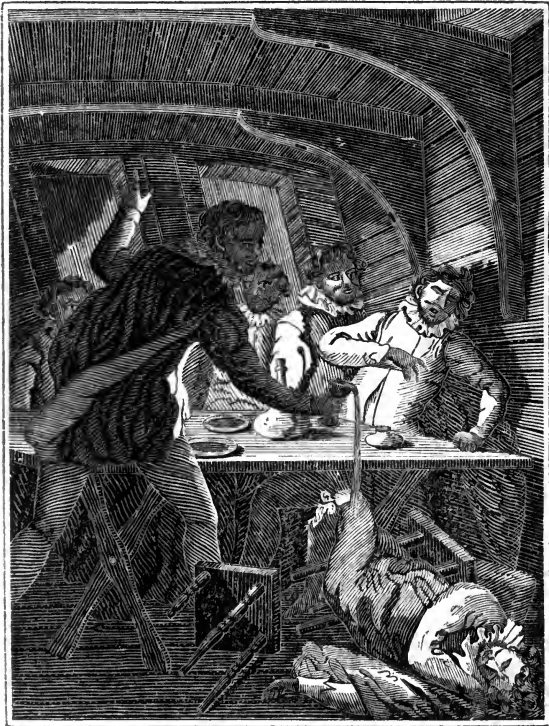
ess of the English, returned as he went. Before the queen and council Drake fully justified his own share of the affair, and the confidence placed in his ability and skill remained undiminished. This was the first check that the fortunes of Drake had ever received,—and it would have been happy for him, it has been said, had he now withdrawn his stake. The principal and fatal error of his succeeding expedition was once more undertaking a joint command.

The war in 1595, though it languished for want of fuel to feed the flame, was not yet giving any prospect of drawing to a conclusion; and, in conjunction with Sir John Hawkins, Drake offered his services in an expedition to the West Indies, to be undertaken on a scale of magnificence which must at once crush the Spanish power in that quarter, where the enemy had already been so often and effectually galled by the same commanders. Elizabeth and her ministers received the proposal with every mark of satisfaction. The fleet consisted of six of the queen's ships and twenty-one private vessels, with a crew, in seamen and soldiers, amounting to 2500 men and boys. They sailed from Plymouth in August, having been detained for some time by the reports of another armada being about to invade England. This rumour was artfully spread to delay the fleet, of which one object was known to be the destruction of *Nombre de Dios* and the plunder of Panama. They had hardly put to sea when the demon of discord, which ever attends conjunct expeditions, appeared in their councils. Sir John Hawkins wished at once to accomplish an object recommended by the queen; but time was lost in an attempt, suggested by Sir Thomas Baskerville, to invade or capture the Canaries, and again at Dominica. All these delays were improved by the enemy in the colonies, in preparing for the reception of the English. A few days before sailing, information had been sent to the fleet of a Spanish galleon richly laden, that had been disabled and separated from those ships which annually brought plate and treasure from the Indies to Spain; and the capture of this vessel was recommended to the com-

manders by the English government as an especial service. The galleon now lay at Porto Rico; but before this time five frigates had been sent by the Spaniards to convey it away in safety. On the 30th of October, Sir John Hawkins made sail from the coast of Dominica where the ships had been careened, and had taken in water; and on the same evening he sustained the misfortune of having the Francis, one of his vessels, captured by the enemy's frigates. This stroke, which appeared fatal to the enterprise, by informing the Spaniards of his approach and putting them on their guard, gave him inexpressible chagrin. He immediately fell sick, and on the 12th of November, when the fleet had got before Porto Rico, died of combined disease and grief. He was succeeded by Sir Thomas Baskerville, who took command in the Garland, the queen's ship in which Hawkins had sailed. The English fleet, meditating an instant attack, now lay within reach of the guns of Porto Rico; and while the officers, on the night of Sir John Hawkins's death, were at supper together, a shot penetrated to the great cabin, drove the stool on which Drake sat from under him, killed Sir Nicolas Clifford, and mortally wounded Mr. Brute Browne and some other officers. An attack, this night decided upon, was attempted next day, with the desperate valour which has ever characterized the maritime assaults of the English. But the enemy were fully prepared; the treasure had been carefully conveyed away, and also the women and children. The fortifications had been repaired and placed in good order; and though the hot impetuous attack of the English inflicted great suffering on the Spaniards, to themselves there remained but a barren victory. After lying two or three days before the place, it was judged expedient to bear off and abandon this enterprise. They stood for the main, where Rio de la Hacha, La Rancheria, and some other places were taken, and, negotiations for their ransom failing, burnt to the ground. The same course was followed with other petty places; but Drake began seriously to find, that while giving the enemy this trifling annoyance, he was gradually reducing his own force without gain-



ing any substantial advantage. His health was injured by this series of disappointments, and from the first misunderstanding with Hawkins his spirits had been affected. On the morning of the assault on Porto Rico, in taking leave of Mr. Brute Browne, then breathing his last, he exclaimed, "Brute, Brute, how heartily could I lament thy fate, but that I dare not suffer my spirits to sink now."



DEATH OF SIR NICOLAS CLIFFORD.

The Spanish towns, from which every thing of value was taken away, were rather abandoned to the occupation than taken by the arms of the English. In this way Santa Martha and Nombre de Dios fell into their hands with scarce a show of resistance. They were

both burnt. On the 29th of December, two days after the capture of Nombre de Dios, Sir Thomas Baskerville, with seven hundred and fifty soldiers, attempted to make his way to Panama through the fatiguing and dangerous passes of the Isthmus of Darien, the Spaniards annoying his whole line of march by a desultory fire of musketry from the woods. At certain passes fortifications had been thrown up to impede their progress; and coming upon these unexpectedly, they were exposed to a sudden fire, by which many fell. About midway the design was abandoned, and the party turned back, still exposed in the retreat to the fire of the Spaniards from the woods. Destitute of provisions, and suffering great privation and fatigue, they returned to the ships depressed and disheartened. This last and most grievous of the train of disappointments that had followed Drake throughout an expedition from which the nation expected so much, and wherein he had embarked much of his fortune and risked his high reputation, threw the admiral into a lingering fever, accompanied by a flux, under which he languished for three weeks. He expired while the fleet lay off Porto Bello. The death of Admiral Drake took place on the 28th of January, 1596, and in his fifty-first year. His remains were placed in a leaden coffin, and committed to the deep with all the pomp attending naval obsequies. Unsuccessful as his latest enterprises had been, his death was universally lamented by the nation. The tenderness of pity was now mingled with admiration of the genius and valour of this great man, "whose memory will survive as long as the world lasts, which he first surrounded."

Drake is described as low in stature, but extremely well made; with a broad chest and a round compact head. His complexion was fair and sanguine; his countenance open and cheerful, with large and lively eyes; his beard full, and his hair of a light brown. The portrait prefixed to this life gives the idea of a man of that prompt and decided character which Sir Francis Drake discovered in every action of his life. From the lowest point and rudiments of his art, Drake was a thorough-bred seaman, able in his own person to dis-

charge every duty of a ship, even to attending the sick and dressing the wounded. In repairing and watering his ships, as readily as in what are esteemed higher offices, he at all times bore an active part; and to his zealous superintendence and co-operation in these subordinate duties, much of the facility and celerity of his movements, and of his consequent success, is to be attributed. The sciences connected with navigation, as they were then known, he thoroughly understood, and particularly that of astronomy. Whatever he attempted on his own judgment, without being controlled by the opinions of others, he accomplished with success. He has been charged with ambition; but it is well remarked, that no man's ambition ever took a happier direction for his country. His example did more to advance the maritime power and reputation of England than that of all the navigators who preceded him. He indicated or led the way to several new sources of trade, and opened the career of commercial prosperity which his countrymen are still pursuing. Among the many natural gifts of this lowly-born seaman, was a ready and graceful eloquence. He was fond of amassing wealth, but in its distribution was liberal and bountiful. Among other deeds of enlightened benevolence was his establishment, in conjunction with Sir John Hawkins, of the **CHEST** at Chatham for the relief of aged or sick seamen, by the honourable means of their own early providence. Drake sat in two parliaments,—in the first for a Cornish borough, and in the next for the town of Plymouth in the thirty-fifth of Elizabeth. Though often described as a bachelor, it is ascertained that he married the daughter and sole heiress of Sir George Sydenham, of Coombe Sydenham in Devonshire, who survived him. He left no children, but bequeathed his landed estate to his nephew Francis Drake, afterward created a baronet by James the First.



## THOMAS CAVENDISH,

THE SECOND ENGLISH CIRCUMNAVIGATOR.

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THOMAS CAVENDISH the second Englishman that circumnavigated the globe, was of an ancient and honourable family of Suffolk, the ancestor of which had come into England with the Conqueror. From his residence near a maritime town he is said to have imbibed an early inclination to the sea.

His father died while Cavendish was still a minor; and coming early into the possession of his patrimony he is reported to have squandered it "in gallantry, and following the court," and to have been compelled to embrace the nobler pursuits to which his subsequent years were devoted to redeem his shattered fortunes,

Though the relations of his voyages are ample and complete, very little is known of his personal history. In the year 1585, he accompanied Sir Richard Grenville's expedition to Virginia, in a vessel equipped at his own expense. This voyage, undertaken to plant the unfortunate colony which was brought home by Sir Francis Drake in 1586, was both profitless and difficult; but it enabled Cavendish to obtain nautical experience, and in its progress he had seen the Spanish West India settlements, and conversed with some of those who had accompanied Drake into the South Sea. The youthful ambition of Cavendish was thus roused to emulate the glory of so eminent a navigator in this rich and newly-opened field of enterprise.

Grenville's fleet, which sailed for Virginia in April, returned in October, and from the wrecks of his fortune, and the remains of his credit, Mr. Cavendish, in six months afterward, had equipped a small squadron for his projected voyage. While the carpenters were at work he procured every draught, map, chart, and history of former navigations that might be useful to him; and having, through the patronage or recommendation of Lord Hunsdon, procured the queen's commission, he sailed from Plymouth on the 21st of July, 1586. His light squadron consisted of the *Desire*, a vessel of one hundred and twenty tons burthen, in which he sailed himself as admiral and commander of the expedition; the *Content* of sixty tons; and the *Hugh Gallant*, a light bark of forty tons. A crew of one hundred and twenty-three soldiers, seamen, and officers manned this little fleet, which was provided with every requisite for a long voyage, in latitudes with which the navigation of Drake had now made the English somewhat familiar.

If so much interest is still awakened by the maritime undertakings of contemporary navigators, who set out in a familiar track under the guidance of former experience and observation, with the advantage of instruments nearly perfect, and with all appliances and means to boot, how much more must attach to the relation of the adventures of one who, like Cavendish, could have no hope or dependence save in his own capacity and courage!

The squadron first touched at Sierra Leone, where the conduct of the young commander was not wholly blameless. On a Sunday part of the ships' company went on shore, and spent the day in dancing and amusing themselves with the friendly negroes, their secret object being to gain intelligence of a Portuguese vessel that lay in the harbour, and which Cavendish intended to capture. This was found impracticable, and next day the English landed to the number of seventy, and made

an attack on the town, of which they burnt one hundred and fifty houses, almost the whole number, and plundered right and left. It was but little that they found. The negroes fled at their landing, but on their retreat shot poisoned arrows at the marauders from the shelter of the woods. This African village is described as neatly built, enclosed by mud walls, and kept, both houses and streets, in the cleanest manner. The yards were paled in, and the town was altogether trim and comfortable, exhibiting signs of civilization, of which at this point the slave-trade subsequently destroyed every trace. A few days afterward a party of the sailors landed to wash linen; and repeating the visit next day, a number of negroes lying in ambush in the woods nearly surprised and cut them off. A soldier died of a shot from a poisoned arrow; though the case as described appears more like mortification of the parts than the effects of poison. Several of the men were wounded, but none mortally save the soldier. On the 3d of September, a party went some miles up the river in a boat, caught a store of fish, and gathered a supply of lemons for the fleet, which sailed on the 6th. No reason is assigned for the unprovoked devastation on this coast, save "the bad dealing of negroes with all Christians."

On the 16th of December the squadron made the coast of America, in  $47\frac{1}{3}^{\circ}$  S. The land, stretching west, was seen at the distance of six leagues, and next day the fleet anchored in a harbour in  $48^{\circ}$  S. This harbour they named Port Desire, in honour of the admiral's ship. Seals were found here of enormous size, which in the forepart of their body resembled lions; their young was found delicate food, equal, to the taste of the seamen, to lamb or mutton. Sea-birds were also found in great plenty, of which the description given seems to apply to the penguin. In this excellent harbour the ships' bottoms were careened. On the 24th of December, Christmas-eve, a man and boy belonging to the *Content* went on shore to wash their linen, when they were suddenly surrounded and shot at by fifty or more Indians. Cavendish pursued with a small party, but the natives escaped. "They are as wild as ever was a buck," says an old voyager, "as they seldom or ever see any Christians." Their footprints were measured, and found to be eighteen inches in length. The squadron left Port Desire on the 28th, and halted at an island three leagues off, to cure and store the penguins that had been taken. On the 30th, standing to sea, they passed a rock about fifty miles from the harbour they had left, which resembled the Eddystone Rock near Plymouth. About the first day of the year they saw several capes, to which no names are given, and on the 6th, with-

out further preparation, entered Magellan's Straits, which the Spaniards had lately attempted to fortify and colonize. At twilight the squadron anchored near the first Angostura; and in the night lights were observed on the north side of the strait, which were supposed to be signals. Recognition was made by lights from the ships, and a boat was sent off in the morning, to which three men on the shore made signs by waving a handkerchief. These were part of the survivors of a wretched Spanish colony.

The history of the misfortunes and sufferings of the first settlers in different parts of America would make one of the most melancholy volumes that ever was penned; nor could any portion of it prove more heart-rending than that which should record the miseries of this colony, left by Pedro Sarmiento in the Straits of Magellan. It may be recollected, that on the appearance of Drake on the coast of Peru, this commander was despatched by the viceroy to intercept the daring interloper on his return by the straits. Sarmiento afterward bestowed much pains in examining the western shores of Patagonia and the coast of Chili, and the many inlets, labyrinths, and intricate channels of the islands and broken lands of Terra del Fuego, which, as he conjectured, must communicate with the Straits of Magellan by one or more passages. After a long time had thus been consumed fruitlessly he entered the straits, and passed through eastward in about a month, minutely examining the coast on both sides. When this discoverer reached Spain, his exaggerated statements, the desire of checking the progress of the English in this quarter, and an apprehension that they were preparing to seize this master-key to the South Seas (the passage by the Cape of Good Hope being still monopolized by the Portuguese, and that by Cape Horn not yet discovered,) induced Philip to listen to the proposals of Sarmiento, an enthusiast in the cause, and to colonize and fortify this important outlet of his American dominions. A powerful armament of twenty-three ships, with thirty-five hundred men, destined for different points of South America, was in the first place to establish the new colony. This expedition, undertaken on so magnificent a scale, was from first to last unfortunate. While still on the coast of Spain, from which the fleet sailed on the 25th of September, 1581, five of the ships were wrecked in a violent gale, and eight hundred men perished. The whole fleet put back, and sailed a second time in December. Misfortunes followed in a thick train. Sickness thinned their numbers; and at Rio Janeiro, where they wintered, many of the intended settlers deserted. Some of the ships became leaky, the bottoms of others were attacked by

worms, and a large vessel, containing most of the stores of the colonists of the straits, sprung a leak at sea, and before assistance could be obtained went down, three hundred and thirty men and twenty of the settlers perishing in her. Three times was Sarmiento driven back to the Brazils before he was able to accomplish his purpose; and it was February, 1584, before he at last arrived in the strait and was able to land the colonists. Nor did his ill fortune close here. His consort, *Riviera*, either wilfully abandoned him, or was forced from his anchorage by stress of weather. He stood for Spain, carrying away the greater part of the remaining stores which were to sustain the people through the rigour of the winter of the south, which was now commencing, and until they were able to raise crops and obtain provisions. The foundation of a town was laid, which was named *San Felipe*; and bastions and wooden edifices were constructed. Another city, named *Nombre de Jesus*, was commenced. - These stations were in favourable points of the straits, and at the distance of about seventy miles from each other. In the mean while the southern winter set in with uncommon severity. In April snow fell incessantly for fifteen days. Sarmiento, who, after establishing the colonists at these two points, intended to go to Chili for provisions, was driven from his anchors in a gale, and forced to seek his own safety in the Brazils, leaving the settlers without a ship. He has been accused of intentionally abandoning this helpless colony, which he was the instrument of establishing, and of which he was also the governor. The accusation appears unjust, as he made many subsequent efforts for its relief, which his ill fortune rendered abortive. The governors at the different settlements at length refused to afford further assistance to a project which had lost the royal favour; and in returning to Spain to solicit aid, Sarmiento was captured by three ships belonging to Sir Walter Raleigh,—luckily, in all probability, for himself, as the indignation of King Philip at the failure of so expensive and powerful an expedition, and at the misrepresentations of this officer, might not have been easily appeased. Of the wretched colonists, about whom neither old Spain nor her American settlements gave themselves any further trouble, many died of famine and cold during the first winter. The milder weather of the spring and summer allowed a short respite of misery, and afforded the hope of the return of Sarmiento, or some ship with provisions and clothing. But the year wore away, and no vessel appeared, and the colonists at *San Felipe*, in their despair, contrived to build two boats, in which all that remained alive, fifty men and five women, embarked, with the hope of getting out of the straits. One of their boats



was wrecked, and the design was abandoned, as there were no seamen among their number, nor any one capable of conducting the perilous navigation. Their crops all failed; the natives molested them; and out of four hundred men and thirty women landed by Sarmiento, only fifteen men and three women survived when Mr. Cavendish entered the straits. In San Felipe many lay dead in their houses and in their clothes, the survivors not having strength to bury them; and along the shores, where these miserable beings wandered, trying to pick up a few shellfish or herbs, they often came upon the body of a deceased companion who had perished of famine, or of the diseases caused by extreme want.

It was, as has been said, part of these forlorn wanderers whom Cavendish saw on the morning after he entered the straits. A passage to Peru was offered them, but they at first hesitated to trust the English heretics; though afterward, when willing to accept the generous offer, their resolution came too late; and before they could be mustered, a fair wind offering, Cavendish sailed on, having tantalized these wretched Spaniards with hopes which the safety of his own crew in this precarious navigation, and the success of his expedition, did not permit him to fulfil. The offer had likewise been made in ignorance of their numbers. If Cavendish be blamed for abandoning these wretched victims to their fate, what shall be said of the nation which, having sent out this colony, left it to perish of famine and cold! One Spaniard was brought off, named Tome' Hernandez, who became the historian of the miserable colony of the straits.

The squadron of Cavendish, after passing both the Angosturas, as the Spaniards named the narrowest points of the straits, anchored first at the island of Santa Magdalena, where in two hours they killed and salted two pipes full of penguins; and afterward at San Felipe, the now desolate station of the Spanish colonists, some of whom the English found still lying in their houses, "where they had died like dogs." Here they brought on board six pieces of ordnance which the settlers had buried. This place Cavendish named Port Famine; it was found to be in 53° S. On the 22d a few natives were seen; but the Spaniard, Hernandez, cautioned the English against all intercourse, representing them as a treacherous people,—a character which European knives and swords seen in their possession, converted into darts, confirmed; and when they again approached, Cavendish carried his precautions to so extravagant a length as to order a discharge of muskets, by which many of them were killed, and the rest took to flight, certainly not corrected of their bad propensities by this harsh

discipline. They were represented as cannibals, who had preyed upon the Spanish colonists, and this excused all wrong.

For the next three weeks the fleet lay in a sheltered port, unable to enter the South Sea from a continuance of strong westerly wind; but on the 24th of February, after a favourable though a tedious passage, they finally emerged from the straits. To the south was a fair high cape with a point of low land adjoining it,—on the other side several islands with much broken ground around them, at about six leagues off from the mainland. On the 1st of March the stormy Spirit of the Straits, which no fleet ever wholly escaped, overtook Cavendish; and the Hugh Gallant was separated from the larger vessels, one of which was found so leaky that the crew were completely exhausted in working the pumps for three days and nights without ceasing. On the 15th the Hugh Gallant rejoined her consorts at the Isle of Mocha, on the coast of Chili: they were here taken for Spaniards, and landing on the main experienced but a rough reception from the Indians, who bore no good-will to the natives of Spain. But a similar mistake sometimes operated to their advantage; and next day, when the captain with a party of seventy men landed at the island of Santa Maria, they were received as Spaniards, with all kindness and humility, by the principal people of the island; and a store of wheat, barley, and potatoes, ready prepared, and presumed by the voyagers to be a tribute to the conquerors, was unscrupulously appropriated. To this the islanders added presents of hogs, dried dogfish, fowls, and maize, and received in return an entertainment on board the captain's ship. These Indians are represented as being in such subjection, that not one of them durst eat a hen or hog of his own rearing, all being sacred to their taskmasters, who had, however, made the whole of the islanders Christians. When they came to understand that their guests were not Spaniards, it was believed that they attempted to invite them to an assault upon their enslavers; but for want of an interpreter their meaning was imperfectly comprehended. The squadron, thus refreshed at the expense of the Spaniards, sailed on the 18th, but overshot Valparaiso, at which place they intended to halt. On the 30th they anchored in the Bay of Quintero, seven leagues to the north of Valparaiso. A herdsman asleep on a hill-side awaking, and perceiving three strange ships in the bay, caught a horse grazing beside him, and fled to spread the alarm. Cavendish, unable to prevent this untoward movement, landed with a party of thirty men, and Hernandez, the Spaniard whom he had brought from the straits, and who made strong protestation of fidelity. Three armed horsemen appeared, as if come

to reconnoitre. With these Hernandez conferred, and reported that they agreed to furnish as much provision as the English required. A second time the interpreter was despatched to a conference; but on this occasion, forgetting all his vows of fidelity to his benefactors, he leaped up behind one of his countrymen, and they sat off at a round gallop, leaving Cavendish to execrate Spanish bad faith. The English filled some of their water casks, and attempted in vain to obtain a shot at the wild cattle, which were seen grazing in great herds. Next day a party of from fifty to sixty marched into the interior in the hope of discovering some Spanish settlement. They did not see one human being, native nor European, though they travelled till arrested by the mountains. The country was fruitful and well watered with rivulets, and abounded in herds of cattle and horses, and with hares, rabbits, and many kinds of wild-fowl. They also saw numerous wild dogs. The party did not sleep on shore. The boats were sent next day for water, which was found a quarter of a mile from the beach. While the seamen were employed in filling the casks, they were suddenly surprised by a party of two hundred horsemen, who came pouncing down upon them from the heights, and cut off twelve of the party, some of whom were killed, and the rest made prisoners. The remainder were rescued by the soldiers, who ran from the rocks to support their unsuspecting comrades, and killed twenty-four of the Spaniards. Notwithstanding this serious misadventure, Cavendish, keeping strict watch and ward, remained here till the watering was completed. Of the nine prisoners snatched off in this affray, it was afterward learned that six were executed at Santiago as pirates, though they sailed with the queen's commission, and though the nation to which they belonged was at open war with Spain.

The discipline which the Spaniards had taught the natives was again found of use to our navigators, who, after leaving Quintero, came on the 15th to Morro Moreno, or the Brown Mountain, where the Indians, on their landing, met them with loads of wood and water, which they had carried on their backs down the rocks. These slaves of the Spaniards were found to be a very degraded race, almost at the lowest point in the scale of civilization. Their dwellings consisted of a few sticks placed across two stakes stuck in the ground, on which a few boughs were laid. Skins spread on the floor gave a higher idea of comfort. Their food consisted of raw putrid fish; yet their fishing-canoes were constructed with considerable ingenuity. They were made of skins "like bladders." Each boat consisted of two of these skins, which were inflated by means of quills, and sewed or laced together with gut, so

as to be perfectly water-tight. In these they fished, paying large tribute of their spoils to their conquerors. When any one died, his bows and arrows, canoes, and all his personal property, were buried along with him, as the English verified by opening a grave.

On the 23d a vessel, with a cargo of Spanish wine, was captured near Arica, and also a small bark, the crew of which escaped in their boat. This vessel was permanently added to the squadron, and named the *George*. Another large ship, captured in the road of Arica, proved but a worthless prize, the cargo having been previously taken away, and the ship deserted by the crew. A design of landing and storming the town was abandoned, as, before the squadron could be mustered, the Spaniards were apprized of their danger, and prepared to stand on the defensive. A third vessel was taken close by the town; and the English squadron and the batteries even exchanged a few harmless shots; after which Cavendish, in hopes of relieving some of the English prisoners made at Quintero, sent in a flag of truce inviting the Spaniards to redeem their vessels; but proposals of this nature were, by order of the viceroy at Lima, in all cases rejected.

On the 25th, while the squadron still rode before the town, a vessel from the southward was perceived coming into the port. Cavendish sent out his pinnace to seize this bark, while the townspeople endeavored from the shore to make the crew sensible of their danger. They understood the signals, and rowed in among the rocks, while a party of horsemen advanced from the town to protect the crew and passengers. Among these were several monks, who had a very narrow escape. The deserted vessel, when searched, afforded nothing of value; and, burning their prizes, early on the 26th they bore away northward from Arica. Next day a small vessel, despatched from Santiago, with intelligence to the viceroy that an English squadron,—probably Drake himself,—was upon the coast, was captured. Great severity was used to make the crew reveal the nature of their despatches, which were thrown overboard while the English gave chase. They had solemnly sworn not to tell their errand; but their fidelity was barely proof against the torture to which Cavendish thought it necessary to subject them to extort their secret. An old Fleming, whom he threatened to hang, and actually caused to be hoisted up, stood the test, and chose rather to die than to perjure himself by betraying his trust. At last one of the Spaniards confessed: and, burning the vessel, Cavendish carried the crew along with him, as the safest way to prevent tale-telling. In this vessel was found a Greek pilot well acquainted with the coast of Chili.

On the 3d of May they landed at a small Spanish town, where they obtained a supply of bread, wine, figs, and fowls. This cruise was continued for a fortnight, and several prizes were made, from which needful supplies were obtained; but none that afforded the species of wealth which the captors valued. On the 20th they landed at Païta, to the amount of seventy men, took the town, drove out the inhabitants, and continued the pursuit till they came to the place whither the townspeople had conveyed their most valuable goods. Here they found twenty-five pounds of silver, with other costly commodities. Cavendish, however, expecting an attack, had the prudence not to allow his men to encumber themselves with much spoil on their return to the ships. The town, which was regularly built and very clean, consisted of two hundred houses. It was burnt to the ground, with goods to the value of five or six thousand pounds. A ship in the harbour was also burnt, and the fleet held a course northward, and anchored at the island of Puna, in a good harbour. A Spanish sloop of two hundred and fifty tons burthen, which they found here, was sunk. They landed forthwith at the dwelling of the cacique, who was found living in a style of elegance and even magnificence rarely seen among the native chiefs. His house stood near the town, by the water's edge, and contained many handsome apartments, with verandas commanding fine prospects seaward and landward. The chief had married a beautiful Spanish woman, who was regarded as the queen of the island. She never set her foot upon the ground, holding it "too low a thing for her," but was carried abroad on men's shoulders in a sort of palanquin, with a canopy to shelter her from the sun and wind, and attended by native ladies and the principal men of the island. The cacique and his lady fled on the first approach of the English, carrying with them 100,000 crowns, which, from the information of a captive scout, were ascertained to have been in their possession. Induced by the information of the Indian captive, Cavendish landed on the main with an armed party, intending to surprise the fugitives; but they once more fled, leaving the meat roasting at their fires, and their treasures could not be discovered. In a small neighbouring island the cacique had previously for safety deposited his most valuable furniture and goods, consisting of hangings of Cordovan leather, richly painted and gilded, with the tackling of ships, nails, spikes, &c., of which the English took a large supply. At Puna sail-cloth from sea-grass was manufactured for the use of the ships in the South Sea. The island was about the size of the Isle of Wight, and contained several towns,—the principal one, near which was the cacique's

palace, consisted of two hundred houses, with a large church. This the English burnt down, carrying away the bells.

The Indian chief of Puna had been baptized previous to his marriage, and the Indians were all obliged to attend mass. Adjoining the dwelling of the cacique was a fine garden laid out in the European style, with a fountain. In it were cotton-plants, fig-trees, pomegranates, and many varieties of herbs and fruits. An orchard, with lemons, oranges, &c., ornamented the other side of this pleasant dwelling, the under part of which consisted of a large hall, in which goods of all kinds were promiscuously stored. Cattle and poultry were seen in great abundance, with pigeons, turkeys, and ducks of unusual size. Though the general, both from personal observation and report, was aware that a force was to be sent against him from Guayaquil, he hauled up his ship to have her bottom cleaned, keeping vigilant watch in the chief's house, where the English had established their head-quarters.

The ship was again afloat, and the squadron about to sail. when, by one of those mischances which prove the danger of indulging for a single moment in false security, the English suffered a severe loss. On the 2d of June, before weighing anchor, a party were permitted to straggle about the town to amuse themselves and forage for provisions. Thus scattered, they were suddenly assailed in detached groups by a hundred armed Spaniards; and of the twenty thus dispersed, seven were killed, three made prisoners, and two drowned, while eight escaped. Forty-six Spaniards and Indians fell in this skirmish. Cavendish immediately landed with an armed band, drove the Spanish soldiers from the town, and burnt it completely down, together with four ships then building. He also destroyed the gardens and orchards. Persisting in maintaining his ground, Cavendish next day laid up the other ship to be careened, and did not sail till the 5th, when they went to Rio Dolce, where they watered. Here they sunk the *Hugh Gallant*, all the hands being now required for the other vessels. They also sent on shore their Indian prisoners, and, without touching at any other land, held a northerly course for nearly a month. On the 9th of July, they captured a new ship of one hundred and twenty tons, which, first taking away her ropes and sails, they immediately burnt. In this vessel was a Frenchman, Michael Sancius, who gave information of the Manilla ship then expected from the Philippines. This was a prize worth looking after; and they were so far fortunate as to intercept a small bark sent to give her warning. On the 27th, by daybreak, they entered the harbour of Guatulco, and burnt the town, the church, and custom-house, in which was

found a quantity of die-stuffs and cocoas. Some trifling adventures marked the following day, in which they by mistake over-sailed Acapulco. Landing at Puerto de Navidad, they burnt two ships, each of two hundred tons, then on the stocks, and made prisoner of a mulatto who carried letters of advice of their progress along the coast of New Galicia. In this manner they proceeded northward, often landing small detachments, and spreading alarm along the shores. On the 8th they came into the bay of Chacalla, (supposed Compostella,) described as being eighteen leagues from Cape de los Corrientes, and to a harbour presumed to be that known in modern geography as San Blas. Next morning an officer with forty men, and Michael Sancier as their conductor, marched two leagues into the interior, by "a most villanous and desert path through the woods and wilderness," and came to a place where they found three Spanish families, a carpenter of the same nation, a Portuguese, and a few Indians. Their ordinary mode of proceeding on such occasions is told in few words:—"We bound them all, and made them to come to the seaside with us." The general, however, set the women free; and on their bringing to the ships a supply of pine-apples, lemons, and oranges, allowed their husbands to depart, as there was nothing to be obtained from them. The carpenter and the Portuguese were kept, and next day the fleet sailed. On the 12th of September they reached the isle of St. Andrew, where they laid in a store of wood and of dried and salted wild-fowl. Seals were also found, and iguanas,—a species "of serpent with four feet and a long sharp tail, strange to them who have not seen them," but which, nevertheless, made very palatable food to the keen appetites of seamen. In their frequent exigencies these hardy voyagers never scrupled to act upon the opinion of the old Symeron chief in the Isthmus of Darien. When Drake, with the natural disgust of an Englishman, showed some tokens of aversion to otter's flesh, the Indian is reported to have thus addressed him:—"Are you a warrior, and in want, and yet doubt if that be food which hath blood in it!"

On the 24th of September they put into the Bay of Mazatlan, and at an island a league to the northward careened the ships, new-built the pinnace, and by digging deep in the sands found water, of which they stood much in need; as without this seasonable supply they must have been compelled to turn back, and thus might have missed their prey.

The squadron sailed from this island on the night of the 9th of October for the Cape of St. Lucas, which was made on the 14th. Here they lay in wait for the anticipated prize, cruising

about the headland, without going far off, till the 4th of November, on the morning of which day the trumpeter from the masthead descried a sail bearing in for the cape. Chase was immediately given, and continued for some hours, when the English came up with the *Santa Anna*, gave her a broadside, poured in a volley of musketry, and prepared to board. The attempt was bravely repelled by the Spaniards, who courageously repulsed the assailants with the loss of two men killed and five wounded. The most formidable weapons of the Spaniards were stones, which, from behind their protecting barricades, they hurled upon the boarders. "But we new-trimmed our sails," says the early relation, "and fitted every man his furniture, and gave them a fresh encounter with our great ordnance, and also with our small shot, raking them through and through, to the killing and wounding many of their men. Their captain still, like a valiant man, with his company stood very stoutly into his close fights, not yielding as yet. Our general, encouraging his men afresh with the whole voice of trumpets, gave them the other encounter with our great ordnance and all our small shot, to the great discouragement of our enemies, raking them through in divers places, killing and wounding many of their men. They being thus discouraged and spoiled, and their ship being in hazard of sinking by reason of the great shot which were made, whereof some were under water, within five or six hours' fight sent out a flag of truce and parleyed for mercy, desiring our general to save their lives and to take their goods, and that they would presently yield. Our general of his goodness promised them mercy, and called them to strike their sails, and to hoise out their boat, and come on board; which news they were full glad to hear of, and presently struck their sails, hoisted out their boat, and one of their chief merchants came on board unto our general, and, falling down upon his knees, offered to have kissed our general's feet, and craved mercy. Our general graciously pardoned both him and the rest, upon promise of their true dealing with him and his company concerning such riches as were in the ship; and sent for their captain and pilot, who at their coming used the like duty and reverence as the former did. The general, out of his great mercy and humanity, promised their lives and good usage."

The *Santa Anna* was a prize worth the trouble bestowed in securing her. She was of seven hundred tons burden, and the property of the King of Spain. Besides a rich cargo of silks, satins, damasks, wine, preserved fruit, musk, &c., there were on board 122,000 pesos in gold. The provision made for the passengers was also of the best kind, and afforded luxuries to



the English ships' companies to which they had hitherto been strangers. Cavendish carried his prize into a bay within Cape Lucas, named by the Spaniards Aguada Segura, or The Safe Watering-place, where he landed the crew and passengers to the number of a hundred and ninety persons, among whom were some females.

The captain-general deemed it impolitic to allow these persons to proceed direct to New Spain, and the place on which he landed them afforded water, wood, fish, fowl, and abundance of hares and rabbits. He presented them with part of the ship's stores, with wine, and with the sails of their dismantled vessel, to construct tents for their shelter. He also gave the seamen weapons for their defence against the natives, and planks, of which they might build a bark to convey the whole party to the settlements.

Among the passengers by the *Santa Anna* were two lads, natives of Japan, who could both read and write their own language, and three boys from Manilla. These, with a Portuguese who had been in Canton, the Philippines, and the islands of Japan, Cavendish carried with him, and also a Spanish pilot.

The division of the spoils occasioned great discontent, particularly among the crew of the vice-admiral's ship, who imagined that Cavendish favoured the company of the *Desire*. But the dissatisfaction was apparently suppressed, and by the 17th of November, "the queen's day," all business being completed, a few hours were devoted by the loyal English to gayety and festivity; and a discharge of the great guns and a display of fireworks proclaimed to these lonely shores the glory of Elizabeth of England. As the completion of their rejoicing, the *Santa Anna*, with all of her goods that could not be stowed into the English ships, was set on fire, and left burning; and firing a parting salute to the deserted Spaniards, the *Desire* and the *Content* bore away for England, which, before they could again arrive at, so much of the circumference of the globe must be traversed. Before coming to St. Lucas, the *George*, the Spanish prize, had been abandoned; and now, in coming out of the bay, the *Content* lagged astern, and was never again seen by her consort.

The *Desire*, thus left alone, as the *Golden Hind* had been before her, holding her solitary course across the Pacific, on the 3d of January, 1588, came in sight of Guahan, one of the Ladrões. For forty-five days the English had enjoyed fair winds, and had sailed a distance roughly estimated at between seventeen and eighteen hundred leagues. When within five or six miles of Guahan, fifty or more canoes full of people came

off to meet the ship, bringing the commodities with which they were now in the habit of supplying the Spaniards, namely, fish, potatoes, plantains, and cocoas, which were exchanged for pieces of iron. This traffic was plied so eagerly that it became troublesome; and Cavendish, who was never distinguished for patience or forbearance, with five of his men, fired to drive the natives back from the ship. They dived so nimbly to evade the shot, that it could not be ascertained what execution was done. The people here were of tawny complexion, corpulent, and of taller stature than ordinary-sized Englishmen. Their hair was long, but some wore it tied up in one or two knots on the crown of the head. The construction of their canoes greatly excited the admiration of the English seamen, formed, as they were, without any "edge-tool." These canoes were from six to seven yards in length, but very narrow, and moulded in the same way at prow and stern. They had square and triangular sails of cloth made of bulrushes, and were ornamented with head figures carved in wood, "like unto images of the Devil." They appeared in the canoes entirely naked, and were dexterous divers and excellent swimmers.

On the 14th of January the *Desire* made Cape Spirito Santo, the first point of the Philippines which was seen; and on the same night entered the strait now named the Strait of San Bernardino. Next morning they came to anchor in a fine bay and safe harbour in the island then named Capul. Though the Spanish settlement at Manilla was still comparatively recent, it had risen and flourished so rapidly that it was already become a place of great wealth and commercial importance. Besides the annual fleet to New Spain, it possessed a very considerable trade with China and the Indian islands in the most valuable commodities. The people with whom Manilla enjoyed this trade, and particularly a people they name the Sanguelos, are described by the voyagers as "of great genius and invention in handicrafts and sciences; every one so expert, perfect, and skilful in his faculty, as few or no Christians are able to go beyond them in that they take in hand. For drawing and embroidery upon satin, silk, or lawn, either beast, fowl, fish, or worm; for liveliness and perfectness, both in silk, silver, gold, and pearl, they excel."

As soon as the *Desire* came to anchor off Capul, one of the chiefs, of whom there were seven in the island, came on board, presuming the ship to be Spanish. His people brought a supply of potatoes, which they called camotaes, and green cocoas. The rate of exchange, or the prices, would now be thought high. A yard of linen was given for four cocoas, and the same quantity for about a quart of potatoes. These

roots were thought good either boiled or roasted, and were much relished by the crew. The cacique was "carved" (tattooed) in various streaks and devices. He was requested to remain on board, and a message of invitation being sent to the other chiefs, they also repaired to the ship, bringing hogs and hens to exchange. The rate which was uniform was, for a hog eight ryals of plate, and for a fowl one. This trade went on all day, and the ship, after her long run, was well supplied with refreshments. On the same night a fortunate discovery was made by the Portuguese taken out of the Santa Anna on account of his knowledge of the Philippines and of China. The Spanish Pilot had, it appeared, prepared a letter, which he hoped secretly to convey to the governor at Manilla, informing him of the English ship, which it would not be difficult to surprise and overpower. If this vessel was allowed to escape with impunity, he pointed out that the settlement might next year be taken by those who had now the audacity with so small a force to approach its vicinity. He described in what manner the English ship might be taken where she now rode. This crime, or act of patriotism, was clearly brought home to the pilot, who was next morning hanged for doing his duty to his native country and sovereign.

Cavendish remained here nine days for the refreshment of the ship's company, and to obtain a store of provisions. Some singular customs are ascribed to the natives of Capul. They practised circumcision. By an opinion, not rare "of the heathen" in those days, nor yet altogether exploded among persons better instructed than the early navigators, the islanders are alleged to have "wholly worshipped the Devil, and oftentimes to have conference with him, who appeareth unto them in a most ugly, monstrous shape." On the 23d of January the captain-general caused the seven chiefs of this island, "and of a hundred islands more," to appear before him, and pay him tribute in hogs, poultry, cocoas, and potatoes; at which ceremony he informed them of his country, spread the banner of England from his masthead, and sounded the drums and trumpets. Due homage and submission were made to the representative of England, and the enemy of Spain; and this being all that was required, the value of the tribute was paid back to the natives in money. The Indians, at parting, promised to assist the English in conquering the Spaniards at any future time; and, to amuse their new friends, showed feats of swift rowing round the ship. The general fired off a piece of ordnance as a farewell, and the new tributaries went away contented and pleased. The "hundred islands more" look like a flourish of the narrator, thickly

as islands are clustered together at this place. Next day they ran along the coast of Manilla, and on the 28th chased a frigate, which escaped into some inlet. Chase was given by the boat in those places which were so shallow that the ship could not approach. The crew was afterward shot at by a party of Spanish soldiers from the shore; and a frigate was manned by them and sent in pursuit, which chased the English boat till within reach of the guns of the *Desire*. The boat's crew had previously made a Spaniard prisoner, whom they found in a canoe from which the natives escaped; and next day Cavendish sent a message by him to the captain of the Spanish party, who at different stations kept watch along the coast, desiring that officer to provide a good store of gold, as he intended to visit him at Manilla in a few years, and, if his boat had been larger, would have visited him then.

About the middle of February Mr. Cavendish passed near the Moluccas, but did not touch at these islands. Fever now visited the ship's company, which had hitherto been very healthy; but only two of the men died, and one of these had long been sick, so that his death could not be attributed to the climate and the excessive heat which occasioned the illness of the others. On the 1st of March the *Desire* passed through the straits at the west end of Java Minor, and on the 5th anchored in a bay at the west end of Java Major. A negro found in the *Santa Anna* was able to converse with some natives who were here found fishing. Through this interpreter, who spoke the Morisco or Arabic language, they were informed that provisions might be obtained; and in a few days afterward two or three canoes arrived laden with fowls, eggs, fresh fish, oranges, and limes. That the ship might be more conveniently victualled they stood in nearer the town, and were visited by the king's secretary, who brought the general a present, including, among other things, "wine as strong as aquavite, and as clear as rock-water." This distinguished official, who promised that the ship should be supplied in four days, was treated with all the magnificence that Cavendish could command. The wines and preserves of the Spanish prize were produced for his entertainment; and the English musicians exerted their skill. The secretary, who remained on board all night, saw the watch set and the guns fired off, and was informed that the ship's company were Englishmen, natives of a country which already traded with China, and that they were come hither for discovery and traffic. The Portuguese had already established a factory on the island, where they traded in cloves, pepper, sugar, slaves, and other merchandize of the East. Two of these Portuguese merchants

afterward visited the ship, eager to obtain news of their country and of Don Antonio their prince. They were informed that he was then in England, honourably entertained by the queen; and were delighted to hear of the havoc Cavendish had made among the Spanish shipping in the South Sea, as he told them that he was "warring upon them (the Spaniards,) under the King of Portugal." The Europeans who met on this distant coast were mutually delighted with their short intercourse. Cavendish banqueted the Portuguese merchants, and entertained them with music as well as with political intelligence; and to him they described the riches of Java, and the most remarkable customs observed by the natives. The reigning king or rajah was named Bolamboam, and was reported to be one hundred and fifty years of age. He was held in great veneration by his subjects, none of whom durst trade with any nation without his license under pain of death. The old king had a hundred wives; and his son fifty. In Bolamboam the old voyagers give a perfect picture of an absolute prince. The Javans paid him unlimited obedience. Whatever he commanded, be the undertaking ever so dangerous or desperate, no one durst shrink from executing it; and their heads were the forfeit of their failure. They were "the bravest race in the south-eastern parts of the globe, never fearing death." The men were naked, and dark in colour; but the women were partly clothed, and in complexion much fairer. When the king died his body was burned, and the ashes were preserved. Five days afterward his queen, or principal wife, threw a ball from her with which she was provided, and wherever it ran thither all the wives repaired. Each turned her face eastward,—and, with a dagger as sharp as a razor, stabbed herself to the heart, and, bathed in her own blood, fell upon her face, and thus died. "This thing," we are assured, "is as true as it may seem to any hearer to be strange." The Portuguese factors, before parting with Cavendish, proposed that their acknowledged king, Don Antonio, should come out, and here found an empire, which should comprehend the Moluccas, Ceylon, China, and the Philippines. They were assured that all the natives of these countries would declare for him. A kind reception was also promised to the English at their return; and Cavendish, having fully satisfied them for the supplies furnished to his ship, fired a parting salute of three guns, and on the 16th of March sailed for the Cape of Good Hope.

The rest of this month and the month of April were spent "in traversing that mighty and vast sea between the island of Java and the main of Africa, observing the heavens, the Cro-

siers or South Pole, the other stars, and the fowls, which are marks unto seamen; fair weather, foul weather, approaching of lands or islands, the winds, tempests, the rains and thunders, with the alteration of the tides and currents." On the 10th of May a storm arose, and they were afterward becalmed; and, in the thick hazy weather of the calm, mistook Cape False for the Cape of Good Hope, which they passed on the 16th, having run eighteen hundred and fifty leagues in nine weeks.

On the 8th of June the island of St. Helena was seen, and on the 9th they anchored in the harbour. The description of this station, so important to navigators, would apply with perfect accuracy even at this day, so far as regards external appearance or the natural productions of that delicious resting-place, of which at that time the Portuguese still enjoyed sole possession. They had now held this island for upwards of eighty years; and, though it had never been regularly colonized, they had done much to store it with every thing necessary to the refreshment of seamen on a long voyage. Already it abounded in all sorts of herbs, and in delicious fruits. Partridges, pheasants, turkeys, goats, and wild hogs were also obtained in abundance.

At St. Helena Cavendish remained till the 20th, cleaning the ship, and obtaining refreshments, when the *Desire* once more got under way for England. About the end of August they passed the Azores, and on the 3d of September met a Flemish hulk from Lisbon, which informed them of the defeat of the Spanish Armada, to their "great rejoicing." In the channel they were overtaken by the same terrible tempest that made such havoc among the Spanish ships which were driven round the coast of Ireland and to the north of Scotland; but were so fortunate as to complete the third circumnavigation of the globe at Plymouth on the 9th of September, 1588,—two years and fifty days from the time they had left the same harbour, and in a considerably shorter time than either Drake or Magellan had made the same voyage.

Very copious nautical notes and remarks on this voyage were published by Mr. Thomas Fuller of Ipswich, the sailing-master of the *Desire*. They must have been of great value at the time, but have been superseded by more modern charts, in forming which, though the observations may not be more accurate, the navigators have had the advantage of more perfect instruments. The only geographical discovery made by Cavendish in this navigation was Port Desire, on the Patagonian coast, the landmarks of which Fuller has accurately described,

though it has frequently been made the subject of dispute among modern voyagers.

The fame of the exploits of Cavendish, and of the great wealth which he had brought home, "enough to buy a fair earldom," almost rivalled the accounts of Drake's wonderful voyage. Among other rumours it was said, that when he entered the harbour of Plymouth his sails were all of silk. In the tempest which overtook them in the channel the sails were lost; and it is probable that Cavendish might have been compelled to employ some of his rich Indian damasks in the homely office of rigging his vessel; though it is conjectured, with more feasibility, that his new suit of sails were canvass fabricated of the silk-grass used in the South Seas, which, being very lustrous, might easily be mistaken for silk.

The earliest leisure of Cavendish was employed in writing to his patron, Lord Hunsdon, giving an account of his prosperous expedition. Whatever blame may in a more enlightened age be imputed to this navigator for the wanton outrages committed on the Spanish settlements and on the subjects of Spain, he appears to have thought himself entitled to credit for their performance. Instead, therefore, of trying to conceal these deeds, in setting forth his services for her majesty, he makes them his boast; and doubtless they were highly esteemed. No better recapitulation of the events of this celebrated voyage can be found than that contained in his letter to Lord Hunsdon. "It hath pleased Almighty God," says the writer, "to suffer me to circumpass the whole globe of the world, entering in at the Strait of Magellan, and returning by the Cape de Buena Esperança\*; in which voyage I have either discovered or brought certain intelligence of all the rich places of the world which were ever discovered by any Christian. I navigated along the coast of Chili, Peru, and New Spain, where I made great spoils. I burnt and sunk nineteen sails of ships small and great. All the villages and towns that ever I landed at I burned and spoiled. And had I not been discovered upon the coast, I had taken great quantity of treasure. The matter of most profit unto me was a great ship of the king's which I took at California; which ship came from the Philippines, being one of the richest of merchandise that ever passed those seas. . . . From the Cape of California, being the uttermost part of all New Spain, I navigated to the islands of the Philippines, hard upon the coast of China, of which country I have brought such intelligence as hath not been heard of in

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\* Cape of Good Hope.

these parts : the stateliness and riches of which I fear to make report of, lest I should not be credited. . . . . I found out by the way homeward the island of Santa Helena, where the Portuguese used to relieve themselves ; and from that island God hath suffered me to return into England. All which services, with myself, I humbly prostrate at her majesty's feet, desiring the Almighty long to continue her reign among us ; for at this day she is the most famous and victorious princess that liveth in the world."

The second and final expedition of Cavendish to the South Seas was as remarkable for ill fortune as his first voyage had been distinguished by uninterrupted prosperity. This fortunate voyage, however, which gave such strong confirmation to the hopes excited by the adventure of Drake, encouraged many to a similar attempt, and during the two years following his return several expeditions were fitted out from England, though none of them proved successful.

In three years after his return, Cavendish, having, according to some accounts, spent the greater part of the riches he had acquired in the South Sea, planned an expedition for China, by Magellan's Straits, and upon an extensive scale. It is asserted, with as much probability, that his wealth was laid out in equipping the new squadron, with which he put to sea on the 26th of August, 1591. It consisted of "three tall ships" and two barks. As admiral of the fleet, Cavendish sailed in the Leicester galleon ; and his old ship, the *Desire*, was commanded by the celebrated pilot, navigator, and fortunate discoverer, Captain John Davis. The *Roebuck*, commanded by Mr. Cook, the *Black Pinnace*, and a small bark named the *Dainty*, which belonged to Mr. Adrian Gilbert, a gentleman of Devonshire, who had been among the promoters of the discovery of the North-west Passage, completed the fleet. The two Japanese youths captured in the *Acapulco* ship on the former voyage accompanied Cavendish in this.

Under the equinoctial line they were becalmed for twenty-seven days, burning beneath a hot sun, and exposed to the deadly night vapours, which threw many of the men into the scurvy. Their first capture was a Portuguese vessel, on the 2d of December, off the coast of Brazil. It was laden with sugar, small wares, and slaves.

On the 5th they pillaged Placenzia, a small Portuguese settlement ; and on the 16th surprised the town of Santos, where the inhabitants were at mass when the party landed. Though Cavendish, both from principle and from natural disposition, never lost an opportunity of spoiling the enemy, the object of this attack was to obtain provisions ; but this design, from the



negligence of the captain of the *Roebuck* was completely frustrated. The Indians carried every thing away; and next day the prisoners in the church were either set free or contrived to escape, four old men being retained as hostages till the supplies came in. They never appeared; and the consequence of mismanagement and delay was, that in lying five weeks before this place the provisions were wasted which should have sustained them in passing the straits, and the voyage was delayed, by this and other causes, till they found themselves, in the beginning of the southern winter, distant from the straits, and short of stores.

On the 22d of January they left Santos, burnt St. Vincent on the 23d, and next day bore for the Straits of Magellan; Port Desire, which Cavendish had discovered on his former voyage, being appointed as a rendezvous in case of separation. On the 7th of February the fleet was overtaken by a violent gale, and next day they were separated. Davis, in the *Desire*, made for the appointed harbour, and in the way fell in with the *Roebuck*, which had suffered dreadfully. On the 6th of March these two ships reached Port Desire together, and in ten days afterward were joined by the *Black Pinnace*. The *Dainty*, the volunteer bark, returned to England, having stored herself with sugar at Santos while the other ships lay idle; her captain was in the mean while on board the *Roebuck*, and was left without any thing save the clothes which he wore.

In the gale, which scarcely abated from the 7th of February to the middle of March, Cavendish suffered severely, and his officers and men had shown a disposition to mutiny; so that, on rejoining the other ships on the 18th, he left the *Leicester* galleon in displeasure, and remained in the *Desire*, with Captain Davis. Cavendish did not at this time complain more bitterly of the gentlemen of his own ship than he afterward violently accused Davis of having betrayed and abandoned him. His subsequent misfortunes affected his temper, and, it may be presumed, perverted his sense of justice. Though his company had not recovered the excessive fatigue and exhaustion caused by the late continued tempest, the galleon sailed with the fleet on the 20th, and after enduring fresh storms, all the ships made the straits on the 8th of April, and on the 14th passed in. In two days they had beat inward only ten leagues.

An account is given in Purchas' *Pilgrims* of this most disastrous voyage, drawn up at sea by Cavendish, in his last illness. It is addressed to Sir Tristram Gorges, whom the unfortunate navigator appointed his executor, and is one of the most affecting narratives that ever was written,—the confession, wrung in bitterness of heart, from a high-spirited, proud,

and headstrong man, who, having set his all upon a cast, and finding himself undone, endured the deeper mortification of believing he had been the dupe of those he implicitly trusted. Though we cannot admit the force of many of his allegations, nor the justice of his unmeasured invective, it is impossible to withhold sympathy from his extreme distress. "We had been almost four months," says this melancholy relation, "between the coast of Brazil and the straits, being in distance not above six hundred leagues; which is commonly run in twenty or thirty days; but such was the adverseness of our fortune, that in coming thither we spent the summer, and found the straits, in the beginning of a most extreme winter, not durable for Christians. . . . After the month of May was come in, nothing but such flights of snow, and extremity of frosts, as in all my life I never saw any to be compared with them. This extremity caused the weak men (in my ship only) to decay; for, in seven or eight days, in this extremity, there died forty men and sickened seventy, so that there were not fifteen men able to stand upon the hatches." Another relation of the voyage written by Mr. John Jane, a friend of Captain Davis, even deepens this picture of distress. The squadron, beating for above a week against the wind into the straits, and in all that time advancing only fifty leagues, now lay in a sheltered cove on the south side of the passage, and nearly opposite Cape Froward, where they remained till the 15th of May, a period of extreme suffering. "In this time," says Jane, "we endured extreme storms with perpetual snow, where many of our men died of cursed famine and miserable cold,\* not having

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\* Purchas' Pilgrims comprehends "The admirable and strange adventures of Master Anthony Knyvet, who went with Master Cavendish in his second voyage," which for marvels, if not for invention and imagination, may rival the adventures of Sinbad the Sailor. Knyvet wandered from the ship on the coast of Brazil, and was for many years among the "Cannibals." Many is the wonderful escape from death which he makes. In the straits, pulling off his stockings one night, all his toes came with them; but this is not so bad as the fortune of one Harris, who, blowing his nose with his fingers, throws it into the fire, and never recovers it again, as Knyvet seems to have done his toes by the good offices of a surgeon whom Cavendish employed, and who cured with muttering words. In the straits he saw both giants and pigmies. The footmarks of the giants at Port Desire were four times the length of an Englishman's foot. In the straits their stature was fifteen and sixteen spans long; and at Port Famine, or San Felipe, the desolate station of the Spanish colony, four or five thousand pigmies, with mouths reaching from ear to ear, were seen at one time, whose height was from four to five spans. Some of Knyvet's marvels relate to the singular subject of demoniac possession and satanic influence among the tribes with whom he sojourned. These accounts, and others of the elder voyagers are not materially different from those which we receive of the South Sea islanders at the

wherewith to cover their bodies, nor to fill their belly, but living by muscles, water, and weeds of the sea, with a small relief from the ship's stores of meal sometimes." Nor was this the worst; "All the sick men in the galleon were most uncharitably put on shore into the woods, in the snow, wind, and cold, when men of good health could scarcely endure it, where they ended their lives in the highest degree of misery." Though Cavendish was still on board the *Desire*, it is impossible to free him of the blame of this inhuman abandonment of the sick. A consultation was now held, at which Davis, who had had great experience of the severities of the seasons in the north-west voyages, declared for pushing forward, as the weather must speedily improve; while Cavendish preferred the attempt of reaching China by doubling the Cape of Good Hope. For this voyage, however, the other commanders thought there were neither provisions nor equipments. At length, on a petition by the whole company being presented to Cavendish, he agreed to return to the coast of Brazil for supplies, and, thus furnished, again to attempt the straits.

On the 15th of May they accordingly sailed eastward, and on the midnight of the 20th, Davis in the *Desire*, and the *Black Pinnace*, were separated from the galleon, to which Cavendish had now returned. They never met again, and Cavendish, to the last moment of his unhappy life, accused Davis of having wilfully abandoned him. This treacherous desertion, if such it was,—and by the friends of Davis it is strenuously denied, took place in the latitude of Port Desire, for which harbour Davis stood in, and also the *Black Pinnace*, expecting, as they at least pretended, to find the general. Here they took in water, and obtained at ebb-tide muscles, and with hooks made of pins caught smelts, and thus spared their slender stock of provisions.

An effort made by Davis to go in search of the captain-general in the pinnace was overruled, it is alleged, by the ship's company, who would not permit its departure. They are even charged with open mutiny, and two ringleaders are named.

To clear himself of all suspicion, Davis, on the 2d of June, drew up a relation of the voyage, of the separation, and of the state of the two ships lying here, which all the men subscribed.

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present time, and which we are assured by Ellis some of the early missionaries were disposed to believe. On his return to England, Master Knyvet told Purchas, that he once heard an Indian conferring with the Spirit which possessed him, and threatening that, if it did not use him better, he would turn Christian; the Spirit took the hint and left him.

It certainly goes far to exonerate him. They remained in Port Desire till the 6th of August, keeping watch on the hills for the galleon and the Roebuck; one part of the company foraging for provisions of any kind that could be obtained, while others made nails, bolts, and ropes from an old cable, and thus supplied their wants in the best manner they could devise. There are, however, surmises, that all this labour was undertaken that Davis might be able to accomplish his great object of passing the straits, whatever became of the general, and whatever might have been his wishes or orders. After this refitting was accomplished, it was accordingly resolved to await the coming of Cavendish in the straits, for which, having at Penguin Isle salted twenty hogsheads of seals, they sailed on the night of the 7th of August, "the poorest wretches that ever were created."

Several times they obtained a sight of the South Sea, and were driven back into the straits. While tossed about, they were on the 14th driven in "among certain islands never before discovered by any known relation, lying fifty leagues or better off the shore, east and northerly from the straits." These were the Falkland Islands, of which Captain Davis certainly has the honour of being the original discoverer, as he had already been of the straits which still go by his name, and of other ports in the north seas. This discovery was shortly afterward claimed by Sir Richard Hawkins, who gave these islands the name of Hawkins' Maiden Land, "for that it was discovered in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, my sovereign lady, and a maiden queen." The discovery of these islands has been claimed by the navigators of other countries, and a variety of names have been imposed upon them. Burney christens them anew "Davis' Southern Islands," a distinction to which that celebrated navigator is fully entitled, though it will not be easy to change a name so established as that of the Falkland Islands. On the 2d of October they got into the South Sea once more, and in the same night encountered a severe gale, which continued with unabated violence for many days. On the 4th the pinnacle was lost: on the 5th the foresail was split and all torn; "and the mizzen was brought to the foremast to make our ship work, the storm continuing beyond all description in fury, with hail, snow, rain, and wind, such and so mighty as that in nature it could not possibly be more; the sea such and so lofty with continual breach, that many times we were doubtful whether our ship did sink or swim." The relation proceeds thus, with earnest pathetic simplicity:—"The 10th of October, being, by the account of our captain and master, very near the shore, the weather dark, the storm furious,

and most of our men having given over to travail, we yielded ourselves to death without farther hope of succour. Our captain (Davis) sitting in the gallery very pensive, I came and brought him some *Rosa Solis* to comfort him, for he was so cold he was scarce able to move a joint. After he had drunk, and was comforted in heart, he began for the ease of his conscience to make a large repetition of his forepassed time, and with many grievous sighs he concluded in these words:—"Oh most glorious God, with whose power the mightiest things among men are matters of no moment, I most humbly beseech thee, that the intolerable burden of my sins may through the blood of Jesus Christ be taken from me; and end our days with speed, or show us some merciful sign of thy love and our preservation."\* Having thus ended, he desired me not to make known to the company his intolerable grief and anguish of mind, because they should not thereby be dismayed; and suddenly, before I went from him, the sun shined clear; so that he and the master both observed the true elevation of the Pole, whereby they knew by what course to recover the strait." The narrative goes on to relate a wonderful instance of preservation in doubling a cape at the mouth of the strait on the 11th of October.

They at last put back into the strait in a most pitiable condition, the men "with their sinews stiff, their flesh dead," and in a state too horrible to be described. They found shelter and rest in a cove for a few days, but famine urged them on, and the weather, after a short interval of calm, became as stormy as before. "The storm growing outrageous, our men could scarcely stand by their labour; and the straits being full of turning reaches, we were constrained, by the discretion of the captain and master in their accounts, to guide the ship in the hell-dark night when we could not see any shore." In this extremity they got back to Port Desire, and obtained wood and water; and in Penguin Island found abundance of birds. One day, while most of the men were absent on their several duties, a multitude of the natives showed themselves, throwing dust upon their heads, "leaping and running like brute beasts, having vizards on their faces, like dogs' faces, or else their faces are dogs' faces indeed. We greatly feared lest they should set the ship on fire, for they would suddenly make fire, whereat we much marvelled.† They came to windward of our

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\* Our readers will remember the admirable use which De Foe has made of this scene.

† In New Guinea Captain Cook saw a peculiar mode of "suddenly making fire," probably, however, very different from this. "Three Indians

ship, and set the bushes on fire, so that we were in a very stinking smoke; but as soon as they came within reach of our shot we shot at them, and striking one of them in the thigh they all presently fled, and we never saw them more." At this place a party of nine men were killed by the Indians, or were presumed to be so, as they went on shore, and were never again heard of. The relation points out, that "these were the mutineers, and this the place at which they had formerly devised mischief" against Davis and his officers. Here they made salt by pouring salt-water in the hollows of the rocks, which in six days was granulated from evaporation by the heat of the sun. They found abundance of food, in eggs, penguins, seals, and young gulls; and with train-oil fried scurvy-grass with eggs, "which (herb) took away all kinds of swellings, whereof many had died, and restored us to perfect health of body, so that we were in as good case as when we left England." "Thus God did feed us, as it were, with manna from heaven."

On the 22d of December they sailed for Brazil with a stock of fourteen thousand dried penguins, of which they had an ample allowance, though their other provision was scantily dealt out. In the beginning of February, in attempting by violence to obtain some provisions at the Isle of Placenzia, on the coast of Brazil, thirteen of the men were killed by the Indians and Portuguese; and of an original company of seventy only twenty-seven were now left in the *Desire*. They were again the sport of baffling winds; the water ran short, and in the warm latitudes the penguins, their sole dependence for food, began to corrupt, "and ugly loathsome worms of an inch long were bred in them." The account of this plague is painfully striking. "This worm did so mightily increase and devour our victuals, that there was in reason no hope how we should avoid famine, but be devoured of the wicked creatures. There was nothing that they did not devour, iron only excepted,—our clothes, hats, boots, shirts, and stockings. And for the ship, they did eat the timbers; so that we greatly feared they would undo us by eating through the ship's side. Great was the care and diligence of our captain, master, and company to consume these vermin; but the more we laboured to kill them, the more they increased upon us; so that at last we

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rushed out of a wood with a hideous shout, at about the distance of one hundred yards; and as they ran towards us the foremost threw something out of his hand, which burnt exactly like gunpowder, but made no report. What these fires were we could not imagine." "We saw fire and smoke resembling those of a musket, and of no longer duration."

could not sleep for them, for they would eat our flesh like mosquitoes." The men now fell into strange and horrible diseases, and some became raging mad. A supply of water was, however, obtained from the heavy rains which fell; and this was the only solace of this most miserable voyage. Eleven died between the coast of Brazil and Bear Haven in Ireland; and of the sixteen that survived only five were able to work the ship. If the design of Davis had been treacherously to abandon Mr. Cavendish, he was subjected to speedy and severe retribution.

To this unfortunate commander we must now return; and brief space may suffice to relate a series of calamities which might weary the attention and exhaust the sympathies of even the most compassionate reader. The conjecture which Cavendish formed of the proceedings of Davis and the captain of the *Black Pinnace* was perfectly correct. He states in his letter that he believed they would return to Port Desire,—a safe place of anchorage for ships of small burthen, though not such as he could safely approach,—and there refresh themselves, lay in a store of seals and birds, and seize a favourable season to pass the straits. And they did so. In speaking of Davis and of his conduct, Cavendish exclaims, "And now to come to that villian that hath been the death of me and the decay of this whole action,—I mean Davis,—whose only treachery in running from me hath been utter ruin of all, if any good return by him, as ever you love me, make such friends as he, least of all others, may reap least gain. I assure myself you will be careful in all friendship of my last requests. My debts which be owing be not much; but I (most unfortunate villian!) was matched with the most abject-minded and mutinous company that ever was carried out of England by any man living."—"The short of all is this,—Davis' only intent was utterly to overthrow me, which he hath well performed."

After the *Desire* and the *Black Pinnace* separated from the fleet, the *Leicester* galleon and *Roebuck* shaped their course for Brazil, keeping sight of each other. In 36° S. they encountered a dreadful storm, and were parted. For some time the galleon lay at anchor in the Bay of St. Vincent's; and while here a party, almost in open defiance of the orders of Cavendish, landed to forage for provisions, and plunder the houses of the Portuguese farmers on the coast. They were wholly cut off, to the number of twenty-four men and an officer; and the only boat which Cavendish had now left was thus lost.

The Roebuck about this time returned without masts or sails, and "in the most miserable case ever ship was in." The captain-general felt the want of the boats and pinnace doubly severe, from being unable in the larger ships to enter the harbours, which were often barred, to be revenged on the "base dogs" who had killed his men. At some risk he made an attempt to go up the river before the town, that he might have the gratification of razing it; but was compelled by his company to desist from an attempt which "was both desperate and most dangerous." With some difficulty they got back into deep water, and with the boat of the Roebuck and a crazy boat seized from the Portuguese, a party landed, which destroyed a few of the farm-houses, and got some provisions. It was now the intention of Cavendish to break up the Roebuck, and with the Leicester galleon, as Davis never appeared, return to the straits alone. But of this purpose he did not venture to inform his company, lest they might have broken out into open mutiny. So great was their horror of returning, "that all of the better sort," he says, "had taken an oath upon the Bible to die rather than go back." St. Helena was therefore the point now talked of; and in the mean while an attempt was made to seize three Portuguese ships in the harbour of Spirito Santo. The plan of attack was unsuccessful. Of eighty armed men who left the ship on this ill-starred expedition, about thirty-eight were killed and forty wounded. Among the killed was Captain Morgan, an officer whom Cavendish highly esteemed, who in this expedition was taunted into the commission of acts of foolhardy daring by the insulting speeches of those whom he led; a weakness which, despite of their better judgment, has often proved fatal to brave men, as well as to the rash persons themselves whose ignorance and vanity tempt them to become the critics and censors of enterprises of which they cannot comprehend the danger. Inability to endure the imputation of cowardice is indeed one of the most lamentable infirmities of noble minds. On the present occasion some of the seamen swore, "that they never thought other than that Morgan was a coward that durst not land upon a bauble ditch;" upon which, willfully running upon what he saw to be certain destruction, he declared that he would land happen what would, and though against the counsel of his commander, who remained in the ship. The consequences have been told.

One circumstance strongly moved the generous indignation of Cavendish. A party with the great boat called to another, which were attempting to storm a fort, to come and help them



to hasten off, as they were exposed to a galling fire. The numbers that rushed into the boat ran her aground, and ten men were obliged to leave her, who, to save themselves from the Indian arrows which flew thick, again ran in under the fort, and poured in a volley of musketry. Meanwhile the boat was got afloat, "and one that was master of the Roebuck (the most cowardly villain that ever was born of a woman!) caused them in the boat to row away, and so left those brave men a spoil to the Portugals. Yet they waded up to their necks in the water to them; but those merciless villains in the boat would have no pity on them. Their excuse was, that the boat was so full of water that had they come in she would have sunk with them all in her. Thus vilely were those poor men lost."

By the fatal adventure which he has thus narrated, Cavendish, already in want of every necessary, was left with hardly as many efficient men as could raise the anchor. To add to his already accumulated misfortunes the Roebuck forsook him, the company of that ship being resolved to return home; and though the wounded lay in his vessel, they carried off the two surgeons and a great part of the common stores. In these distressing circumstances he got to the small uninhabited island of St. Sebastian, where he mended the old boats, and obtained a seasonable supply of water, of which they were in great want. Again Cavendish spoke of returning to the straits, and used all the arts of persuasion with his company, but in vain. He showed them that they could "relieve themselves by salting seals and birds, &c.; and further, should they get through the straits, (which they might easily perform, considering they had the chiefest part of the summer before them,) they could not but make a most rich voyage; and that we should be the most infamous in the world, being within six hundred leagues of the place where we so much desired,—to return home again so far being most infamous and beggarly. These persuasions," continues Cavendish, "took no place with them; but most boldly they all affirmed that they had sworn they would never again go to the straits; neither by no means would they. And one of the chiefest of this faction most proudly and stubbornly uttered these words to my face, in presence of all the rest; which I seeing, and finding mine own faction to be so weak, (for there were not any favoured my side but my poor cousin Locke, and the master of the ship,) I took this bold companion by the bosom, and with mine own hands put a rope about his neck, meaning resolutely to strangle him, for weapon about me I had none. His companions, seeing one of their chief champions in this case,

and perceiving me go roundly to work with him, they all came to the master and desired him to speak, affirming, they would all be ready to take any course I thought good of; so I, hearing this, stayed myself, and let the fellow go."

Having now boldly avowed his intention of returning to the straits, Cavendish landed on the island with a party of his soldiers and the carpenters, to new-build the boat, while the sailors on board mended and patched up the rigging and tackle of the ship. But he still suspected his men of treachery, and of the intention of deserting, and was in constant anxiety to get them once more on board, that the ship might depart for the straits. Before this could be accomplished, Cavendish, whom Fortune never wearied of persecuting, sustained another severe mischance. The wounded men were on shore on the island, which lay about a mile from the mainland, from whence the Portuguese watched all the proceedings of the ship's company during the building of the boat. Before all the wood and water were got in, and while some soldiers and seamen were still on the island, an Irishman, "a noble villain," contrived to go over to the continent upon a raft, and betray his defenceless comrades to the Portuguese. This was done in the night-time; and besides those employed on the island, and the sick, there chanced to be several men ashore, who frequently stole away from the ship at night to enjoy the freedom of the land. All were indiscriminately butchered. One of the few remaining sails which lay here was also seized, and in their distressed circumstances proved another serious loss. "Thus," says the luckless adventurer, "I was forced to depart, Fortune never ceasing to lay her greatest adversities upon me. And now I am grown so weak that I am scarce able to hold the pen in my hand; wherefore I must leave you to inquire of the rest of our most unhappy proceedings. But know this, that for the strait I could by no means get my company to give their consent to go. In truth, I desired nothing more than to attempt that course, rather desiring to die in going forward than basely in returning back again; but God would not suffer me to die so happy a man." These "unhappy proceedings" to which he refers, may, so far as they are known, be very briefly noticed. An attempt was made to reach the island of St. Helena, for which the company had reluctantly consented to steer only on Cavendish solemnly declaring that to England he would never go; and that, if they refused to take such courses as he intended, the "ship and all should sink in the seas together." This for a time made them more tractable; but having beat to 20° S. they refused to proceed farther, choosing rather to die where they were, "than be

starved in searching for an island which could never be found again." They were, however, once more induced to proceed southward, and in dreadful weather beat back to  $28^{\circ}$  S., and stood for St. Helena, which was most unhappily missed, owing to contrary winds and the unskilfulness of the sailing-master. One more effort this unfortunate commander made to induce his mutinous crew to regain the island, alarming them with the scarcity of provisions; but they unanimously replied, "that they would be perished to death rather than not make for England."

It is believed that Mr. Cavendish did not long survive the events recorded above; and it is certain that he died before the ship reached England. His letter, from which we have quoted, was not closed when the galleon reached  $8^{\circ}$  N. From its commencement,—and it must have been written at many different sittings,—Cavendish had considered himself a dying man. It opens with great tenderness:—"Most loving friend, there is nothing in this world that makes a truer trial of friendship, than at death to show mindfulness of love and friendship, which now you shall make a perfect experience of; desiring you to hold my love as dear, dying poor, as if I had been most infinitely rich. The success of this most unfortunate action, the bitter torments whereof lie so heavy upon me, as with much pain am I able to write these few lines, much less to make discourse to you of all the adverse haps that have befallen me in this voyage, the least whereof is my death." He adverts to the illness of "a most true friend, whom to name my heart bleeds," who, like himself became the victim of the complicated distresses of this voyage. After the crowning misfortune of missing St. Helena, he says, "And now to tell you of my greatest grief, which was the sickness of my dear kinsman John Locke, who by this time was grown in great weakness, by reason whereof he desired rather quietness and contentedness in our course, than such continual disquietness as never ceased me. And now by this, what with grief for him and the continual trouble I endured among such hellhounds, my spirits were clean spent, wishing myself upon any desert place in the world, there to die, rather than thus basely return home again. Which course, I swear to you, I had put in execution, had I found an island which the cards (charts) make to be in  $8^{\circ}$  S. of the line. I swear to you I sought it with all diligence, meaning there to have ended my most unfortunate life. But God suffered not such happiness to light upon me, for I could by no means find it; so, as I was forced to go towards England, and having got eight degrees by the north of the line, I lost my most dearest cousin. And now consider, whether a

heart made of flesh be able to endure so many misfortunes, all falling upon me without intermission. And I thank my God, that in ending me he hath pleased to rid me of all farther troubles and mishaps." The rest of the letter refers to his private concerns, and especially to the discharge of his debts and the arrangement of his affairs for this purpose,—an act of friendship which he expected from the kindness of the gentleman he addressed. It then takes an affecting farewell of life, and of the friend for whom he cherished so warm an affection.

In his two voyages, Cavendish experienced the greatest extremes of fortune; his first adventure being even more brilliant and successful than the last—chiefly through the bad discipline and evil dispositions of his company—was disastrous and unhappy. Cavendish was still very young when he died. No naval commander ever more certainly sunk under the disease to which so many brave men have fallen victims,—a broken heart. In many things his conduct discovered the rashness and impetuosity of youth, and the want of that temper and self-command which are among the first qualities of a naval chief. The reproach of cruelty, or at least of culpable indifference to the claims of humanity, which, from transactions in both voyages, and especially in the first, must rest upon his memory, ought in justice to be shared with the age in which he lived, and the state of moral feeling among the class to which he belonged by birth. By the aristocracy "the vulgar," "the common sort," were still regarded as creatures of a different and inferior species; while among seamen the destruction of Spaniards and "Portugals" was regarded as a positive virtue. By all classes, negroes, Indians, and gentiles were held in no more esteem than brute animals,—human life as existing in beings so abject being regarded as of no value whatever. But if Cavendish was tinged with the faults of his class, he partook largely of its virtues,—high spirit, courage, and intrepidity. Those who might be led to judge of some points of his conduct with strictness, will be disposed to lenity by the recollection of his sufferings. As an English navigator his name is imperishable.



WILLIAM DAMPIER.

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CAPTAIN WILLIAM DAMPIER, whose eventful life forms the next subject of our work, was so long and so intimately associated with the *Bucaniers* of America, that a brief account of this extraordinary brotherhood is almost indispensably necessary as an introduction to the adventures and discoveries of this eminent navigator.

The term *Bucanier* is said to be derived from *boucan*, a word employed by the Carib Indians to designate meat taken in hunting; the first bucaniers having been eminently devoted to the pursuits of the chase.

The association which was distinguished by this name, owed its origin to the selfish and monopolizing policy of the Spaniards, who desirous of appropriating the commerce with their West India colonies, entirely to themselves, adopted a system of interference with the vessels of every other nation that ventured near the tropic, thus giving rise to the well known

maxim of the Bucaniers, "No peace beyond the Line." The Bucaniers consisted chiefly of French and English traders, who smuggled goods into the Spanish possessions in South America and the West Indies, and who from trafficking on the coast, and occasionally foraging for provisions for their vessels on these uninhabited shores, from time to time adopted the hunter's life, and ranged at will throughout the forests and wilds of the New World. In time of peace this assemblage of bold and dissolute men followed their occupation of hunters, smugglers, and pirates, and in time of war held commissions as privateers from the governments of their respective countries; indeed Dampier and others *always* spoke of the individual members of the brotherhood as *privateers*, while they named their vocation of piracy *privateering*. The Bucaniers, from individual efforts of hostility to Spain, and from acts of single commanders with a few volunteers under their control, at length attained to such a system of organization, as to form distinct settlements in the West India islands, and became distinguished by laws, manners, and customs, peculiar to themselves, originating in the necessities and exigencies of their condition. They held their property in common, and as they had no domestic ties, neither wife, nor child, nor sister, nor brother, being known among them, the want of family relations was supplied by strict comradeship, one partner attending to household duties while the other was engaged in the peculiar duties of their vocation. Their chief virtue was courage; the fear of the gallows which had frequently converted the thief into a murderer, made the Bucanier a hero and a savage. They were remarkable for extraordinary hardihood, and the habit and power of extreme endurance, but their long seasons of entire privation were always followed by scenes of the most brutal excess. Their grand principle was fidelity; and the maxim of "honour among thieves," was never more scrupulously observed than among them. The most able and brave was chosen their commander, but all the fighting men assisted at their councils. The same power which chose their leader could displace him, and this was frequently done. They sometimes settled personal quarrels by duels, but offences against the fraternity were visited by different punishments, as death, abandonment on a desert island, and simple expulsion from the fraternity.

A party being agreed upon for a cruise, the day and place of embarkation was fixed, and every man repaired on board the ship with a specified quantity of powder and shot. The next concern was to procure provisions, which consisted chiefly of pork. Many of the Spaniards raised large herds of

swine for the supply of the planters, and from their yards abundance was procured, with no trouble save that in which the ferocious Bucaniers delighted—robbery often accompanied with murder. Turtle slightly salted, was another article of the food which they stored, and for beeves and wild hogs they trusted to their fire-arms. Bread they seldom tasted, and at sea never thought about, though in later periods they sometimes procured supplies of cassada, maize and potatoes. Of this food every man ate generally twice a day, or at his own pleasure, and without limitation; there being in this respect no distinction between the commander and the meanest seaman. The vessel fairly victualled, a final council was held which determined the destination of the cruise and the plan of operations; and articles were generally drawn up and subscribed which regulated the division of the spoils. The carpenter, the sail-maker, the surgeon, were in the first place paid out of the common stock. Wounds were next considered; the value of the right arm, the most useful member of the Bucanier's body, being reckoned equal to six slaves, and the eye and fingers to one slave. The remainder was equally shared, save that the captain besides his specific agreement, had five shares and his mate two. Boys had half a share. The first maxim in the code of the Bucanier, dictated by necessity was, "no prey, no pay." The dress of these ruffians was well suited to their ferocious and brutal character. It consisted of a shirt dipped in the blood of the cattle hunted and killed; trousers prepared in the same rude manner; buskins without stockings, a cape with a small front, and a leathern girdle, into which were stuck knives, sabres, and pistols. Such was the bloody and complete equipment of a Bucanier.

Among the most distinguished of these merciless villains, were Pierre Francois, Pierre Legrand, Bartholomew Portugues, Lewis Scot, the first land-pirate, Mansvelt, John Davies, Lolonnois, and Montbar, distinguished among the fraternity by pre-eminence in crime, and the infamous Captain Sir Henry Morgan.

Pierre Legrand with a boat carrying four small pieces, and twenty men captured a Spanish galleon, the vice-admiral of the fleet. The manner in which the capture was made affords a fair specimen of bucaniering daring and warfare. The boat, in which the men lay concealed, had been seen by the galleon all day, and one of the men had warned the captain of his suspicion of a nest of pirates lurking in the distant speck. The Spaniard haughtily and carelessly replied, "And what then? shall I be afraid of so pitiful a thing? no, though she were as good a ship as my own." He probably thought no

more of the circumstance till seated at cards with his friends the same evening, he saw the Bucaniers rush into his cabin, having already overpowered the crew. Nor had the task proved difficult.

Pierre and his company had kept aloof till dusk, when they made for the galleon with all the force of oars. The game was for death, ignominious death, slavery in the mines, or for victory and fortune. To render their courage desperate, Pierre had ordered the surgeon to bore holes in the side of the boat, that no other footing might be left to his men than the decks of the Spaniard. This was directly performed while each man armed with a sword and pistols, climbed the sides of the ship. While one party rushed into the cabin, and presented their pistols to the officers, who sat at cards, another seized the gun room, cutting down whoever stood in their way. As the Spaniards had been completely surprised, but little opposition was offered; the ship surrendered and was carried into France.

Bartholomew Portugues, cruising from Jamaica, with a boat carrying four small pieces and thirty men, captured a ship of twenty great guns, with a crew of seventy men.

Mansvelt conceived the design of forming an independent Bucanier establishment, holding neither of France, England, nor Holland, which should afford a place of safe retreat to the freebooters of every nation, but he died before he could carry his design into effect.

But in the annals of the sea-rovers no names are to be found more terrible than those of Lolonnois and Montbar. The former was a monster in human form, rather than a merely cruel man. This Bucanier commander of whom almost incredible atrocities are related, is said to have frequently thrown overboard the crews of the ships which he took. He is said to have struck off the heads of eighty prisoners with his own hand, refreshing himself by sucking the blood of the victims as it trickled down his sabre. It is even related, that in transports of frantic cruelty, he has been known to tear out and devour the hearts of those who fell by his hand, and to pluck out the tongues of others. To this monster cruelty was an affair of calculation as well as of delight. At length after experiencing a train of disasters, this infamous wretch fell into the hands of certain Indians of the Darien, a fierce and cruel tribe, who were not unacquainted with the atrocities of the Bucaniers. By them he was torn alive limb from limb,—his body consumed, and the ashes scattered abroad, to the intent that no trace, nor memory might remain of such an infamous creature.



The character of Montbar is more romantic if not more humane. Montbar was a native of Languedoc, in France, who from reading in his youth of the horrible cruelties of the Spaniards upon the Mexicans and Caribs, imbibed a hatred of the whole Spanish nation, which possessed him like a frenzy. It is however somewhat strange that the impulse which led this singular person to join the ranks of the Bucaniers urged him to the commission of worse cruelties than those which he reprobated. His comrades were often merciless from the lust of gold; but Spanish blood was the sole passion of Montbar. It is related by Raynal, that while at college, in acting the part of a Frenchman who quarrels with a Spaniard, he assaulted the youth who personated an individual of that hated nation with such fury that he had well nigh strangled him. His imagination was perpetually haunted by the shapes of multitudes of persons butchered by monsters from Spain, who called upon him to revenge them. While on his passage outward to league himself with the brethren of the coast, the inveterate enemies of Spain, the vessel in which he sailed fell in with a Spanish ship, and captured it. No sooner had the Frenchmen boarded the vessel, than Montbar, with his sabre drawn, twice rushed along the decks, cutting his frantic way through the ranks of Spaniards, whom he swept down. While his comrades divided the booty acquired by his prowess, Montbar gloated over the mangled limbs of the detested people against whom he had vowed everlasting and deadly hate. From this and similar actions he acquired the name of the *Exterminator*.

Captain Sir Henry Morgan, as he is called, was of a most sordid and brutal character, selfish and cunning without any spark of the reckless generosity which sometimes graced the freebooter and contrasted with his crimes. The enterprises of Morgan, who was at once ambitious and greedy, display capacity, coolness and daring. His next attempt combined all these qualities in a remarkable degree. With nine ships and boats and four hundred and sixty of his countrymen, he resolved to assault Porto Bello; but did not venture to disclose so bold a design till it was no longer advisable to conceal it. To those who then objected that their force was inadequate to the attack, Morgan boldly replied, "That though their numbers were small, their hearts were good; and the fewer the warriors the larger the shares of plunder." This last was an irresistible argument; and this strongly-fortified city was carried by a handful of resolute men, who never scrupled at cruelty needful to the accomplishment of their object, and often revelled in the wantonness of unnecessary crime. The first fort or castle was deliberately blown up by fire being set to the

powder magazine, after many miserable prisoners, whose mangled limbs soon darkened the air, had been huddled into one room. Resistance was still attempted by the Spaniards, which greatly exasperated the besiegers, as it was into the forts which held out, that the wealthy inhabitants had retired with their treasures and valuables. One strong fort it was necessary to carry without delay; and broad scaling-ladders being constructed, Morgan compelled his prisoners to fix them to the walls. Many of those employed in this office were priests and nuns dragged for this purpose from the cloisters. These, it was thought, their countrymen would spare; while under their protection the Bucaniers might advance without being exposed to the fire of the castle. In these trying circumstances, forgetting the claims of country, and the sacred character of the innocent persons exposed to sufferings so unmerited, the Spanish governor consulted only his official duty; and while the unhappy prisoners of the Bucaniers implored his mercy, continued to pour shot upon all who approached the walls, whether pirates, or the late peaceful inhabitants of the cloisters, his stern answer being that he would never surrender alive. Many of the friars and nuns were killed before the scaling-ladders could be fixed; but that done, the Bucaniers, carrying with them fire balls and pots full of gunpowder, boldly mounted the walls, poured in their combustibles, and speedily effected an entrance. All the Spaniards demanded quarter except the governor, who died fighting, in presence of his wife and daughter, declaring that he chose rather to die as a brave soldier, than be hanged like a coward. The next act in the horrid drama of bucaniering conquest, followed rapidly; pillage, cruelty, brutal license,—the freebooters giving themselves up to so mad a course of riot and debauchery that fifty resolute men might have cut them off and regained the town, had the panic struck Spaniards been able to form any rational plan of action, or to muster a force. During these fifteen days of demoniac revel, interrupted only by torturing the prisoners to make them give up treasures which they did not possess, many of the Bucaniers died from the consequences of their own brutal excesses, and Morgan deemed it expedient to draw off his force. Information had by this time reached the Governor of Panama; and though aid was distant from the miserable inhabitants of Porto Bello, it might still come. Morgan, therefore, carried off a good many of the guns, spiked the rest, fully supplied his ships with every necessary store, and having already plundered all that was possible, insolently demanded an exorbitant ransom for the preservation of the city and for his prisoners, and prepared to depart from the coast. These

terms he even sent to the Governor of Panama, who was approaching the place, and whose force the Bucaniers intercepted in a narrow pass, and compelled to retreat. The inhabitants collected among themselves a hundred thousand pieces of eight, which Morgan graciously accepted, and retired to his ships.

The astonishment of the Governor of Panama at so small a force carrying the town and the forts, and holding them so long, induced him, it is said, to send a message to the Bucanier leader, requesting a specimen of the arms which he used. Morgan received the messenger with civility, gave him a pistol and a few bullets, and ordered him to bid the president to accept of so slender a pattern of the weapons with which he had taken Porto Bello, and to keep it for a twelvemonth, at the end of which time he (Morgan) proposed to come to Panama to fetch it away. The governor returned the loan with a gold ring, and requested Morgan not to give himself the trouble of travelling so far, certifying to him that he would not fare so well as he had done at Porto Bello.

On this subject Morgan formed and afterward acted upon his own opinions. In the mean while the spoils were divided at the Keys of Cuba. The booty amounted to 250,000 pieces of eight, besides goods of all kinds, including silks, linen, cloth, and many things that found a ready market in Jamaica, for which Bucaniers' paradise the fleet next sailed, to fit themselves for a fresh expedition by a month's carousing, and the prodigal expenditure of the fruits of their toils and crimes.

This exploit, in which so few men, and those armed only with pistols and sabres, had taken a large fortified city, raised the character of Morgan as a commander higher than ever; and his invitation to the *Brethren of the Coast* to meet him at the Isla de la Vaca, or Cow Island, which was appointed as a rendezvous preparatory to another cruise, was so eagerly accepted that he found himself at the head of a considerable force. A large French bucaniering vessel, which refused to join this expedition, he obtained by fraud. Inviting the commander and several of the best men to dine with him, under some frivolous pretext he made them prisoners. But Morgan did not reap much advantage from this act of treachery. While the men whom he had placed in the ship were carousing, celebrating the commencement of another cruise, it suddenly blew up, and three hundred and fifty Englishmen and the French prisoners perished together. This accident, so disastrous to Morgan, was imputed to the revengeful spirit of the Frenchmen confined in the hold. The true character of the sordid Bucanier was never more strongly displayed than in

the way which Morgan tried to make the best for himself of this mischance. When eight days of mourning had elapsed, he made the dead bodies be fished up, stripped of clothes, linen, and of the gold rings which Bucaniers often wore, and then be thrown back into the sea to feed the sharks.

Morgan had now a fleet of fifteen ships, some of which he owed to the kindness of the Governor of Jamaica, who connived at, or took a share in, such adventures. His force consisted of 1000 fighting-men. Several of his vessels were armed, and his own carried 14 guns. With these, which, however, through discontent, diminished a full half on the way, he shaped his course for the devoted cities of Gibraltar and Maracaibo, formerly visited by Lolonnois, which were once more taken and plundered. At the former place the cruelties of Morgan exceeded, if that were possible, the enormities of the French pirate. Such of the inhabitants as fled to the woods and were retaken, were tortured with fiendlike ingenuity to make them discover their wealth. It would be painful and revolting to dwell upon the black record of the atrocities perpetrated here.

So much time had been consumed at Gibraltar, that Morgan, when about to withdraw, found himself in a snare, from which it required all his talent and presence of mind to extricate the Bucanier fleet. Coolness and readiness were, however, the familiar qualities of men whose lives were a series of perils and escapes, and whose natural element was danger; and they never were more admirably displayed than by Morgan and his men at this time.

In the interval spent by the Bucaniers in pillage and debauchery at Gibraltar, the Spaniards had repaired the fort which protected the passage of the lake or lagune of Maracaibo, and stationed three men of war at the entrance, whose vigilance it was conceived impossible the pirates could escape. These vessels carried, one twenty, another thirty, and the third forty guns. Putting a bold face upon his embarrassing situation, Morgan, with the audacity natural to him, and which was one of his instruments of success, sent a message to the Spanish admiral, demanding a ransom as the only condition on which the city could be preserved. To this insolent vaunt the Spaniard replied, that though the Bucanier commander had taken the castle from a set of cowards, it was now in a good state of defence; and that he not only intended to dispute the egress from the lagune, but to pursue the pirates everywhere. If, however, they chose to give up the prisoners and the slaves they had taken, they would be permitted to pass forth unmolested. This reply was as usual submitted to a full council of

Bucaniers, and at this assembly one of their number suggested the stratagem by which Morgan in the first place destroyed the Spanish men of war. One of the Bucanier vessels was prepared as a fireship, and at the same time was made to wear the appearance of a vessel ready for action. Logs were placed in rows on the decks, on which clothes, hats, and Montero caps were placed; and these decoy-figures were also armed with swords and muskets. When this was done, the plate, jewels, female prisoners, and whatever was of most value to the Bucaniers, were placed in their large boats, each of which carried twelve armed men. These boats were to follow the fireship, which led the van; an oath was exacted from each Bucanier of resistance to the last, and the refusal of quarter from the Spaniards; and ample rewards were promised for valour and firmness. Next evening the fleet sailed, and about dusk came up with the Spanish ships riding at anchor in the middle of the lagoon. The Bucanier vessels also anchored, resolved to await here the effect of their stratagem, and either to fight, escape, or perish. No attack was offered that night, and they lay in quiet till dawn, when the anchors were weighed, and they steered directly towards the Spanish ships, which advanced as if to meet them. The fireship, still in advance, with all her decoys of armed men as before, came up with the largest of the Spanish vessels and grappled to her,—then the deception was first discovered, but too late for escape. The conflagration commenced. The Spanish ship caught fire in the tackling and timbers, and the forepart of her hull soon went down. The second Spanish vessel escaped under the guns of the castle, and was sunk by her own company as a fate preferable to falling a prey to the Bucaniers. The third vessel was taken. The crew of the burning ship endeavored to escape to the shore, and all chose rather to perish in the sea than accept of the quarter offered by the pirates. The triumphant Bucaniers, without losing a moment, gave chase, and immediately landed, resolving forthwith to attempt the castle; but as they were ill armed for such an assault, and the place was well fortified and manned, they desisted from the attempt, and returned to their ships, having lost in that day's work thirty men killed and many more wounded.

Though the Spanish ships were destroyed, the castle still remained to be passed; and the Spaniards had laboured all night in completing its defences. Morgan again had recourse to stratagem. All day long, in sight of the garrison, he affected to be sending boats filled with men to a point of the shore concealed from view of the castle by trees. These men re-

turned on board lying flat in the boats, where, in going back, only the rowers were visible. They mounted their ships at a side on which the Spaniards could not perceive their return. This manœuvre was repeated, till the Spaniards believed that from the number of men landed, an attack upon the castle was meditated. This seemed the more probable, as Morgan, who had now hoisted his flag in their captured war-ship, again sent a message demanding a ransom for Maracaibo as the condition of his departure. To meet the presumed movement of the Bucaniers, the guns of the castle were changed from a position which commanded the lagune, and pointed to landward. As soon as he was aware of this arrangement, Morgan raised his anchors by moonlight, and favoured by the ebb tide, the wind also being favourable, pressed past the castle; the mortified Spaniards trying in vain to hasten back with their pieces to bear upon him. He gave them a parting volley from his great guns, so lately their own; and bore away for Jamaica, exulting in good fortune, enhanced likewise by what he learned of the misadventures of those who had forsaken him in the early part of the cruise.

Money and credit were, as usual, quickly outrun in the taverns of Port Royal by the dissolute companions of Morgan; and another expedition was concerted, which was to exceed all the former achievements of the sea-rovers. And no time was to be lost, as a pending treaty between Great Britain and Spain threatened forever to put an end to what their admiring countrymen termed the "unparalleled exploits of the Bucaniers." Letters were despatched by the commander to every noted Bucanier, and the south side of the island of Tortuga was named as the rendezvous. Early in October, 1670, Morgan found himself surrounded by pirates, hunters, cultivators, English, French, and Dutch, who, from land and sea, the plantation and the wilderness, had flocked to the standard of him who was to lead them to fortune and victory. The first duty was to victual the fleet, and this was done by pillaging the hog-yards, and with the *boucan* sent in by hunters who either joined in the expedition or traded with the pirates. The Bucanier fleet, consisting of thirty-seven vessels fully provisioned, next sailed for Cape Tiburon, on the west coast of Hispaniola,—the fighting men amounting to two thousand. At the general council now held, three places of attack were deliberated upon,—Vera Cruz, Carthagená, and Panama. The last and most difficult was that which was chosen, recommended by the extravagant notions entertained in Europe and the West Indies of its amazing wealth, and of the great riches of Peru.

Morgan had never renounced the idea, which originated with Mansvelt, of a Bucanier settlement on the conveniently-situated island of Providence. Once more it was captured on his way, the Spanish governor making a farce of resistance. From this point Morgan detached a force of four hundred men to attack the castle of Chagre, the possession of which he judged necessary to the success of his future operations against Panama. It was eventually carried by the accident of fire communicating with the powder magazine, which blew up part of the defences.\*

While the Spaniards were occupied in suppressing the conflagration, the Bucaniers laboured hard to increase the confusion, by setting fire to the palisadoes in several places. At last they effected a breach, in defiance of the liquid combustibles which the Spaniards poured down among them, and which occasioned considerable loss of their numbers. But the attack and resistance were still continued throughout the whole night, the Bucaniers directing an incessant fire towards the breaches, which the Spanish governor pertinaciously defended.

By noon the next day the Bucaniers had gained a breach, which was defended by the governor himself and twenty-five soldiers. The Spanish soldiers fought with desperate valour, despair lending them supernatural courage; but nothing could resist the impetuosity of the pirates; they burst their way through every obstacle, and the unfortunate Spaniards who survived, preferring death to the dishonour of either falling into the hands of these infuriated ruffians or of begging quarter, precipitated themselves into the sea. The governor had retired into the *corps du garde*, before which he planted two pieces of cannon, and bravely maintained the hopeless and unequal conflict till he fell by a musket shot which entered the brain. Of the garrison of three hundred and fourteen men only thirty remained alive, and of these few twenty were wounded. Not a single officer escaped.

From the survivors of the siege, the Bucanier party learned that the Governor of Panama was already apprized of their

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\* The manner in which the fire was imagined to be communicated is not a little singular. A Bucanier was pierced through by an arrow from the fort. He drew it forth from his body, wound a little cotton round it, and shot it from his musket against the castle. The cotton kindled by the powder set fire to the palm-leaf roofs of some sheds within the castle, and the flames caught at the gunpowder, which produced the breach in the walls. At the same instant the Bucaniers set fire to the palisadoes: the Spaniards, though unwavering in courage and undaunted in resolution, became distracted in the midst of so many dangers.

design against that place, that all along the course of the Chagre ambuscades were laid, and that a force of three thousand six hundred men awaited their arrival. But this did not deter Morgan, who pressed forward for Chagre the instant that he received intelligence of the capture of the castle, carrying with him all the provisions that could be obtained in Santa Katalina, to which island he intended to return after the capture of Panama.

The English colours flying upon the castle of Chagre was a sight of joy to the main body of the Bucaniers upon their arrival. Morgan was admitted within the fort by the triumphant advanced troop with all the honours of conquest. Before his arrival, the wounded, the widows of the soldiers killed in the siege, and the other women of the place, had been shut up in the church, and subjected to the most brutal treatment. To their fate Morgan was entirely callous; but he lost no time in setting the prisoners to work in repairing the defences and forming new palisades; he also seized all the craft in the river, many of which carried from two to four small pieces.

These arrangements concluded, Morgan left a garrison of five hundred men in his castle of Chagre, and in the ships one hundred and fifty; while at the head of twelve hundred Bucaniers, he, on the 18th of January, 1671, commenced his inland voyage to Panama, indifferent about or determined to brave the Spanish ambuscades. His artillery was carried by five large boats, and thirty-two canoes were filled with part of the men. Anxious to push forward, Morgan committed one capital blunder in carrying almost no provisions, calculating upon a shorter period being consumed on the march than it actually required, and on foraging upon the Spaniards. Even on the first day their provisions failed, and on the second they were compelled to leave the canoes, the lowness of the river and the fallen trees lying across it making this mode of travelling tedious and nearly impracticable. Their progress was now continued by land and water alternately, and was attended with great inconvenience, the extremity of famine being of the number of their hardships. Their best hopes were now placed in falling in with the threatened ambuscades, as there they might find a store of provisions. So extremely were they pinched with hunger, that the leathern bags found at a deserted Spanish station formed a delicious meal. About this delicacy they even quarreled, and it is said openly regretted that no Spaniards were found, as, failing provisions, they had resolved to have roasted or boiled a few of the enemy to satisfy their ravening appetites.



Throughout the whole track to Panama the Spaniards had taken care not to leave the smallest quantity of provisions, and any other soldiers than the Bucaniers must have perished long before even a distant view was obtained of the city; but their powers of endurance, from their hardy modes of life, were become almost superhuman. At nightfall, when they reached their halting-place, "happy was he who had reserved since morn any small piece of leather whereof to make his supper, drinking after it a good draught of water for his greatest comfort." Their mode of preparing this tough meal deserves to be noticed. The skins were first sliced, then alternately dipped in water and beat between two stones to render them tender; lastly, the remaining hair was scraped off, and the morsel broiled, cut into small bits, and deliberately chewed, with frequent mouthfuls of water to eke out and lengthen the repast.

On the fifth day, at another deserted ambuscade, a little maize was found, and also some wheat, wine, and plantains. This, scanty as it was, proved a seasonable supply to those who drooped, and it was thriftily dealt out among them. Next day a barn full of maize was discovered, which, beating down the door, the famished Bucaniers rushed upon and devoured without any preparation. Yet all this hardship could not turn them aside from the scent of prey, though symptoms of discontent became visible in their ranks. At a village called Cruz, perceiving from a distance a great smoke, they joyfully promised themselves rest and refreshments; but on reaching it found no inhabitant, and every house either burnt down or in flames, so determined were the Spaniards to oppose the onward march of the terrible beings, presented to their imaginations under every shape of horror. The only animals remaining, the dogs and cats of the village, fell an immediate sacrifice to the wolfish hunger of the Bucaniers.

Morgan had now some difficulty in preserving discipline, and in keeping his companions or followers from falling into the hands of the Spaniards or Indians when straggling about in search of any thing they could devour. In this way one man was lost.

They were now within eight leagues of Panama, and the nearer they approached, the more anxious and vigilant was Morgan in looking out for the threatened ambuscades of the enemy, who, he naturally conjectured, might have retired to consolidate his forces. On the eighth day, they were surprised by a shower of Indian arrows poured upon them from some unseen quarter, and advancing into the woods, maintained a sharp short contest with a party of Indians, many of whom fell, offering a brave though vain resistance. Ten of

the freebooters were killed in this skirmish. The Bucaniers, who had already three Indian guides, run-aways found in Santa Katalina, endeavoured at this place to make some prisoners for the purpose of procuring intelligence; but the Indians were too swift of foot.

After another twenty-four hours of suffering, under which only freebooters or Indians could have borne up, on the morning of the ninth day of the march, from a high mountain, the majestic South Sea was joyfully descried, with ships and boats sailing upon its bosom, and peacefully setting out from the concealed port of Panama. Herds of cattle, horses, and asses, feeding in the valley below the eminence on which they stood, formed a sight not less welcome. They rushed to the feast; and, cutting up the animals, devoured their flesh half-raw, "more resembling cannibals than Europeans at this banquet, the blood many times running down from their beards unto the middle of their bodies."

This savage meal being ended the journey was resumed, Morgan still endeavouring to gain information by taking prisoners, as on his whole line of march he had obtained speech of neither Spaniard nor Indian.

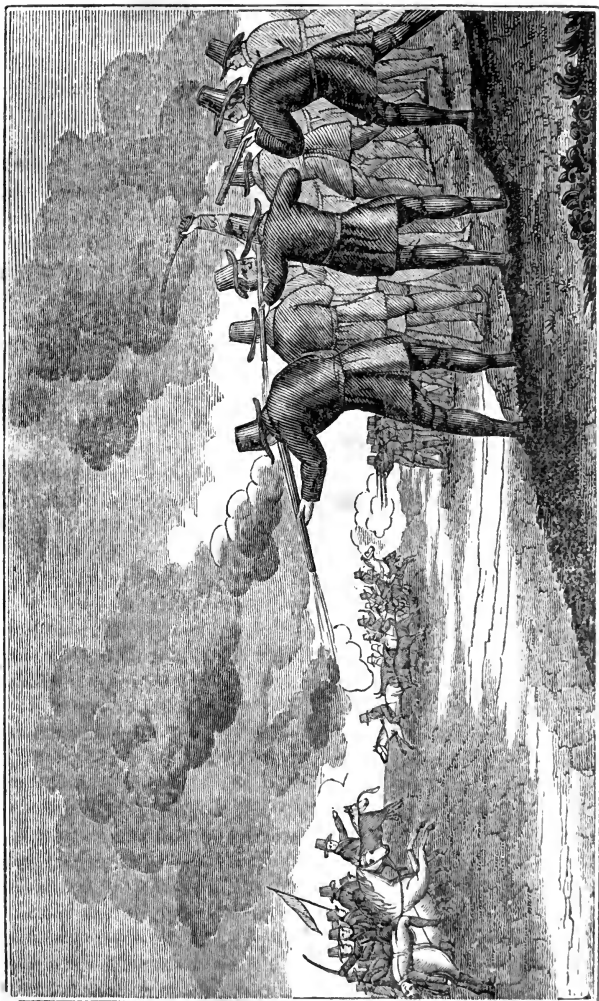
In the same evening the steeple of Panama was beheld at a distance; and, forgetting all their sufferings, the Bucaniers gave way to the most rapturous exultation, tossing their caps into the air, leaping, shouting, beating their drums, and sounding their trumpets at the sight of so glorious a plunder, and as if victory were already consummated. They encamped for the night near the city, intending to make the assault early in the morning. The same night a party of fifty Spanish horsemen came out as if to reconnoitre, advanced within musket-shot of the pirates, scornfully challenged "the dogs" to come on, and then retired, leaving six or eight of their number to watch the enemy's motions. Upon this the great guns of the town began to play on the camp, but were too distant, or ill directed, to do any execution; and instead of betraying alarm, the Bucaniers, having placed sentinels around their camp, made another voracious meal preparatory to the next day's business, threw themselves upon the grass, and, lulled by the Spanish artillery, slept soundly till the dawn.

The camp was astir betimes, and the men being mustered and arrayed, with drums and trumpets sounding they advanced towards the city; but instead of taking the ordinary route, which the Spaniards were prepared to defend, by the advice of one of the Indian guides they struck through a wood, by a tangled and difficult path, in which, however, immediate obstruction could not be apprehended. Before the Spaniards

could counteract this unexpected movement, the Bucaniers had advanced some way. The Governor of Panama, who led the forces commanded two hundred cavalry and four regiments of infantry; and a number of Indian auxiliaries conducted an immense herd of wild bulls, to be driven among the ranks of the Bucaniers, and which were expected to throw them into disorder. This extraordinary arm of war was viewed by the hunters of Hispaniola and Campeachy with indifference; but they were somewhat alarmed at the regular and imposing array of the troops drawn up to receive them. It was, however, too late to retreat. They divided into three detachments, two hundred dexterous marksmen leading the advance. They now stood on the top of a little eminence, whence the whole Spanish force, the city, and the champaign country around were distinctly seen. As they moved downward the Spanish cavalry, shouting *Viva el Rey*, immediately advanced to meet them; but the ground happened to be soft and marshy, which greatly obstructed the manœuvres of the horsemen. The advance of the Bucaniers, all picked marksmen, knelt and received them with a volley, and the conflict instantly became close and hot. The Bucaniers, throwing themselves between the Spanish horse and foot, succeeded in separating them, and the wild bulls, taking fright from the tumult and the noise of the guns, ran away, or were shot by the Bucaniers before they could effect any mischief.

After a contest of two hours the Spanish cavalry gave way. Many were killed, and the rest fled; which the foot-soldiers perceiving, fired their last charge, threw down their muskets, and followed the example of the cavaliers. Some of them took refuge in the adjoining thickets; and though the Bucaniers did not continue the pursuit, they took a savage pleasure in shooting without mercy all who accidentally fell into their hands. In this way several priests and friars who were made prisoners were pistoled by the orders of Morgan. A Spanish officer who was made prisoner gave the Bucaniers minute intelligence of the force of the enemy and the plan of defence, which enabled them to approach the town from the safest point; but the advance was still attended with difficulty.

After the rout which had taken place in the open field, and the slaughter which followed, the Bucaniers rested for a little space, and during this pause solemnly plighted their honour, by oaths to each other, never to yield while a single man remained alive. This done, carrying their prisoners with them, they advanced upon the great guns planted in the streets and the hasty defences thrown up to repel them. In this renewed assault the Bucaniers suffered severely before they could make



ATTACK OF THE BUCAVIERS ON PANAMA.

good those close quarters in which they ever maintained a decided superiority in fighting. Still they resolutely advanced to the final grapple, the Spaniards keeping up an incessant fire. The town was gained after a desperate conflict of three hours maintained in its open streets.

In this assault the Bucaniers neither gave nor accepted quarter, and the carnage on both sides was great. Six hundred Spaniards fell on that day, nor was the number of the Bucaniers who perished much less; but to those who survived a double share of plunder was at all times ample consolation for the loss of companions whose services were no longer required in its acquisition. The city was no sooner gained than Morgan, who saw the temper of the inhabitants in the obstinate nature of the resistance they had offered, and who well knew the besetting sins of his followers, prudently prohibited them from tasting wine; and aware that such an order would be very little regarded were it enforced by nothing save a simple command, he affirmed that he had received private intelligence that all the wine had been poisoned. They were therefore enjoined not to touch it under the dread of poisoning and the penalties of discipline. Neither of these motives were sufficient to enforce rigid abstinence among the Bucaniers, though they operated till indulgence became more safe.

As soon as possession of the city was gained guards were placed, and at the same time fires broke out simultaneously in different quarters, which were attributed by the Spaniards to the pirates, and by them to the inhabitants. Both assisted in endeavouring to extinguish the dreadful conflagration, which raged with fury; but the houses, being built of cedar, caught the flames like tinder, and were consumed in a very short time. The inhabitants had previously removed or concealed the most valuable part of their goods and furniture.

The city of Panama consisted of about twelve thousand houses, many of them large and magnificent. It contained also eight monasteries and two churches, all richly furnished. The concealment of the church-plate drew upon the ecclesiastics the peculiar vengeance of the heretical Bucaniers, who, however, spared no one. The conflagration which they could not arrest, they seemed at last to take a savage delight in spreading. A slave factory belonging to the Genoese was burnt to the ground, together with many warehouses stored with meal. Many of the miserable Africans whom the Genoese brought for sale to Peru, perished in the flames, which raged or smouldered for nearly four weeks.

For some time the Bucaniers, afraid of being surprised and overpowered by the Spaniards, who still reckoned ten for one

of their numbers, encamped without the town. Morgan had also weakened his force by sending a hundred and fifty men back to Chagre with news of his victory. Yet by this handful of men the panic-struck Spaniards were held in check and subjection while the Bucaniers either raged like demons through the burning town or prowled among the ruins and ashes in search of plate and other valuable articles.

The property which the Spaniards had concealed in deep wells and cisterns was nearly all discovered, and the most active of the Bucaniers were sent out to the woods and heights to search for and drive back the miserable inhabitants who had fled from the city with their effects. In two days they brought in about two hundred of the fugitives as prisoners. Of those unhappy persons many were females, who found the merciless Bucaniers no better than their fears had painted them.

In plundering the land Morgan had not neglected the sea. By sea many of the principal inhabitants had escaped, and a boat was immediately sent in pursuit, which brought in three prizes; though a galleon, in which was embarked all the plate and jewels belonging to the King of Spain, and the wealth of the principal nunnery of the town, escaped, from the Bucaniers indulging in a brutal revel in their own bark till it was too late to follow and capture the ship. The pursuit was afterward continued for four days, at the end of which the Bucaniers returned to Panama with another prize, worth twenty thousand pieces of eight in goods, from Païta.

Meanwhile, on the opposite coast, the ships' companies left at Chagre were exercising their vocation, and had captured one large Spanish vessel, which, unaware of the hands into which the castle had fallen, ran in under it for protection.

Nothing more was to be wrung forth from Panama, which, after a destructive sojourn of four weeks, Morgan resolved to leave. Beasts of burden were therefore collected from all quarters to convey the spoils to the opposite coast. The cannon were spiked, and scouts sent out to learn what measures had been taken by the Governor of Panama to intercept the return to Chagre. The Spaniards were too much depressed to have made any preparation either to annoy or cut off the retreat of their inveterate enemies; and on the 24th of February the Bucaniers, apprehensive of no opposition, left the ruins of Panama, with a hundred and seventy-five mules laden with their spoils, and above six hundred prisoners, including women, children, and slaves. The misery of these wretched captives, driven on in the midst of the armed Bucaniers, exceeds description. They believed that they were all to be carried to Jamaica, England, or some equally wild, distant,

and savage country, to be sold for slaves ; and the cruel craft of Morgan heightened these fears, the more readily to extort the ransom he demanded for the freedom of his unhappy prisoners. In vain the women threw themselves at his feet supplicating for the mercy of being allowed to remain amid the ruins of their former homes, or in the woods in huts with their husbands and children. His answer was, "that he came not here to listen to cries and lamentations, but to get money, which unless he obtained he would assuredly carry them all where they would little like to go." Three days were granted, in which they might avail themselves of the conditions of ransom. Several were happy enough to be able to redeem themselves, or were rescued by the contributions sent in ; and with the remaining captives the pirates pushed onward, making new prisoners and gathering fresh spoils on their way.

The conduct of Morgan at this time disproves many of the extravagant notions propagated about the high honour of the Bucaniers in their dealings with each other. Halting at a convenient place for his purpose, in the midst of the wilderness, and about half-way to Chagre, he drew up his comrades, and insisted that, besides taking an oath declaring that all plunder had been surrendered to the common stock, each man should be searched, he himself submitting in the first place to the degrading scrutiny, though it was suspected that the leading motive of the whole manœuvre was the desire of concealing his own peculation and fraudulent dealing with his associates. The French Bucaniers who accompanied the expedition were indignant at treatment so much at variance with the maxims and usages of the gentlemen rovers ; but being the weaker party they were compelled to submit.

The Bucaniers and their prisoners performed the remainder of the journey by water ; and when arrived at Chagre, Morgan, who knew not how to dispose of his unredeemed prisoners, shipped them all off for Porto Bello, making them the bearers of his demand of ransom from the governor of that city for the castle of Chagre. To this insolent message the Governor of Porto Bello replied, that Morgan might make of the castle what he pleased ; not a ducat should be given for its ransom.

There was thus no immediate prospect of any more plunder in this quarter, and nothing remained to be done but to divide the spoils already acquired. The individual shares fell so far short of the expectations of the Bucaniers that they openly grumbled, and accused their chief of the worst crime of which in their eyes he could be guilty,—secreting the richest of the jewels for himself. Two hundred pieces of eight to each man was thought a very small return for the plunder of so wealthy

a city, and a very trifling reward for the toil and danger that had been undergone in assaulting it. Matters were assuming so serious an aspect among the fraternity that Morgan, who knew the temper of his friends, deemed it advisable to steal away with what he had obtained. He immediately made the walls of Chagre be destroyed, carried the guns on board his own ship, and, followed by one or two vessels commanded by persons in his confidence, sailed for Jamaica, leaving his enraged associates in want of every necessary. Those who followed him were all Englishmen, who, as the French Bucaniers fully believed, connived at the frauds and shared in the gains of Morgan. They would instantly have pursued him to sea, and the Spaniards might have enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing the Bucanier fleet divided and fighting against itself, had they with a force so much weaker, dared to venture so unequal an encounter. The vessels deserted by Morgan separated here, and the companies sought their fortunes in different quarters, none of them much the richer for the misery and devastation they had carried to Panama.

Morgan, on arriving at Jamaica laden with plunder, and exulting in his late exploit, endeavoured once more to levy recruits for the independent state he still longed to establish at Santa Katalina, and of which he himself, already admiral and generalissimo of the Bucaniers, was to be the prince or governor. But circumstances were still unfavourable. Lord John Vaughan, the newly-appointed Governor of Jamaica, had orders strictly to enforce the treaty with Spain, formed in the previous year, but to proclaim pardon and indemnity, and offer a grant of lands to such of the Bucaniers, as chose to become peaceful cultivators. Future depredations on the trade or settlements of Spain were forbidden by the royal proclamation, and under severe penalties. But it was not a proclamation, however strongly worded, that could at once tame down the lawless Bucanier into a planter, or confine to thirty-seven acres of ground him who had for years freely roamed through sea and land, with his sword reaping his harvest wherever men of greater industry had sown it. To adopting the habits of peaceful life many of the English Bucaniers preferred joining the Flibustiers at Tortuga, or becoming logwood-cutters in the Bay of Campeachy; and, luckily for the remainder, in the next year a war broke out between Great Britain and Holland, which enabled some of them to follow their old vocation as privateers; Bucaniers and Flibustiers alike exercising their industry for a short time against the Dutch instead of their old enemies the Spaniards.



Before quitting this part of the subject, it may be proper to notice the conclusion of the adventures of the notorious Morgan. In the year which elapsed between the plunder of Panama and 1680, he had sufficient address and interest, or, more probably, skill in the appliance of his ill-gotten wealth, to obtain from Charles II. the honour of knighthood, and afterward to be appointed deputy-governor of Jamaica. Though it was believed that he still secretly shared in the plundering adventures of the Bucaniers, Morgan treated many of his old comrades with very great severity. Several of them were hanged under his administration, and others he delivered up to the Spaniards at Carthagena, as was believed, for the price of blood; nor does the character of Morgan make this suspicion improbable. The strict justice and severity exercised by the deputy-governor on his old friends and countrymen, did not, however, dispose the Spaniards to unlimited confidence in Morgan; and suspecting him of secretly favouring the Bucaniers, who had once more increased, they were able, after the accession of James II., to get him removed from his office and committed for a time to prison in England.

In 1683, the Bucaniers, led by three noted chiefs, Van Horn, Grammont, and Laurent de Graff, by a stratagem took the city of Vera Cruz in the Gulf of Mexico. Many of the English Bucaniers were engaged in this expedition, though none of them held high command. This was reckoned the most brilliant exploit that had yet been achieved by the Flibustiers. Their mode of attack was similar to that which had been practised by Drake a century before. In the darkness of night a sufficient force was landed, which marched three leagues over land, and before dawn surprised and captured the city. The inhabitants were shut up in the churches, the usual prison of the Bucaniers, at the door of each of which barrels of gunpowder were placed, and sentinels beside them holding a lighted match, ready to produce an explosion at a moment's notice, or on the slightest symptom of revolt. The city was thus pilaged without molestation from the inhabitants; and the famished prisoners in the churches were afterward glad to purchase their freedom on any terms their conquerers chose to dictate. Ten millions of livres were demanded as a ransom, and the half of it had been raised and paid in, when the appearance of a body of troops and a fleet of seventeen ships caused the freebooters to make a precipitate but well-ordered retreat, carrying off 1500 slaves. Loaded with their booty and prisoners, they boldly sailed through the fleet sent to attack them, which did not venture to fire a single gun. They might probably have roused the Spaniards from their fear or

lethargy by an assault, had they not been more careful to preserve the plunder they had obtained, than desirous of a barren naval victory over ships carrying no cargoes.

Fortunately for the freedom and repose of the Spanish colonists, no Bucanier corps ever agreed, or acted in harmony, for any length of time. Their lawless unions fell to pieces even more rapidly than they were formed; and those of the French and English seldom adhered even to the conclusion of a joint expedition. On the present occasion they separated in wrath, the Frenchmen employing the pretext of the quarrel they artfully fomented to withhold the Englishmen's share of the pillage. The latter cruises of the Bucaniers were in few respects distinguished by the honour and integrity among themselves which were said to have marked their first exploits. The French Flibustier now sought but a shallow excuse to plunder the English Bucanier, who, on the other side, lost no opportunity of retaliation.

The tardy though now earnest efforts of France and Britain to crush the brethren of the coast, the increasing military and maritime strength of the Spanish colonists, and above all a field too narrow and exhausted for the numerous labourers, together with wild and magnificent ideas of the wealth of Peru, were so many powerful motives urging the Bucaniers, whether French or English, upon enterprises in a new and wider region. Among them an estimate was formed of the riches of the western shores, from the single circumstance, that in a few years after the visit of Morgan, a new city of Panama had arisen, which in splendour and wealth eclipsed the desolated town. The Peruvian coast and the South Sea, in all their riches and extent, presented a field which neither the long arm of France, nor the powerful hand of England could reach; and of the opposition to be feared from the indolent and effeminate inhabitants the expedition of Morgan had afforded a very satisfactory specimen. In the new design of crossing the continent, and searching for untried regions of conquest and spoliation, the Bucaniers were rather urged by personal motives of rapacity, and the desire of escaping from the colonial officials of the West India islands—who latterly either shared their booty or treated them with great severity, and not unfrequently did both—than influenced by any enlightened or comprehensive plan of operations. The wealth of this new region and the ease with which it might be acquired were primary reasons; personal security was merely secondary; and beyond these motives this chaotic banditti never once looked; all their ideas of conquest being limited to the plunder of a city or a ship, to plate, silks, and pieces of eight; nor were their

enjoyments and pleasures of a more liberal or elevated kind. We may therefore without much regret here close this general sketch of the Bucaniers. All that is interesting in their subsequent career, from the plundering of Vera Cruz in the Bay of Mexico to their decay and suppression, is closely interwoven with the personal adventures of Dampier, on which we are now to enter.

CAPTAIN DAMPIER was born about 1652, at East Coker, near Yeovil, a considerable market-town in Somersetshire. His father was probably a farmer; and we learn incidentally that his mother, when a widow, along with whatever other property she might possess, held the lease of a small farm at East Coker from Colonel Hellier, the lord of the manor.

Before the death of his parents, which happened while he was very young, Dampier had begun to receive the elements of a classical education; but on this event taking place his studies were suspended, and he was sent to acquire writing and arithmetic, to qualify him for some humbler employment than might have been originally designed; and in a short time after the death of his mother, he was placed with a shipmaster belonging to Weymouth. Slender as his advantages of early education appear to have been, he profited so largely by them as to afford one more proof that the best part of a man's learning is that which he acquires by himself.

William Dampier's first voyage was to France, his next to Newfoundland, in which he suffered so severely from the climate, that he almost resolved against returning to sea; but this determination was changed into a resolution not to try the same ungenial quarter. Dampier, now about eighteen, was already animated by the restless activity, the curiosity, love of vicissitude, adventure, and peril, which form the strong and marking characteristics of the youth who is born a seaman. "The offer," he says, "of a *long* voyage and a *warm* one soon carried me to sea again." He entered as a foremast-man on board the *Martha*, East Indiaman, which sailed direct from London to Bantam; from whence, after a stay of two months, he returned within little more than the year. From his early childhood Dampier had been a keen observer. On his former voyages he had gained some nautical experience, which he enlarged during the present, diligently studying the practical part of his profession, though he had not yet commenced a journal, the keeping of which came to be the solace of his roaming unconnected life, and the means of great mental improvement.

The summer after his return from India, Dampier spent with his brother in Somersetshire, whose house in early life seems to have been his home while on shore. His next service was on board the *Royal Prince*, in which he enlisted, England being then at war with Holland. He was in two engagements; but of a third fought by the ship, in which the commander, Sir Edward Sprague, was killed, he was not a witness, having previously fallen into bad health. From the ship he was sent to Harwich hospital, and finally to his brother's, where he slowly recovered.

With returning health the love of the sea recurred; but Dampier meanwhile accepted the offer of Colonel Hellier, and went to Jamaica as under-manager of a plantation belonging to that gentleman, forming a special agreement with the captain to protect himself from the frauds of the kidnappers. The ship went "merrily along," steering for Barbadoes, which was the first of the islands that Dampier beheld. He was at this time twenty-two years of age, active, intelligent, and full of an instinctive curiosity, already under the guidance of a strong, clear, and prompt understanding.

As a planter Dampier was "clearly out of his element;" and after spending some time in this ungenial occupation, he engaged with different traders belonging to Port Royal, who coasted round Jamaica, carrying goods from the plantations to that port. In these coasting voyages he became thoroughly acquainted with all the harbours and bays of the island, and with the land and sea winds and currents. Availing himself of every opportunity and means of acquiring knowledge, Dampier appears through life to have become wearied of every scene the moment he had exhausted the information it afforded, and to have longed for change as soon as he had overmastered its difficulties. His next voyage, undertaken in August, 1675, was to the island of Trist, in the Bay of Campeachy, for a cargo of logwood. In these late voyages he acted in the capacity of a common sailor in a small vessel; but he now kept a regular journal, and was no common observer. On this voyage to Campeachy his nautical remarks and observations on the appearances and bearings of the coasts, the headlands, bays, and islands, are ample and exact,—distinguished by the clearness and perspicuity which are visible in all his subsequent relations. They anchored at One-Bush-Key, an islet about a mile from the shore, and so named from having a single stunted tree.

The life of the logwood-cutters of the Bay of Campeachy, free and unrestrained, had many charms for the young adven-

turer, and their jovial manners and frank hospitality, with the lucrative nature of the occupation of these merry foresters, made him resolve to return and join their ranks as soon as his present engagement terminated.

Logwood-cutting had now in many instances taken place of the hunting of wild cattle, which were become scarce. Some adventurers pursued both vocations, and others were wood-cutters alone. A third class occasionally added the variety and profit of a privateering cruise to their quieter employments.

The logwood-cutters in the Bay of Campeachy at this time amounted to about two hundred and fifty men, mostly natives of England, though there were also Scotchmen and Irishmen among their number. By Spain they were considered interlopers, and the trade contraband; but this did not much disturb their consciences. Their general practice was to make up a cargo in joint stock companies, the partnership lasting till the contract for the number of tons agreed on was completed.

The traders who bought the dye-wood carried the wood-cutters rum, sugar, tobacco, and other things necessary to them. The trade was usually opened by a solemn drinking-match on board the ships, where healths were pledged, and salvoes fired in honour of each pledge, with all the customary demonstrations of Bucanier banqueting. The trader who was the most liberal of his rum-punch on such festive occasions might assure himself of the best bargain of logwood; the cutters priding themselves upon cheating those they thought niggardly of their liquor and good cheer.

While taking in the cargo Dampier was often on shore, and frequently visited the cabins of the woodmen, who hospitably entertained him with the rough substantial fare which abounded among them,—pork and pease,—or beef, for which they hunted in the savannas,—with doughboys, a kind of thick unleavened cake, which, when on shore, the Bucaniers and hunters often kneaded for themselves. They were equally profuse of their liquor while the supply lasted.

The returning voyage of Dampier to Jamaica was singularly disastrous, and between Trist and Port-Royal the passage occupied thirteen weeks. Of the adventures and perils of this voyage he has left a very lively account. A passenger who returned with them to Jamaica—a prisoner who had escaped from the Spaniards—from his experience of this coast, was the means of saving them from being captured by a Spanish vessel, which gave chase to their bark. Though the crew had both fished and hunted at several places before they reached Jamaica, they were during most part of the passage greatly pinched for provisions; and on coming to anchor after so many

hardships, they sent ashore for a supply, made a feast, and were just compounding a flowing bowl of punch, when the captain of a New-England trader came on board to visit them, and was invited to share in the carouse. What follows is an amusing trait of the nautical manners of the place and time:—"Mr. Hooker, being drank to by Captain Rawlins, who pledged Captain Hudswell, and having the bowl in his hands, said that he was under an oath to drink but three draughts of strong liquor in one day, and putting the bowl to his head turned it off at one draught, and so making himself drunk, disappointed our expectations till we made another bowl. I think it might contain six quarts."

As soon as he was discharged, Dampier returned to the Bay of Campeachy, to try his fortunes among the logwood-cutters. Preparatory to this voyage he had provided himself with hatchets, knives, axes, saws, wedges, the sleeping-pavilion necessary for defence against the insects in this climate, and a gun, with a supply of powder and shot. A power of attorney, lodged with a merchant who acted as factor for the logwood-cutters, completed his arrangements.

The logwood forest in which the men laboured who were joined by Dampier was on the west lagune of Trist Island, in the Bay of Campeachy.

The first wood-cutters were men who had adopted this occupation when bucaniering was overdone from the number of competitors, and become dangerous from prohibitory edicts. They originally settled near the forests of the dye-wood at Cape Catoch. When these were exhausted they had removed to the Isle of Trist;—the first intimation to the Spaniards of their arrival on a new point being the strokes of their axes on the trees, or the report of their guns in the woods and savannas. These wood-cutters were divided into parties of from three to ten or twelve. The company which consented to receive Dampier as a helper, ignorant as he still was of their employment, consisted of six individuals, who had a cargo of logwood of a hundred tons already felled and chipped, and ready to be brought to the creek, whence it was to be shipped for New England. His wages were to be the price of a ton of wood per month.

The wood-cutters had constructed their cabins close by the sides of the creeks of the east and west lagunes of Trist, for the enjoyment of the refreshing sea-breezes, and to be as near the dyewood-groves as was found convenient. As the nearest trees gradually fell beneath their axes, they frequently, instead of abandoning a favourite habitation, repaired to the scene of their daily labours in their canoes. To each company belong-

ed a canoe, pirogue, or large boat, which was necessary in conveying their lading to the traders, and also in the chase; for they hunted cattle by water as well as land, for this purpose driving them into narrow creeks. Their cabins were of fragile construction, but thickly thatched with palm-leaves, to shelter the inmates from the violent rains of the wet season. Above the floor a wooden frame was raised three or four feet, and this *barbecue*, with the pavilion or mosquito-curtains stretched and supported over it, formed the sleeping-place of the wood-cutters; another, equal in height, covered with earth, formed the domestic hearth; and a third served as seats.

The logwood-groves were near the sea,—this wood growing and thriving best in low wet ground, and among timber of a lower growth. The trees were from two to six feet in circumference. They resembled the white thorn of England, save in size. The heart of the trunk, which is red, is alone used as a dye-stuff, the spongy outer part being chipped away. It is a heavy wood, and burns well; and for this reason the hunters, wood-cutters, and Bucaniers always, when it could be obtained, preferred it for hardening the steel of their fire-arms. Bloodwood, another dye-stuff much esteemed, was found in the Gulf of Nicaragua, and sold at double the price of the logwood,—the latter selling at fifteen pounds\* per ton, when the bloodwood cost thirty pounds.

In these savannas and primeval forests an endless variety of birds and insects engaged the attention of the young seaman, to which we cannot now advert. The creeks, rivers, and lagunes, as well as the open shores, were equally prolific of fishes unknown in the English waters. No place in the world was better stored with alligators than the Bay of Campeachy. These the Bucaniers, who scrupled at no sort of food, never ate, save in cases of great necessity, as even their intrepid stomachs were offended by the strong musky flavour of the flesh of this hideous creature. The alligators of the bay were generally harmless when not molested; though accidents sometimes occurred, of which one is recorded by Dampier that merits notice. In the height of the dry season, when in those torrid regions all animated nature pants with consuming thirst, a party of the wood-cutters, English and Irish, went to hunt in the neighbourhood of a lake called Pies Pond, in Beef Island, one of the smaller islands of the bay. To this pond

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\* Valuable as this wood was, the French Bucaniers who captured Campeachy, on one occasion, displayed their enthusiastic loyalty by burning £42,000 worth in celebrating the birthday of their king, or the festival of St. Louis.

the wild cattle repaired in herds to drink, and here the hunters lay in wait for them. The chase had been prosecuted with great success for a week, when an Irishman of the party, going into the water during the day, stumbled upon an alligator, which seized him by the knee. His cries alarmed his companions, who, fearing that he had been seized by the Spaniards, to whom the island belonged, and who chose the dry season to hunt, and repel their unwelcome neighbours, instead of affording assistance, fled from the huts which they had erected. The Irishman, seeing no appearance of help, with happy presence of mind quietly waited till the alligator loosened its teeth to take a new and surer hold; and when it did so, snatched away his knee, interposing the butt-end of his gun in its stead, which the animal seized so firmly that it was jerked out of the man's hand and carried off. He then crawled up a neighbouring tree, again shouting after his comrades, who now found courage to return. His gun was found next day, dragged ten or twelve paces from the place where it had been seized by the alligator.

At the same place, Pies Pond in Beef Island, Dampier had a remarkable escape from an alligator. Passing with some of his comrades through a small savanna, where the water lay two or three feet deep, in search of a bullock to shoot for supper, a strong scent of an alligator was perceived, and presently Dampier stumbled over one and fell down. He cried out for help, but his companions ran towards the woods to save themselves. No sooner had he scrambled up to follow them, than in the agitation of the moment he fell a second and even a third time, expecting every instant to be devoured, and yet escaped untouched; but he candidly says, "I was so frightened, that I never cared to go through the water again as long as I was in the Bay."

On the first Saturday after he commenced wood-cutter, Dampier followed his employers in the humble capacity of raising and driving the cattle out of the savannas into the woods, where the hunters lay in wait to shoot them. The following Saturday his ambition took a higher flight. He thought it more honourable to have a shot himself than to drive the game for others; and, after going five miles by water and one by land, to the hunting-ground, he gave his companions the slip, and rambled so far into the woods that he lost himself, going at every step farther astray through small strips of savanna and skirts of woodland—a maze of plain and forest which seemed interminable. The rest of this youthful adventure, from which Dampier drew a beneficial lesson for the



regulation of his future life, cannot be better narrated than in his own words.

“This was in May (the dry season,) and it was between ten o’clock and one when I began to find that I was, as we call it, *marooned*, or lost, and quite out of the hearing of my comrades’ guns. I was somewhat surprised at this; but, however, I knew that I should find my way out as soon as the sun was a little lower. So I sat down to rest myself, resolving, however, to run no farther out of my way, for the sun being so near the zenith I could not distinguish how to direct my course. Being weary, and almost faint for want of water, I was forced to have recourse to the wild pines, and was by them supplied, or else I must have perished with thirst. About three o’clock I went due north, or as near as I could judge, for the savanna lay east and west, and I was on the south side of it.

“At sunset I got out into the clear open savanna, being about two leagues wide in most places, but how long I know not. It is well stored with bullocks, but by frequent hunting they grow shy, and remove farther up into the country. There I found myself four or five miles to the west of the place where I had straggled from my companions. I made homeward with all the speed I could; but being overtaken by the night, I lay down on the grass a good distance from the woods, for the benefit of the wind to keep the mosquitoes from me; but in vain, for in less than an hour’s time I was so persecuted, that though I endeavoured to keep them off by fanning myself with boughs, and shifting my quarters three or four times, yet still they so haunted me that I could get no sleep. At daybreak I got up and directed my course to the creek where we landed, from which I was then about two leagues. I did not see one beast of any sort whatever in all the way, though the day before I saw several young calves that could not follow their dams; but even these were now gone away, to my great vexation and disappointment, for I was very hungry. But, about a mile farther, I espied ten or twelve quaaums perching on the boughs of a cotton-tree. These were not shy: therefore I got well under them, and having a single bullet, but no shot, about me, fired at one of them and missed it, though I had often before killed them so. Then I came up with and fired at five or six turkeys with no better success, so that I was forced to march forward, still in the savanna, towards the creek; and when I came to the path that led to it through the woods, I found to my great joy a hat stuck upon a pole, and when I came to the creek another. These were set up by my consorts, who had gone home in the evening, as signals that they would come and fetch me. Therefore I sat down and waited

for them; for although I had not above three leagues home by water, yet it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, for me to have got thither overland, by reason of those vast impassable thickets abounding every where along the creek's side, wherein I have known some puzzled for two or three days, and have not advanced half a mile, although they laboured extremely every day. Neither was I disappointed of my hopes, for within half an hour after my arrival in the creek my consorts came, bringing every man his bottle of water and his gun, both to hunt for game and to give me notice by firing, that I might hear them; for I have known several men lost in the like manner, and never heard of afterward."

When his first month's service was ended, Dampier received as pay the price of a ton of wood, with which he bought provisions, and entered into a new engagement, on the footing of comradeship, but with other partners. Of the former company to which he had been attached, some went to Beef Island to hunt bullocks for their skins, which they prepared for sale by pegging them strongly down to the ground, turning first the fleshy and then the hairy side uppermost, till they were perfectly dry. It required thirty-two pegs, each as thick as a man's arm, to stretch one hide; afterward they were hung in heaps upon a pole, that they might not touch the ground, and from time to time well beat with sticks to drive out the worms which bred in the skins and spoiled them. Before being shipped off they were soaked in salt water to kill the remaining worms. While still wet they were folded up, left thus for a time, and once more thoroughly dried and packed for exportation.

To this trade Dampier preferred wood-cutting. His partners were three Scotchmen, Price Morrice, Duncan Campbell, and a third, who is called by his Christian-name of George only. The two latter were persons of education, who had been bred merchants, and liked neither the employment nor the society of the bay; they therefore only waited the first opportunity of getting away by a logwood-ship. The first vessel that arrived was from Boston, and this they freighted with forty tons of diewood, which it was agreed Duncan Campbell should go to New-England to sell, bringing back flour and other things suited to the market of the bay, to exchange for hides and logwood; while George remained making up a fresh cargo against Campbell's return. And here Dampier makes an observation on the character of his associates which deserves to be noticed as the result of the experience of a man who had seen and reflected much upon life and manners. "This," he says, "retarded our business, for I did not find

Price Morrice very intent on work ; for 'tis like he thought he had logwood enough. And I have particularly observed there, and in other places, that such as had been well-bred were generally most careful to improve their time, and would be very industrious and frugal when there was any probability of considerable gain. But, on the contrary, such as had been inured to hard labour, and got their living by the sweat of their brows, when they came to have plenty, would extravagantly squander away their time and money in drinking and making a bluster."

To make up for the indolence of his comrade Dampier kept the closer to work himself till attacked by a very singular disease. A red and ill-conditioned swelling or bile broke out upon his right leg, which he was directed to poultice with the roasted roots of the white lily. This he persisted in doing for some days, "when two white specs appeared in the centre of the bile, and on squeezing it two small white worms spurted out, about the thickness of a hen's quill, and three or four inches long." These were quite different from the Guinea-worm, common in some of the West India islands, and in the time of Dampier very common in Curaçao. From these last he afterward suffered severely.

Shortly after his recovery from this attack the bay was visited by one of those tremendous hurricanes known only in tropical countries, which raged for twenty-four hours without intermission. This was in June, 1676. Two days before the storm came on, the wind "whiffled" about to the south and back again to the east, but blew faintly, while the weather continued very fair, though it was remarked that the men-of-war birds came trooping towards the shore in great numbers, and hovered over the land. The hunters and logwood-cutters, among their numerous superstitions, augured the arrival of ships from the appearance of those birds, and imagined that as many birds as hovered over-head so many vessels might be expected. At this time there appeared whole flocks.

It was noticed by Dampier, that for two days the tide kept ebbing, till the creek by which the woodmen's huts stood was left nearly dry. In it there was commonly at ebb-tide seven or eight feet of water, but now scarcely three remained even in the deepest places. At four o'clock in the afternoon following this strange ebbing of the waters, the sky looked very black, the wind sprung up at S. E., fresh and rapidly increasing, and in less than two hours blew down all the cabins of the woodmen save one: this they propped with posts, and, as it were, anchored by casting ropes over the roof, which were then made fast on both sides to the stumps of trees. In this frail

shed they all huddled together while the hurricane raged abroad. It rained in torrents during the whole period of the tempest ; and in two hours after the wind had risen the water flowed so fast into the creek that it was as high as the banks. Though the wind now blew off shore, the waters continued to rush in, nor did the rain abate ; and by ten o'clock next morning the banks of the creek were overflowed.

The situation of the woodmen now became perilous. They brought their canoe to the side of the hut, and fastened it to the stump of a tree as a means of escape ; this being their only hope of safety, as beyond the banks which edged the creek the land fell, and there "was now no walking through the woods because of the water. Besides, the trees were torn up by the roots, and tumbled down so strangely across each other, that it was almost impossible to pass through them." In this violent tempest many fish were either cast alive upon the shore or found floating dead in the lagunes. It was remarkable that the hurricane, as was afterward ascertained, did not extend ninety miles to windward.

Of four ships riding at anchor at One-Bush-Key, three were driven from their moorings, and one of them was carried up into the woods of Beef Island.

The wood-cutters suffered in many ways. The whole country was laid under water to a considerable depth, there being three feet even on the highest land ; so that they could not for some time prosecute their labours. Much of their provision was destroyed, and what remained they had no way of cooking save in their canoes.

As soon as the storm abated, Dampier's company embarked in the canoe, and made for One-Bush-Key, about four leagues distant, hoping to procure assistance from the ships there. These, as has been noticed, had all been driven from their anchors save one ; and the kindness of the crew of this fortunate vessel had already been severely taxed by an influx of the flooded wood-cutters from different points. Dampier and his companions could get "neither bread nor punch, nor so much as a dram of rum, though they offered to pay for it." From this inhospitable quarter, they rowed for Beef Island, their singular land-mark being the flag of a ship displayed in the woods. The vessel herself was found two hundred yards from the sea, from which she had cut her way in the storm, levelling the trees on each side, and making a clear path before her through the forest. In this transit the stumps had gone through her bottom, and there was no way of saving her. Meanwhile she held together, and the forlorn woodmen were well entertained with victuals and punch, and invited to remain for the

night ; but, hearing a signal-gun fired from a distant lagune, they concluded that one of the ships was driven in there by distress and rowed off to her assistance. With a Captain Chandler, whom they found here greatly in want of their services, Dampier and his partners laboured for two days, and then went to Beef Island to hunt for cattle. This island is about seven leagues long, and in breadth from three to four : at the east end " low drowned land : " the middle is one large savanna, bordered with trees ; the south side, between the savannas and the mangrove-belt or swampy ground, is very rich.

The hurricane had deprived Dampier of his slender stock of provisions ; and having neither money nor credit to obtain a fresh supply from the traders who arrived from Jamaica, he was forced for immediate subsistence to join a company of " privateers " then in the bay. With these Bucaniers he continued for nearly a year, rambling about the Bay of Campeachy, visiting its numerous creeks, islands, and rivers, and making with them frequent descents upon Indian villages and Spanish settlements. At these places they obtained supplies of Indian corn, which, with the beef for which they hunted, turtle, and *manatee*, formed their principal subsistence ; Dampier in every passing hour adding to his stores of knowledge.

The *manatee*, or sea-cow, as seen by Dampier in the Bay of Campeachy, the river Darien, at Mandanao, and on the coast of New Holland, he describes as of the thickness of a horse, and in length ten or twelve feet. The mouth is like that of a cow, the lips are very thick, the eyes no bigger than a pea, and the ears two small holes. It frequents creeks, inlets, and mouths of rivers, and never leaves the water for any length of time. It lives on a sort of grass which grows in the sea. The flesh is white, sweet and wholesome. The tail of a young cow was esteemed a delicate morsel by the Bucaniers, and so was a sucking-calf, which they cooked by roasting. The tough, thick skin of the *manatee* they applied to various uses.

The Mosquito Indians were peculiarly dexterous in fishing, and also in striking *manatee* and catching turtle ; for which purpose the Bucaniers always tried to have one or two natives of the Mosquito shore attached to their company as purveyors on their cruises.

The Indians of the villages on the Tobasco lived chiefly on maize, which they baked into cakes, and from which they also made a sort of liquor, which, when allowed to sour, afforded a pleasant, refreshing draught. When a beverage for company was wanted, a little honey was mixed with this drink. A

stronger liquor was made of parched maize and anotta, which was drunk without straining. The Indians reared abundance of turkeys, ducks, and fowls,—the *padre* taking such strict account of the tithe that it was necessary to procure his license before they durst kill one. They also raised cotton, and manufactured their own clothing, which for both sexes was decent and becoming.

Under the sanction of the village priest all marriages were contracted; the men marrying at fourteen, the women at twelve. If at this early age they had made no choice, then the *padre* selected for them. These early marriages were one means of securing the power and increasing the gains of the priest; and the young couples themselves were contented, happy, and affectionate. They inhabited good houses, lived comfortably by the sweat of their brows, and on holy eves and saints' days enjoyed themselves under the direction of their spiritual guides, who permitted them the recreation of pipe and tabor, hautboys and drums, and lent them vizards and ornaments for the mummings and other amusements which they practised. The village churches were lofty compared with the ordinary dwelling-houses, and ornamented with coarse pictures of tawny or bronze-coloured saints and madonnas, recommended to the Indians by the tint of the native complexion. To their good *padres*, notwithstanding the tithe-fowls, the Indian flocks were submissive and affectionate.

We cannot here follow the minute account which Dampier has given of all the rivers of Campeachy during his cruise of eleven months around this rich country. The farthest west point which he visited was Alvarado, to which the *Bucaniers* with whom he sailed went in two barks, thirty men in each. The river flows through a fertile country, thickly planted with Spanish towns and Indian villages. At its mouth was a small fort placed on the declivity of a sandbank, and mounted with six guns. The sandbanks are here about two hundred feet high on both sides.

This fort the *Bucaniers* attacked; but it held out stoutly for five hours, during which time the country was alarmed, and the inhabitants of the adjoining town got off in their boats, carrying away all their money and valuables and the best part of their goods. The *Bucaniers* lost ten men killed or desperately wounded; and when they landed next morning to pillage, it being dark before the fort yielded, little booty was found. Twenty or thirty bullocks they killed, salted, and sent on board, with salt fish, Indian corn, and abundance of poultry. They also found and brought away many tame parrots of a very beautiful kind, yellow and scarlet curiously blended,—the

fairest and largest birds of their kind Dampier ever saw in the West Indies. "They prated very prettily."

Though little solid booty was obtained, what with provisions, chests, hencoops and parrots' cages, the ships were filled and lumbered; and while in this state seven Spanish *armadilloes* from Vera Cruz, detached in pursuit of the Bucaniers, appeared, coming full sail over the bar into the river. Not a moment was to be lost. Clearing their decks of lumber by throwing all overboard, the Bucaniers got under full sail, and drove over the bar at the river's mouth, before the enemy, who could with difficulty stem the current, had scarcely reached it. The Spanish vessels were to windward, and a few shots were of necessity exchanged; and now commenced one of those singular escapes from tremendous odds of strength of which Bucanier history is so full. The *Toro*, the admiral of the Spanish barks, was of itself more than a match for the freebooters. It carried 10 guns and 100 men, while their whole force was now diminished to 50 men in both ships, one of which carried 6, and the other 2 guns. Another of the Spanish vessels carried 4 guns with 80 men; and the remaining five though not mounted with great guns, had each 60 or 70 men armed with muskets. "As soon," says Dampier's journal, "as we were over the bar, we got our larboard tacks aboard, and stood to the eastward as nigh the wind as we could lie. The Spaniards came quartering on us; and our ship being the headmost, the *Toro* came directly towards us, designing to board us. We kept firing at her, in hopes to have lamed either a mast or a yard; but failing, just as she was sheering aboard we gave her a good volley, and presently clapped the helm aweather, wore our ship, and got our starboard tacks aboard, and stood to the westward, and so left the *Toro*; but were saluted by all the small craft as we passed them, who stood to the eastward after the *Toro*, that was now in pursuit and close to our consort. We stood to the westward till we were against the river's mouth, then we tacked, and by the help of the current that came out of the river we were near a mile to windward of them all. Then we made sail to assist our consort, who was hard put to it; but on our approach the *Toro* edged away towards the shore, as did all the rest, and stood away for Alvarado; and we, glad of the deliverance, went away to the eastward, and visited all the rivers in our return again to Trist."

These visits produced little booty. They also searched the bays for *munjack*, "a sort of bitumen which we find in a lump, washed up by the sea, and left dry on all the sandy bays of the coast." This substance the Bucaniers, who were com-

pelled to find substitutes for many necessary things, tempered with tallow or oil, and employed as pitch in repairing their ships and canoes.

On the return of Dampier to the Island of Trist, the effects of the dismal hurricane of the former year had disappeared, and he resumed his labours among the woodmen. This employment was probably more profitable than his bucaniering cruise; as in the course of the following season he was able to visit England, intending to return to the bay when he had seen his friends. He sailed for Jamaica in April 1678, and in the beginning of August reached London.

Cutting diewood was still a profitable though a laborious trade; and Dampier shrewdly remarks, "that though it is not his business to say how far the English had a right to follow it, yet he was sure the Spaniards never received less damage from the persons who usually followed that trade than when they had exchanged the musket for the axe, and the deck of the privateer for the logwood-groves."

During his short residence in England at this time, Dampier must have married; for, though a trifling matter of this kind is too unimportant to be entered in a seaman's journal, we long afterward, while he lay off the Bashee or Five Islands, learn that he had left a wife in England, as, in compliment to the Duke of Grafton, he named the northernmost of the Bashee group Grafton's Isle, "having," as he says, "married my wife out of his dutchess' family, and leaving her at Arlington House at my going abroad."

After spending five or six months with his wife and his friends, Dampier, in the beginning of 1679, sailed as a passenger for Jamaica, intending immediately to return to his old trade and companions in the Bay of Campeachy. He took out goods from England, which he meant to exchange at Jamaica for the commodities in request among the wood-cutters. Instead, however, of prosecuting this design, he remained in Jamaica all that year, and by some means was enabled to purchase a small estate in Dorsetshire. This new possession he was about to visit, when induced to engage in a trading voyage to the Mosquito Shore. It promised to be profitable, and he was anxious to realize a little more ready money, before returning to England to settle for life. He accordingly sent home the title-deeds of his estate, and embarked with a Mr. Hobby.

Soon after leaving Port Royal, they came to anchor in a bay in the west end of the island, in which they found Captains Coxon, Sawkins, Sharp and "other privateers," as Dampier gently terms the most noted Bucanier commanders of the



period. Hobby's crew deserted him to a man to join the Bucanier squadron; and the Mosquito voyage being thus frustrated, Dampier "was the more easily persuaded to go with them too."

Their first attempt was on Porto Bello, of which assault Dampier gives no account, and he might not have been present at the capture. Two hundred men were landed; and, the better to prevent alarm, at such a distance from the town that it took them three days to march upon it, as during daylight they lay concealed in the woods. A negro gave the alarm, but not before the Bucaniers were so close upon his heels that the inhabitants were completely taken by surprise, and fled in every direction. The Bucaniers plundered for two days and two nights, in momentary expectation of the country rising upon them, and overpowering their small number; but, from avarice and rapacity, they were unable to tear themselves away.

To the shame of the Spaniards they got clear off, and divided shares of one hundred and sixty pieces of eight a head. Inspired by this success, they resolved immediately to march across the isthmus. They knew that such strokes of good fortune as this at Porto Bello could not longer be looked for on the eastern shores of America, and for some time their imaginations had been running upon the endless wealth to be found in the South Seas. They remained for about a fortnight at the Samballas Isles, and during this time, preparatory to their grand attempt, endeavoured to conciliate the Indians of the Darien, by gifts of toys and trinkets, and many fair promises. They also persuaded some of the Mosquito-men to join them, who, on account of their expertness in fishing, and striking turtle and *manatee*, besides their warlike qualities, were useful auxiliaries either in peace or war. Of this tribe, so long the friends, and, as they named themselves, the subjects of Britain, Dampier has given an exceedingly interesting account. In his time the clan or sept properly called Mosquito-men must have been very small, as he says the fighting-men did not amount to one hundred. They inhabited a tract on the coast near Cape Gracias Dios, stretching between Cape Honduras and Nicaragua. "They are," says our navigator, who appears partial to these Indians, "very ingenious at throwing the lance, *fisgig*, harpoon, or any manner of dart, being bred to it from their infancy; for the children, imitating their parents, never go abroad without a lance in their hands, which they throw at any object till use hath made them masters of the art. Then they learn to put by a lance, arrow, or dart; the manner is thus:—Two boys stand at a small distance, and dart a blunt stick at one another, each of them holding a small stick in his

right hand, with which he strikes away that which is darted at him. As they grow in years they become more dexterous and courageous; and then they will stand a fair mark to any one that will shoot arrows at them, which they will put by with a very small stick no bigger than the rod of a fowling-piece; and when they are grown to be men they will guard themselves from arrows though they come very thick at them, provided they do not happen to come two at once. They have extraordinary good eyes, and will descry a sail at sea, and see any thing better than we. Their chiefest employment in their own country is to strike fish, turtle, or *manatee*. For this they are esteemed and coveted by all privateers, for one or two of them in a ship will maintain one hundred men; so that when we careen our ships we choose commonly such places where there is plenty of turtle or *manatee* for these Mosquito-men to strike, and it is very rare to find a privateer destitute of one or more of them, when the commander and most of the crew are English; but they do not love the French, and the Spaniards they hate mortally.

“They are tall, well-made, raw-boned, lusty, strong, and nimble of foot, long-visaged, lank black hair, look stern, hard-favoured, and of a dark copper complexion. When they come among the privateers they get the use of fire-arms, and are very good marksmen. They behave themselves very bold in fight, and never seem to flinch nor hang back; for they think that the white men with whom they are know better than they do when it is best to fight, and, let the disadvantage of their party be never so great, they will never yield nor give back while any of their party stand. I could never perceive any religion nor any ceremonies or superstitious observations among them, being ready to imitate us in whatsoever they saw us do at any time. Only they seem to fear the Devil, whom they call *Willesaw*; and they say he often appears to some among them, whom our men commonly call their priests, when they desire to speak with him on urgent business. They all say they must not anger him, for then he will beat them; and he sometimes carries away these their priests. They marry but one wife, with whom they live till death separates them. At their first coming together the man makes a very small plantation. . . . They delight to settle near the sea, or by some river, for the sake of striking fish, their beloved employment; for within land there are other Indians with whom they are always at war. After the man hath cleared a spot of land, and hath planted it, he seldom minds it afterward, but leaves the managing of it to his wife, and he goes out a-striking. Sometimes he seeks only for fish, at other times for turtle or

*manatee*, and whatever he gets he brings home to his wife, and never stirs out to seek for more till it is eaten. When hunger begins to bite, he either takes his canoe and seeks for more game at sea, or walks out into the woods and hunts for pecaree and waree, each a sort of wild hogs, or deer, and seldom returns empty-handed, nor seeks any more as long as it lasts. Their plantations have not above twenty or thirty plantain-trees, a bed of yams and potatoes, a bush of pimento, and a small spot of pine-apples, from which they make a sort of drink, to which they invite each other to be merry. Whoever of them makes pine-drink treats his neighbours, providing fish and flesh also."

At their drinking-matches they often quarrelled, but the women prevented mischief by hiding their weapons. The Mosquito-men were kind and civil to the English, who endeavoured to retain the regard of such useful allies. For this purpose it was necessary to let them have their own way in every thing, and to return home the moment they desired it, for if contradicted there was an end of their services; and though turtle and fish abounded, they would manage to kill nothing. They called themselves, as has been noticed, subjects of the King of England, and liked to have their chiefs nominated by the Governor of Jamaica, which island they often visited. Pity that in subsequent periods the fidelity and regard of this brave and ingenious tribe were so ill and ungratefully requited by their powerful and ungenerous allies.

The Bucaniers commenced their march across the isthmus on the 5th of April, 1680, about three hundred and thirty strong, each man armed with a hanger, fusil, and pistol, and provided with four cakes of the bread which they called doughboys. Their generalissimo was Captain Sharp; and the men, marshalled in divisions, marched in something like military order, with flags and leaders. They were accompanied by those Indians of Darien who were the hereditary enemies of the Spaniards, whom they had subsidized with the hatchets, knives, beads, and toys with which they provided themselves at Porto Bello. These auxiliaries furnished them with plantains, venison, and fruit, in exchange for European commodities. The march was easily performed, and in nine days' journey they reached Santa Maria, which was taken without opposition, though this did not prevent the exercise of cruelty. The Indians cruelly and deliberately butchered many of the inhabitants. The plunder obtained falling far short of the expectations of the Bucaniers made them the more desirous to push forward. They accordingly embarked on the river of Santa Maria, which falls into the Gulf of St. Michael, in Indian ca-

noes and pirogues, having previously, in their summary way, deposed Captain Sharp, and chosen Captain Coxon commander.

On the same day that they reached the bay, whither some of the Darien chiefs still accompanied them, they captured a Spanish vessel of thirty tons burthen, on board of which a large party planted themselves, happy after the march, and being cramped and huddled up in the canoes, again to tread the deck of a ship of any size. At this time they divided into small parties, first appointing a rendezvous at the island of Chepillo, in the mouth of the river Cheapo. Dampier was with Captain Sharp, who went to the Pearl Islands in search of provisions.

In a few days the Bucaniers mustered for the attack of Panama, and on the 23d of April did battle for the whole day with three Spanish ships in the road, of which two were captured by boarding, while the third got off. The action was fierce and sanguinary; of the Bucaniers eighteen men were killed, and thirty wounded. The resistance was vigorous and brave; and the Spanish commander with many of his people fell before the action terminated. Even after this victory the Bucaniers did not consider themselves strong enough to attack the new city of Panama, but they continued to cruise in the bay, making valuable prizes. In the action with the Spanish ships Captain Sawkins had greatly distinguished himself by courage and conduct; and a quarrel breaking out among the Bucaniers while Coxon returned to the North Seas, he was chosen commander. He had not many days enjoyed this office, when, in an attack on Puebla Nueva, he was killed, leading on his men to the assault of a breastwork; and on his death Sharp, the second in command, showing faint heart, the Bucaniers retreated. New discontents broke out, and the party once more divided, not being able to agree in the choice of a leader; of those who remained in the South Sea, among whom was Dampier, Sharp was chosen commander. For some months he cruised on the coast of Peru, occasionally landing to pillage small towns and villages; and on Christmas-day anchored in a harbour of the Island of Juan Fernandez to rest and refit. Here they obtained abundance of crayfish, lobsters, and wild goats, which were numerous.

Sharp, who had always been unpopular, was once more formally deposed, and Captain Watling elected in his stead.

Having enjoyed themselves till the 12th of January, the Bucaniers were alarmed by the appearance of three vessels, which they concluded to be Spanish ships of war in pursuit of them. They put off to sea in all haste, in the hurry leaving

one of their Mosquito Indians, named William, upon the Island.

They again cruised along the coast, and the attack of the Spanish settlements by hasty descent was resumed. In attempting to capture Arica, Captain Watling was killed, and the Bucaniers were repulsed, having had a narrow escape from being all made prisoners. For want of any more competent leader, Sharp was once more raised to the command, and the South Sea had so greatly disappointed their hopes, that it was now agreed to return eastward by recrossing the isthmus. But another quarrel broke out, one party would not continue under Sharp, and another wished to try their fortunes farther on the South Sea. It was therefore agreed that the majority should retain the ship, the other party taking the long-boat and canoes. Sharp's party proved the most numerous. They cruised in the South Sea, on the coast of Patagonia and Chili, for the remainder of the season of 1681, and early in the following year returned to the West Indies by doubling Cape Horn, but durst not land at any of the English settlements. Sharp, soon afterward going home, was tried in England with several of his men for piracy, but escaped conviction.

In the minority which broke off from Sharp was William Dampier, who appears at this time to have been little distinguished among his companions. The party consisted of forty-four Europeans and two Mosquito Indians. Their object was to recross the isthmus,—an undertaking of no small difficulty, from the nature of the country and the hostility of the Spaniards. Before they left the ship they sifted a large quantity of flour, prepared chocolate with sugar, as provision, and entered into a mutual engagement, that if any man sank on the journey he should be shot by his comrades, as but one man falling into the hands of the Spaniards must betray the others to certain destruction. In a fortnight after leaving the ship near the Island of Plata, they landed at the mouth of a river in the Bay of St. Michael, where, taking out all their provisions, arms, and clothing, they sank their boat. While they spent a few hours in preparing for the inland march, the Mosquito-men caught fish, which afforded one plentiful meal to the whole party; after which they commenced their journey late in the afternoon of the 1st of May. At night they constructed huts, in which they slept. On the 2d they struck into an Indian path, and reached an Indian village, where they obtained refreshments; but were uneasy on understanding the closeness of their vicinity to the Spaniards, who had placed ships at the mouths of the navigable rivers to look out for them, and inter-

cept their return eastward. Next day, with a hired Indian guide, they proceeded, and reached the dwelling of a native, who received them with sullen churlishness, which in ordinary times the Bucaniers would ill have brooked; "though this," says Dampier, "was neither a time nor place to be angry with the Indians, all our lives lying at their hands." Neither the temptation of dollars, hatchets, nor long knives would operate on this intractable Indian, till one of the seamen, taking a sky-coloured petticoat from his bag, threw it over the lady of the house, who was so much delighted with the gift, that she soon wheedled her husband into better humour; and he now not only gave them information, but found them a guide. It rained hard and frequently on both days, but they were still too near the Spanish garrisons and guard ships to mind the weather or to dally by the way. The country was found difficult and fatiguing, without any trace of a path, the Indians guiding themselves by the rivers, which they were sometimes compelled to cross twenty or thirty times in a day. Rainy weather, hardship, and hunger soon expelled all fear of the Spaniards, who were, besides, not likely to follow their foes into these intricate solitudes.

On the 5th day they reached the dwelling of a young Spanish Indian,—a civilized person, who had lived with the Bishop of Panama, and spoke the Spanish language fluently. He received them kindly, and though unable to provide for the wants of so many men, freely gave what he had. At this place they rested to dry their clothes and ammunition, and to clean their fire-arms. While thus employed Mr. Wafer, the surgeon of the Bucaniers, who had been among the malcontents, had his knee so much scorched by an accidental explosion of gunpowder, that, after dragging himself forward during another day, he was forced to remain behind his companions, together with one or two more who had been exhausted by the march. Among the Indians of the Darien, Wafer remained for three months, and he has left an account, which is considered the best we yet possess, of those tribes.

The march was continued in very bad weather, this being the commencement of the rainy season, and thunder and lightning frequent and violent. As the bottoms of the valleys and the rivers' banks were now overflowed, instead of constructing huts every night for their repose, the travellers were often obliged to seek for a resting-place, and to sleep under trees. To add to their hardships their slaves deserted, carrying off whatever they could lay their hands upon.

Before leaving the ship, foreseeing the difficulties of the journey, and the necessity of perpetually fording the rivers,

Dampier had taken the precaution to deposite his journal in a bamboo, closed at both ends with wax. In this way his papers were secured from wet, while the journalist frequently swam across the rivers which so greatly impeded the progress of the march. In crossing a river where the current ran very strong, one man, who carried his fortune of three hundred dollars on his back, was swept down the stream and drowned; and so worn out were his comrades, that, fond as they were of gold, they would not at this time take the trouble to look for or burden themselves with his. It was the eighteenth day of the march before the Bucaniers reached the river Conception, where they obtained Indian canoes, in which they proceeded to La Sound's Key, one of the Samballas Islands, which were much frequented by the Bucaniers. Here they entered a French privateer, commanded by Captain Tristian; and, with better faith than Bucaniers usually displayed, generously rewarded their Indian guides with money, toys, and hatchets, and dismissed them. The Bucaniers of this time were somewhat less ferocious in manners than those under Morgan and Lolonnois, though it never entered into their thoughts that there could be any wrong in robbing the Spániards. Sawkins and Watling maintained stricter discipline than had been customary in former periods, approximating their discipline and regulations to those of privateers, or ships of war. They even made the Sabbath be observed with outward signs of respect. On one occasion, when Sawkins' men, who like all Bucaniers were inveterate gamblers, played on Sunday, the captain flung the dice overboard.

In two days after Dampier and his friends had gone on board the French vessel, it left La Sound's for Springer's Key, another of the Samballas Islands, where eight Bucanier vessels then lay, of which the companies had formed the design of crossing to Panama. From this expedition they were, however, diverted by the dismal report of the newly-arrived travellers; and the assault of other places was taken into consideration. From Trinidad to Vera Cruz the Bucaniers had now an intimate knowledge of every town upon the coast, and for twenty leagues into the interior; and acquaintance with the strength and wealth of each, and with the number and quality of the inhabitants. The preliminary consultations now held lasted for a week, the French and English not agreeing; but at last they sailed for Carpenter's River, going first towards the Isle of St. Andreas. In a gale the ships were separated; and Dampier, being left with a French captain, conceived such a dislike to his shipmates, that he and his fellow-travellers in crossing the isthmus induced a countryman of their own,

named Captain Wright, to fit up and arm a small vessel, with which they cruised about the coast in search of provisions, still, however, keeping their jackals, the Mosquito-men, who caught turtle while the Bucaniers hunted in the woods for *pecaree*, *waree*, deer, quaums, parrots, pigeons, and curassow birds, and also monkeys, which in times of hardship they esteemed a delicate morsel. At one place several of the men were suddenly taken ill from eating land-crabs which had fed upon the fruit of the manchineel-tree. All animals that fed on this fruit were avoided by the freebooters as unwholesome, if not poisonous. In selecting unknown wild fruits the Bucaniers were guided by the birds, freely eating whatever kind had been pecked, but no bird touched the fruit of the manchineel.

On returning to La Sound's Key from this cruise, they were joined by Mr. Wafer. He had been for three months kindly entertained by an Indian Chief, who had offered him his daughter in marriage, and grudged him nothing save the liberty of going away. From this kind but exacting chief he escaped under pretence of going in search of English dogs to be employed in hunting, the Indian being aware of the superiority which dogs gave the Spaniards in the chase. Mr. Wafer had been painted by the women of the Darien, and his own clothes being worn out, he was now dressed, or rather undressed, like the natives; whom, under this disguise, he resembled so much, that it was sometime before Dampier recognized his old acquaintance the surgeon.

From the Samballas they cruised towards Carthagena, which they passed, having a fair view of the city, and casting longing eyes upon the rich monastery on the steep hill rising behind it. This monastery, dedicated to the Virgin, is, says Dampier, "a place of incredible wealth, by reason of the offerings made here continually; and for this reason often in danger of being visited by the privateers, did not the neighbourhood of Carthagena keep them in awe. 'Tis, in short, the very Loretto of the West Indies, and hath innumerable miracles related of it. Any misfortune that befalls the privateers is attributed to this lady's doing; and the Spaniards report, that she was abroad that night the Oxford man-of-war was blown up at the Isle of Vaca, and that she came home all wet; as belike she often returns with her clothes dirty and torn with passing through woods and bad ways when she has been upon an expedition, deserving, doubtless, a new suit for such eminent pieces of service."

The company of Captain Wright pillaged several small places about Rio de la Hacha and the Rancheries, which was the head-quarters of a small Spanish pearl-fishery. The pearl-



banks lay about four or five leagues off the shore. In prosecuting this fishery, the Indian divers, first anchoring their boats, dived, and brought up full the baskets previously let down; and when their barks were filled, they went ashore, and the oysters were opened by the old men, women, and children, under the inspection of a Spanish overseer.

In a short time afterward, the *Bucaniers* captured, after a smart engagement, an armed ship of twelve guns and forty men, laden with sugar, tobacco, and marmalade, bound to Carthagena from St. Jago in Cuba. From the disposal of this cargo, some insight is afforded into the mysteries of *bucaniering*. It was offered first to the Dutch governor of Curacao, who having, as he said, a great trade with the Spaniards, could not openly admit the freebooters to this island, though he directed them to go to St. Thomas, which belonged to the Danes, whither he would send a sloop with such commodities as the *Bucaniers* required, and take the sugar off their hands. The rovers, however, declined the terms offered by the cautious Dutchman, and sailed from St. Thomas to another Dutch colony, where they found a better merchant. From hence they sailed for the Isle of Aves, which, as its name imports, abounded in birds, especially boobies and men-of-war birds. The latter bird was about the size of a kite, black, with a red throat. It lives on fish, yet never lights in the water; but soaring aloft like the kite, "when it sees its prey, darts down, snatches it, and mounts, never once touching the water."

On a coral reef off the south side of this island the Count d'Estrees had shortly before lost the French fleet. Firing guns in the darkness, to warn the ships that followed him to avoid the danger on which he had run, they imagined that he was engaged with the enemy, and crowding all sail, ran upon destruction. The ships held together next day till part of the men got on shore, though many perished in the wreck. Dampier relates, that those of the ordinary seamen who got to land died of fatigue and famine, while those who had been *Bucaniers* and were wrecked here, "being used to such accidents, lived merrily; and if they had gone to Jamaica with thirty pounds in their pockets, could not have enjoyed themselves more; for they kept a gang by themselves, and watched when the ships broke up to get the goods that came out of them; and though much was staved against the rocks, yet abundance of wine and brandy floated over the reef, where they waited to take it up." The following anecdote of the wrecked crew is horribly striking:—"There were about forty Frenchmen on board one of the ships, in which was good store of liquor, till the after-part of her broke, and floated over the reef, and was

carried away to sea, with all the men drinking and singing, who, being in drink, did not mind the danger, but were never heard of afterward."

In a short time after, this island was the scene of a bucaniering trick, which Dampier relates with some glee. The wreck of the French fleet had left Aves Island a perfect arsenal of masts, yards, timbers, and so forth, and hither the Bucaniers repaired to careen and refit their ships, and among others Captain Pain, a Frenchman. A Dutch vessel of twenty guns, despatched from Curacao to fish up the guns lost on the reef, descried the privateer, which she resolved to capture before engaging in the business of her voyage. The Frenchman abandoned his ship, which he saw no chance of preserving, but brought ashore some of his guns, and resolved to defend himself as long as possible. While his men were landing the guns, he perceived at a distance a Dutch sloop entering the road, and at evening found her at anchor at the west end of the island. During the night, with two canoes, he boarded and took this sloop, found considerable booty, and made off with her, leaving his empty vessel as a prize to the Dutch man-of-war.

At this island Dampier saw, besides men-of-war birds, boobies, and noddies, numbers of the tropic-bird. It was as big as a pigeon, and round and plump as a partridge, all white, save two or three light-gray feathers in the wing. One long feather or quill, about seven inches in length, growing out of the rump, is all the tail these birds have. They are never seen far without the tropics, but are met with at a great distance from land. After taking in what water could be obtained, they left Rocas, and went to Salt Tortuga, so called to distinguish it from Dry Tortuga near Cape Florida, and from the Tortuga of the first Bucaniers near Hispaniola, which place was now, however, better known as Petit Guaves. They expected to sell the remainder of their sugar to the English vessels which came here for salt; but not succeeding, they sailed for Blanco, an island north of Margarita, and thirty leagues from the main. It was an uninhabited island, flat and low, being mostly savanna, with a few wooded spots, in which flourished the *lignum vitæ*. Iguanas, or guanoes, as they were commonly called in the West Indies, abounded on Blanco. They resembled the lizard species, but were bigger, about the size of the small of a man's leg. From the hind-quarter the tail tapers to the point. If seized by the tail near the extremity, it broke off at a joint, and the animal escaped. They are amphibious creatures. Both their eggs and flesh were highly esteemed by the Bucaniers, who made soup of the latter for

their sick. There were many species found here living on land or water, in the swamps, among bushes, or on trees. Green turtle frequented this island in numbers.

From Blanco they returned to Salt Tortuga, and went from thence after four days to the coast of the Caraccas on the main.

While cruising on this coast, they landed in some of the bays, and took seven or eight tons of cocoa, and afterward three barks,—one laden with hides; another with brandy and earthenware, and a third with European goods. With these prizes they returned to the Rocas to divide the spoil; after which Dampier and other nineteen out of a company of sixty took one of the captured vessels, and with their share of the plunder, held their course direct for Virginia, which was reached in July, 1682.

Of the thirteen months which our navigator spent in Virginia he has left no record; but from another portion of his memoirs it may be gathered that he suffered from sickness during most of the time. His disease was not more singular than was the mode of cure practised by a negro Esculapius, whose appropriate fee was a white cock. The disease was what is called the *Guinea-worm*. "These worms," says Dampier, "are no bigger than a large brown thread, but, as I have heard, five or six yards long; and if it break in drawing out, that part which remains in the flesh will putrify, and endanger the patient's life, and be very painful. I was in great torment before it came out. My leg and ankle swelled, and looked very red and angry, and I kept a plaster to it to bring it to a head. Drawing off my plaster, out came about three inches of the worm, and my pain abated presently. Till then I was ignorant of my malady, and the gentlewoman at whose house I lodged took it (the worm) for a nerve; but I knew well enough what it was, and presently rolled it upon a small stick. After that I opened it every morning and evening, and strained it out gently, about two inches at a time, not without pain." The negro doctor first stroked the place affected, then applied some rough powder to it like tobacco leaves crumbled, next muttered a spell, blew upon the part three times, waved his hands as often, and said that in three days it would be well. It proved so, and the stipulated fee of the white cock was gladly paid.

The next adventure of Dampier was the circumnavigation of the globe,—a voyage and ramble extending to about eight years, which in point of interest and variety has never yet been surpassed. This we will now describe.

Among the companions of Dampier in his journey across the isthmus, and in his subsequent cruise, was Mr. John Cook,

a creole, born in St. Christopher's, and a man of good capacity. He had acted as quarter-master, or second in command, under Captain Yanky, a French Flibustier, who at this time held a commission as a privateer. By the ordinary laws of the Bucaniers, when a prize fit for a piratical cruise was taken, the second in command was promoted to it; and in virtue of this title, Cook obtained an excellent Spanish ship. At this, however, the French commanders were secretly discontented, and on the first opportunity they seized the ship, plundered the crew, who were Englishmen, of their arms and goods, and turned them ashore. The French captain, Tristian, either took compassion on some of the number, or hoped to find them serviceable; for he carried eight or ten of them with him to Petit Guaves, among whom were Cook and Davis. They had not lain long here when Captain Tristian and part of his men being one day on shore, the English party, in revenge of the late spoilation overmastered the rest of the crew, took the ship, and, sending the Frenchmen ashore, sailed for Isle à la Vache, where they picked up a straggling crew of English Bucaniers, and before they could be overtaken sailed for Virginia, where Dampier now was, taking two prizes by the way, one of which was a French ship laden with wine. Having thus dexterously swindled Tristian out of his ship, which might, however, be considered as but a fair act of reprisal, and having afterward committed open piracy on the French commerce, the West Indies was no longer a safe latitude for these English Bucaniers. The wines were therefore sold with the other goods and two of the ships; and the largest prize, which carried eighteen guns, was new-named the Revenge, and equipped and provisioned for a long voyage. Among her crew of seventy men were almost all the late fellow-travellers across the isthmus, including William Dampier, Lionel Wafer, the surgeon, Ambrose Cowley, who has left an account of the voyage, and the commander, Captain John Cook. Before embarking on this new piratical expedition, they all subscribed certain rules for maintaining discipline and due subordination, and for the observance of sobriety on their long voyage.

They sailed from the Chesapeake on the 23d of August, 1683; captured a Dutch vessel, in which they found six casks of wine and a quantity of provisions; and near the Cape de Verd Islands encountered a storm which raged for a week, "drenching them all like so many drowned rats." After this gale they had the winds and weather both favourable, and anchored at the Isle of Sal, one of the Cape de Verd group, so named from its numerous salt-ponds.

From the Cape de Verd Isles the *Revenge* intended to keep a direct course to the Straits of Magellan; but by adverse weather was compelled to steer for the Guinea coast, which was made in November, near Sierra Leone. They anchored in the mouth of the river Sherborough, near a large Danish ship, which they afterward took by stratagem. While in sight of the *Dane*, which felt no alarm at the appearance of a ship of the size of the *Revenge*, most of the *Bucanier* crew remained under deck, no more of the hands appearing above than were necessary to manage the sails. Their bold design was to board the ship without discovering any sign of their intention; and the *Revenge* advanced closely, still wearing the resemblance of a weakly-manned merchant-vessel. When quite close, Captain Cook in a loud voice commanded the helm to be put one way, while by previous orders and a preconcerted plan the steersman shifted it into a quite opposite direction; and the *Revenge*, as if by accident, suddenly fell on board the *Dane*, which by this dexterous manœuvre was captured with only the loss of five men, though a ship of double their whole force. She carried thirty-six guns, and was equipped and victualled for a long voyage.

This fine vessel was by the exulting *Bucaniers* named the *Bachelor's Delight*; and they immediately burnt the *Revenge* that she "might tell no tales," sent their prisoners on shore, and steered for Magellan's Straits.

On the voyage to the straits the *Bachelor's Delight* encountered frequent tornados, accompanied by thunder, lightning, and rain. Many of the men were seized with fever, and one man died. Having little fresh animal food of any kind, they caught sharks during the calms between the gusts of the tornados, which they prepared by first boiling, and afterward stewing them with pepper and vinegar. About the middle of January they lost one of the surgeons, who was greatly lamented, as there now remained but one for the long voyage which was meditated. On the 28th they made John Davis' Southern Islands, or the Falkland Isles,—then, however, more generally known as the Sebald de Weert Islands.

In the course of their voyage Dampier, who possessed more geographical and nautical knowledge than his companions, had been persuading Captain Cook to stop here to water, and afterward to prosecute the voyage to Juan Fernandez by doubling Cape Horn, avoiding the straits altogether, which, he judiciously says, "I knew would prove very dangerous to us, the rather because our men being privateers, and so more wilful and less under command, would not be so ready to give a watchful attendance in a passage so little known.

The advice of Dampier was not taken, but westerly winds prevented Cook from making the entrance of the straits, and on the 6th of February they fell in with the Straits of Le Maire, high land on both sides, and the passage very narrow. They ran in for four miles, when a strong tide setting in northward "made such a short cockling sea," which ran every way, as if in a place where two opposing tides meet, sometimes breaking over the poop, sometimes over the waist and the bow, and tossing the *Bachelor's Delight* "like an egg-shell."

In the same evening they had a breeze from W. N. W., bore away eastward, and, having the wind fresh all night, passed the east end of Staten Island next day. The next night, they lost sight of Terra del Fuego, and saw no other land till they entered the South Sea. In doubling Cape Horn they were so fortunate as to catch twenty-three barrels of ram-water, besides an abundant supply for present consumption.

On the 3d of March they entered the South Sea with a fair fresh breeze, which from the south had shifted to the eastward. On the 19th a strange sail was seen to the southward bearing full upon them, which was mistaken for a Spaniard, but proved to be the *Nicholas* of London, commanded by Captain Eaton, fitted out as a trader, but in reality a *Bucanier* ship. Captain Eaton came on board the *Bachelor's Delight*, related his adventures, and, like a true brother, gave the company water, while they spared him a supply of bread and beef. Together they now steered for Juan Fernandez, and on the 23d anchored in a bay at the south end of the island, in twenty-five fathoms water.

It may be remembered, that when Captain Watling and his company escaped from Juan Fernandez three years before, they had left a *Mosquito* Indian on the island, who was out hunting goats when the alarm came. This *Mosquito*-man, named William, was the first and the true *Robinson Crusoe*, the original hermit of this romantic solitude. Immediately on approaching the island, Dampier and a few of William's old friends, together with a *Mosquito*-man named Robin, put off for the shore, where they soon perceived William standing ready to give them welcome. From the heights he had seen the ships on the preceding day, and knowing them to be English vessels by the way they were worked, he had killed three goats, and dressed them with cabbage of the cabbage-tree, to have a feast ready on the arrival of the ships. How great was his delight, as the boat neared the shore, when Robin leaped to the land, and running up to him, fell flat on his face at his feet. William raised up his countryman, embraced him, and in turn prostrated himself at Robin's feet, who lifted him up,

and they renewed their embraces. "We stood with pleasure," says Dampier, "to behold the surprise, tenderness, and solemnity of their interview, which was exceedingly affecting on both sides; and when these their ceremonies of civility were over, we also that stood gazing at them drew near, each of us embracing him we had found here, who was overjoyed to see so many of his old friends, come hither, as he thought, purposely to fetch him."

At the time William was abandoned, he had with him in the woods his gun and knife, and a small quantity of powder and shot. As soon as his ammunition was expended, by notching his knife into a saw, he cut up the barrel of his gun into pieces, which he converted into harpoons, lances, and a long knife. To accomplish this he struck fire with his gun-flint and a piece of the barrel of his gun, which he hardened for this purpose in a way he had seen practised by the Bueaniers. In this fire he heated his pieces of iron, hammered them out with stones, sawed them with his jagged knife, or grinded them to an edge, and tempered them; "which was no more than these Mosquito-men were accustomed to do in their own country, where they make their own fishing and striking instruments without either forge or anvil, though they spend a great deal of time about them." Thus furnished, William supplied himself with goats' flesh and fish, though, till his instruments were formed, he had been compelled to eat seal. He built his house about a half-mile from the shore, and lined it snugly with goat-skins, with which he also spread his couch or *barbecuc*, which was raised two feet from the floor. As his clothes wore out, he supplied this want also with goat-skins, and when first seen he wore nothing save a goat-skin about his waist. Though the Spaniards, who had learned that a Mosquito-man was left here, had looked for William several times, he had always, by retiring to a secret place, contrived to elude their search.

The island of Juan Fernandez was hilly, and intersected by small pleasant valleys; the mountains were partly savanna and partly woodland; the grass of the flat places being delicate and kindly, of a short thick growth, unlike the coarse sedgy grass of the savannas of the West Indies. The cabbage-tree was found here, and well-grown timber of different kinds, though none that was fit for masts. There were in the island two bays, both at the east end, where ships might anchor, and into each of them flowed a rivulet of good water. Water was also found in every valley. Goats, which according to Dampier were originally brought to the island by the discoverer, were now found in large flocks, and seals swarmed about the island "as if they had no other place in the world

to live in, every bay and rock being full of them." Sea-lions were also numerous, and different kinds of fish were found. The seals were of different colours,—black, gray, and dun, with a fine thick short fur. Millions of them were seen sitting in the bays, going or coming into the sea, or, as they lay at the top of the waves, sporting and sunning themselves, covering the water for a mile or two from the shore. When they come out of the sea "they bleat like sheep for their young; and though they pass through hundreds of others' young, yet they will not suffer any of them to suck." The sea-lion is shaped like a seal, but is six times as big, with "great goggle eyes," and teeth three inches long, of which the Bucaniers sometimes made dice.

The Bucaniers remained for sixteen days at this island getting in provisions, and for the recovery of the sick and those affected with scurvy, who were placed on shore, and fed with vegetables and fresh goats' flesh, which regimen was found beneficial. On the 8th of April they sailed for the American coast, which they approached in  $24^{\circ}$  S.; but stood off at the distance of fourteen or fifteen leagues, that they might not be observed from the high grounds by the Spaniards.

The first capture of the Bucaniers, made on the 3d of May, was a Spanish ship bound to Lima, laden with timber from Guayaquil; from which they learned that it was known in the settlements that pirates were on the coast.

On the 9th they anchored at the isle of Lobos de la Mar with their prize. At this place the ships were scrubbed, and the prisoners rigidly examined, that from their information the voyagers might guide their future proceedings. Truxillo was the town at last fixed upon for making a descent. The companies of both ships were mustered, for Eaton and Cook had now agreed to hunt in couples, and the arms were proved. The men amounted to one hundred and eight fit to bear arms, besides the sick. Before they sailed on this expedition three ships were seen steering northward. Cook stood after one of them, which made for the land, and Eaton pursued the other two to sea, and captured them on the same day. They contained cargoes of flour from Lima for the city of Panama, whither they carried intelligence from the governor of the formidable Bucanier force which now threatened the coast. One of the ships carried eight tons of quince-marmalade. The Bucaniers were deeply mortified to learn that they had narrowly missed a prize containing eight hundred thousand pieces of eight, which had been landed at an intermediate port, upon a rumour of English ships being cruising off the coast of Peru.



The design against Truxillo was now abandoned, as they learned that it had lately been fortified, and a Spanish garrison established for its defence; and on the evening of the 19th they sailed with their flour-prizes for the Galapagos Islands, which they descried on the 31st, "some appearing on the lee-bow, some on the weather-bow, and others right ahead."

At the Galapagos Isles the Bucaniers remained for ten days, and deposited a store of their prize-flour against future necessity. Salt was found here, pigeons abounded, the sea teemed with fish, and the leaves of the *mammee*-tree furnished them with vegetables; so that the Galapagos were in all respects well adapted for a Bucanier station.

By the advice of an Indian, one of their prisoners, the Bucaniers were induced to visit Ria Lexa, his native place, where he promised them a rich harvest in plunder.

At Juan Fernandez Captain Cook had been taken ill; he now died somewhat suddenly as they stood off Cape Blanco, and, as a mark of respect, was buried on shore. While his men were digging the grave they were seen by three Spanish Indians, who held aloof, but asked them many questions; "and one man," says Dampier, "did not stick to sooth them up with as many falsehoods, purposely to draw them into our clutches; and at length drilled them by discourse so near, that our men laid hold on all three at once." One escaped before the burial of Cook was over, and the other two were taken on ship-board. When examined, notwithstanding their pretended simplicity, they confessed that they had been sent out as spies by the Governor of Panama, who had received intelligence of the Bucanier squadron.

The voyagers were informed by these prisoners that large herds of cattle were reared in this neighbourhood, which was welcome news to seamen who had seen no fresh meat since their run from the Galapagos. Two boats were immediately sent to the shore with an Indian guide to bring off cattle; but the enterprise appeared dangerous, and Dampier with twelve men returned on board. Those who were more foolhardy, and who even slept on shore, found themselves next morning watched by forty or fifty armed Spaniards, and their boat burnt. The cowardly Spaniards, afraid to come forward, still lurked in their ambush, and one of the seamen on landing, having noticed an insulated rock which just appeared above water, they made off for this fortress, and holding fast by each other, and wading to the neck, they reached the rock, while the Spanish shot whistled after them. In this perilous condition they had remained for seven hours, the tide, which was at the ebb when they took refuge here, rising around them, and gaining on

the rock so rapidly, that had not help come from the ships, in another hour they must have been swept away. The Spaniards, who relished bush-fighting better than the open field, meanwhile lay in wait for the catastrophe; but when the canoe from the English ships bore off the men, they offered no resistance.

The quarter-master, Edward Davis, was now elected commander in the room of Captain Cook; and after taking in water, and cutting lancewood for handles to their oars, they bore away for Ria Lexa, and on the 23d of July were opposite the harbour. The situation of the town is known by a high-peaked volcanic mountain, which rises within three leagues of the harbour, but may be seen at the distance of twenty leagues. A small flat island, about a mile long and a quarter of a mile broad, forms the harbour, in which two hundred sail can ride. It may be entered by a channel at each end.

The Spaniards had here also got the start of the enemy. They had thrown up a breastwork on a strong position, and stationed sentinels to give instant alarm; and the Bucaniers, who wished to surprise and plunder, and not to fight against great odds, deemed it prudent to steer for the Gulf of Amapalla, an arm of the sea running inland eight or ten leagues, and made remarkable by two headlands at the entrance. Point Casivina on the south side, in latitude  $12^{\circ} 40''$  N., and on the north-west Mount St. Michael.

At a previous consultation, it had been agreed that Captain Davis should advance first, in two canoes, and endeavour to seize some Indians to labour at careening the ships, and also a prisoner of better condition, from whom intelligence might be obtained. On the Island of Mangera the padre of a village, from which all the other inhabitants had fled, was caught while endeavouring to escape, and with him two Indian boys. With these Davis proceeded to Amapalla, where, having previously gained over or frightened the priest, he told the Indians drawn up to receive him, that he and his company were Biscayners, sent by the King of Spain to clear the seas of pirates, and that his business in the bay of this island was only to careen his ships. On this assurance Davis and his men were well received, and they all marched together, strangers and natives, to church, which was the usual place of public assembly, whether for business or amusement. The images in the churches here, like those in the Bay of Campeachy, were painted of the Indian complexion; and the people, under the sway of their padres, lived in much the same condition as the tribes described on the banks of the Tobasco, cultivating maize, rearing poultry, and duly paying the priest his tithe. Here,

too, they were indulged in masks and other pastimes, with abundance of music on saints' eves and holydays. "Their mirth," says Dampier, "consists in singing, dancing, and using many antic gestures. If the moon shine they use but few torches ; if not, the church is full of light. They meet at these times all sorts of both sexes. All the Indians that I have been acquainted with who are under the Spaniards seem to be more melancholy than other Indians who are free ; and at these public meetings, when they are in the greatest of their jollity, their mirth seems to be rather forced than real. Their songs are very melancholy and doleful ; so is their music."

In attending them to the church under the guise of friendship, Davis intended to ensnare these unsuspecting people, and make them all his prisoners till he had dictated his own terms of ransom, the padre having, probably from compulsion, promised his aid in entrapping his flock. This hopeful project was frustrated by one of the Bucaniers rashly and rudely pushing a man into the church before him. The alarm was given, the Indian fled, and his countrymen "sprung out of the church like deer." Davis and his men immediately fired, and killed a leading man among the natives.

The Bucaniers were, however, afterward assisted by several of the natives in storing the ships with cattle plundered from an island in the gulf, belonging to a nunnery in some distant place ; and from some feelings of remorse, on leaving this quarter Davis presented the islanders of Amapalla with one of his prize-ships, and a considerable part of the cargo of flour which it contained. The ships here broke off consortship. The crews had quarrelled,—Davis' party, in right of priority in marauding, claiming the largest share of the spoils. Eaton left the gulf on the 2d of September, and Davis, with whom Dampier continued, on the day following, having previously set the padre on shore. They stood for the coast of Peru, having almost every day tornadoes accompanied with thunder and lightning,—weather of this kind generally prevailing in these latitudes from June to November. When these gusts were over the wind generally shifted to the west. Near Cape St. Francisco they had settled weather, and the wind at south. About this place they again fell in with Eaton, who had encountered terrible storms. "Such tornadoes as he and his men had never before seen,—the air smelling very much of sulphur, and they fancying themselves in great danger of being burnt by the lightning." Captain Eaton had touched at Cocos Island, where he laid up a store of flour, and took in water and cocoanuts. Cocos Island, as described by Eaton, is nearly surrounded by rocks ; but at the north-east end there is one

small and secure harbour,—a brook of fresh water flowing into it. The middle of the island is high, and though destitute of trees, looks verdant and pleasant from the abundance of an herb, which the Spaniards called *gramadiel*, growing upon the high grounds. Near the shore all round the island were groves of cocoas.

At the Island of La Plata, so named, according to Dampier, from Sir Francis Drake having divided upon it the plunder of the plate-ship the *Cacafuego*, the Bucaniers found water, though but a scanty rivulet, and plenty of small sea-turtle. Captain Eaton's company would again have joined their former consorts; but Dampier relates that Davis' men, his own comrades, were still so unreasonable that they would not consent to new-comers having an equal share of what they pilaged; so the *Nicholas* held southward, while the *Bachelor's Delight* steered for Point Santa Elena, in  $2^{\circ} 15'$  S., pretty high but flat land, naked of trees and overgrown with thistles. There was no fresh water on the point, and this article the inhabitants brought from four leagues' distance, from the river Colanche, the innermost part of the bay. Watermelons, large and very sweet, were the only things cultivated on the point. Pitch was the principal commodity of the inhabitants. It boiled out of a hole in the earth at five paces above high-water mark, and was found plentifully at flood-tide; when first obtained it was like thin tar, but was boiled down to the consistence of pitch.

Davis' men landed at Manta, a village on the mainland, about three leagues to the east of Cape San Lorenzo, where they made two old women prisoners, from whom they learned that many Bucaniers had lately crossed the isthmus from the West Indies, and were cruising on the coast in canoes and pirogues. The viceroy had taken every precaution against this new incursion. On all the uninhabited islands the goats had been destroyed; ships were burned to save them from the Bucaniers, and no provisions were allowed to remain at any place on the coast, but such as might be required for the immediate supply of the inhabitants. Davis returned to La Plata, at a loss what course to take; when, on the 2d of October, he was joined by the *Cygnets* of London, commanded by Captain Swan, who, ill treated by the Spaniards, and disappointed of peaceful traffic, for which he had come prepared with an expensive cargo, had been compelled by his men to receive on board a party of Bucaniers, and in self-defence to commence freebooter. Before he had adopted this course some of his men had been killed by the Spaniards at Baldivia, where he had attempted to open a trade. With this small Bucanier

party, which had come by the Darien, plundering by the way, Swan fell in near the Gulf of Nicoya. It was led by Peter Harris, the nephew of a Bucanier commander of the same name who had been killed in the battle with the Spanish ships in the Bay of Panama three years before. Harris took command under Swan, in a small bark wholly manned by Bucaniers.

This was a joyful meeting of old associates ; and the departure of Eaton was now deeply regretted, as their united force might have ensured success to more important undertakings than any they had yet ventured to contemplate. While the ships were refitting at La Plata, a small bark, which Davis had taken after the Spaniards had set it on fire, was sent out to cruise, and soon brought in a prize of four hundred tons burthen, laden with timber, and gave intelligence that the viceroy was fitting out a fleet of ten frigates to sweep them from the South Seas. Again the loss of Eaton was felt, and this bark was dispatched to search for him on the coast of Lima. It went as far as the Isle of Lobos. Meanwhile Swan's ship, which was still full of English goods, was put in better fighting trim, and made fit to accommodate her additional crew. The supercargo sold his goods on credit to every Bucanier who would purchase, taking his chance of payment, and the bulky commodities which remained were pitched overboard,—silks, muslins, and finer goods, and iron bars which were kept for ballast, being alone retained. In lieu of these sacrifices, the whole Bucaniers on board the *Cygnets* agreed that ten shares of all booty should be set aside for Swan's owners.

The men-of-war were now scrubbed and cleaned, a small bark was equipped as a fire-ship ; and the vessel which had been cruising after Eaton not having returned, the squadron sailed without it on the 20th of October, and on the 3d of November landed at Païta, which was found nearly abandoned, and left without " money, goods, or a meal of victuals of any kind." They anchored before the place, and demanded ransom for its safety, ordering in the meanwhile three hundred pecks of flour, three thousand pounds of sugar, twenty-five jars of wine, and one thousand of water to be brought off to the ships ; but, after wasting six days, they obtained nothing, and in revenge burnt the town. The road of Païta was one of the best in Peru, roomy, and sheltered from the south-west by a point of land. The town had no water except what was carried thither from Colan, from whence the place was also supplied with fruits, hogs, plantains, and maize. Dampier says, that on this coast, from about " Cape Blanco to 30° S., no rain ever falls that he ever observed or heard of." He calls

this range "the dry country." Wafer states that heavy nightly dews fertilize the valleys. The country around it was mountainous and sterile.

From information obtained here it was gathered that Captain Eaton had been before them, and had burned a large ship in the road, and landed all his prisoners. They also learned that a small vessel, which they concluded to be their own bark, had approached the harbour, and made some fishermen bring out water.

Harris' small vessel being found a heavy sailer, was burned before leaving Païta, from which the squadron steered for Lobos de Tierra, and on the 14th anchored near the east end of the island, and took in a supply of seals, penguins, and boobies, of which they ate "very heartily, not having tasted flesh in a great while before." To reconcile his men to what had been the best fare of the crews of Drake, Cavendish, and the earlier navigators, Captain Swan commended this food as of extraordinary delicacy and rarity, comparing the seals to roasted pigs, the boobies to pullets, and the penguins to ducks. On the 19th the fleet reached Lobos de la Mar, where a letter was found deposited at the rendezvous by the bark, which was still in search of Eaton. It was now feared that he had sailed for the East Indies, which turned out to be the fact.

Here the Mosquito-men supplied the companies of both ships with turtle; while the seamen laboured to clean and repair, and provide them with firewood, preparatory to an attempt upon Guayaquil. For this place they sailed on the morning of the 29th. According to Dampier, Guayaquil was then one of the chief ports of the South Seas. The commodities it exported were hides, tallow, cocoa, sarsaparilla, and a woollen fabric named Quito cloth, generally used by the common people throughout all Peru. The Bucaniers left the ships anchored off Cape Blanco, and entered the bay with their canoes and a bark. They captured a small vessel laden with Quito cloth, the master of which informed them of a lookout being kept at Puna, which lay in their way, and that three vessels with negro slaves were then about to sail from Guayaquil. One of these vessels they took shortly afterward, cut down her mainmast, and left her at anchor, and next morning captured the other two, though only a few negroes were picked out of this to them useless cargo.

From mismanagement, and disagreement between the commanders and the men in the two ships, the expedition against Guayaquil misgave. It was imagined that the town was alarmed and prepared to receive them warmly; and after having landed, lain in the woods all night, and made their way

with considerable difficulty, they abandoned the design before one shot had been fired, and while the place lay full in view of them at a mile's distance, without manifesting any appearance of opposition being intended.

Dampier, whose ideas took a wider and bolder range than those of his companions, deeply lamented their ill conduct upon the fair occasion which offered at this time of enriching themselves at less expense of crime than in their ordinary pursuits. "Never," he says, "was there put into the hands of men a greater opportunity to enrich themselves." His bold and comprehensive plan was, with the one thousand negroes found in the three ships, to have gone to St. Martha, and worked the gold mines there. In the Indians he reckoned upon finding friends, as they mortally hated the Spaniards,—for present sustenance they had two hundred tons of flour laid up at the Galapagos Islands,—the North Sea would have been open to them,—thousands of Bucaniers would have joined them from all parts of the West Indies, and united they might have been a match for all the force Peru could muster, masters of the richest mines in this quarter, and of all the west coast as high as Quito. Whether Dampier unfolded this "golden dream" at the time does not appear. The Bucaniers, at all events, sailed to La Plata, where they found the bark, and divided the cloth of Quito equally between the companies of Swan and Davis, converting the vessel in which it had been taken into a tender for the Cygnet.

This ship had since joining depended almost wholly upon the Bachelor's Delight for provisions, as it had neither Mosquito-purveyors nor a store of flour; and the original Bucanier company of Davis now murmured loudly at feeding the cowards who they alleged had balked the attempt on Guayaquil. But neither could afford to part consortship, and they sailed in company on the 23d of December to attack Lavelia in the Bay of Panama. In this cruise, from the charts and books found in their prizes, they supplied the ignorance and deficiencies of the Indians and Spanish pilots whom they had as prisoners on board; these drafts being found surer guides. Their object was in the first place to search for canoes,—the want of boats being greatly felt,—in rivers where the Spaniards had no trade with the natives, nor settlements of any kind, as concealment was most important to the success of their operations. In unfrequented rivers where boats might be found, the coast abounded from the equinoctial line to the Gulf of St. Michael. When five days out from La Plata, they made a sudden descent upon a village named Tomaco, where they captured a vessel laden with timber, in which was a Spanish

knight with a crew of eight Spaniards, and also took what the Bucaniers valued much more, a canoe with twelve jars of good old wine. A canoe with a party that rowed six leagues farther up the river, which Dampier named St. Jago, came to a house belonging to a Spanish lady of Lima, whose servants at this remote station traded with the natives for gold. They fled; but the Bucaniers found several ounces of gold left in their calabashes. The land on the banks of this river was a rich black mould, producing tall trees. The cotton and cabbage-trees flourished here on the banks; and a good way into the interior, Indian settlements were seen, with plantations of maize, plantain-walks, hogs, and poultry. At Tomaco a canoe with three natives visited the strangers, whom they did not distinguish from Spaniards. They were of middling stature, straight, and well-limbed, "long-visaged, thin-faced, with black hair, ill-looking men, of a very dark copper complexion." The Bucaniers presented them with wine, which they drank freely.

On the 1st of January the Cygnet and Bachelor's Delight sailed for the Island of Gallo, carrying with them the Spanish knight Don Pinas, and two canoes. On the way one of their boats captured the packet-boat from Lima, and fished up the letters which the Spaniards when pursued had thrown overboard attached to a line and buoy. From these despatches they learned the welcome and important fact of the Governor of Panama hastening the sailing of the triennial Plate-fleet from Callao to Panama, previous to the treasure being conveyed across the isthmus to Porto Bello on mules. To intercept this fleet would enrich every man among them at one stroke; and to this single object every faculty was now bent. As a fit place to careen their ships, and at the same time lie in wait for their prey, they fixed upon the Pearl Islands in the Bay of Panama, for which they sailed from Gallo on the morning of the 7th;—two ships, three barks, a fireship, and two small tenders, one attached to each ship.

On the 8th they opportunely captured a bark with flour, and then "jogged on with a gentle gale" to Gorgona, an uninhabited island, well wooded, and watered with brooklets issuing from the high grounds. Pearl-oysters abounded here. They were found in from four to six fathoms water, and seemed flatter in the shell than the ordinary eating oyster. The pearl was found at the head of the oyster, between the shell and the meat, sometimes one or two pretty large in size, and at other times, twenty or thirty seed-pearls. The inside of the shell was "more glorious than the pearl itself."



Landing most of their prisoners at Gorgona, the squadron, now consisting of six sail, steered for the Bay of Panama, and anchored at Galera, a small, barren, uninhabited island, from whence they again sailed on the 25th to one of the southern Pearl Islands, as a place more suitable to hale up and clean the ships. While this was in progress, the small barks cruised, and brought in a prize laden with beef, Indian corn, and fowls, which were all highly acceptable. They next took in water and firewood, and were at last in fit order to fight as well as to watch the Plate-fleet, which they did cruising before Panama, between the Pearl Islands and the main; where, says Dampier, "it was very pleasant sailing, having the main on one side, which appears in divers forms. It is beautified with many small hills, clothed with wood of divers sorts of trees, which are always green and flourishing. There are some few small high islands within a league of the main, scattered here and there one, partly woody partly bare, and they as well as the main appear very pleasant." Most of the Pearl Islands were wooded and fertile; and from them were drawn the rice, plantains, and bananas which supplied the city of New Panama, "a fair city standing close by the sea, about four miles from the ruins of the old town,"—encompassed behind with a fine country of hill and valley, beautified with groves and spots of trees, appearing like islands in the savannas. The new city had been walled in since the late visit which Dampier had made it with Sawkins, Coxon, and Sharp, and the walls were now mounted with guns pointing seaward.

As Davis lay nearly opposite the city, its supplies from the islands were completely cut off; while his people every day fished, hunted, or pillaged among them. At this time Davis negotiated for an exchange of prisoners, giving up forty, of whom he was very glad to be rid, in return for one of Harris' band, and a man who had been surprised by the Spaniards while hunting in the islands. Attention to the safety of the meanest individual of their company was at all times one of the fundamental principles of the Bucaniers; and it is stated on good authority, that when they first hunted in the wilds of Hispaniola, if at nightfall one comrade was missing, all business was suspended till he was either found or his disappearance satisfactorily accounted for.

The Lima fleet proved tardy in making its appearance, and the Bucaniers again moved, and came to anchor near Tabago, an island of the bay abounding in cocoa and mammee, and having fine brooks of pure water gliding through groves of fruit-trees. About this time they were nearly ensnared by the stratagem of a Spaniard, who, under pretence of clandestine

traffic, sent a fireship among them at midnight; but the treachery was suspected in time, and avoided. This fireship had been fitted up by the same Captain Bond of whom they had heard at the Cape de Verd Islands. He was an English pirate who had deserted to the Spaniards.

The squadron, which had been scattered through the night from alarm of the fireship, had scarcely returned to its station, and looked about for the cut anchors, when the freebooters were thrown into fresh consternation by seeing many canoes full of armed men passing through an island-channel and steering direct for them. They also bore up; but the strangers proved to be a party of two hundred and eighty Bucaniers, French and English, in twenty-eight canoes, who had just crossed the isthmus on an expedition to the South Sea. The English seamen, eighty in number, entered with Swan and Davis; and the flour-prize was given to the French Flibustiers, who entered it under the command of Captain Groignet, their countryman. These strangers announced another party of one hundred and eighty, under Captain Townley, all English, who were at this time constructing canoes to bring them down the rivers into the South Sea; and on the 30th of March these joined the fleet, not, however, in canoes, but in two ships which they had taken as soon as they entered the bay, laden with flour, wine, brandy, and sugar. The squadron was further increased by the arrival of a vessel under the command of Mr. William Knight; and the Indians of Santa Martha brought intelligence that yet another strong party, French and English, were on the way. These also arrived, to the number of two hundred and sixty-four men, with three commanders; one of whom, Le Picard, was a veteran who had served under Lolonnois and Morgan at Porto Bello.

The Bucanier force now amounted to about one thousand men; and the greatest want was coppers to cook provisions for so many. The few kettles which they had were kept at work day and night, and a foraging-party sent out to bring in coppers.

From intercepted letters it was ascertained that the Lima fleet was now at sea; and the design upon the city was suspended till the plate-ships were first secured, though, as it chanced, in counting on their easy capture, the Bucaniers reckoned without their host.

It was now the latter end of May, and for six months the Bucaniers had concentrated their attention on this single enterprise. Their fleet now consisted of ten sail; but, save the Bachelor's Delight, which carried thirty-six guns, and the Cygnet, which was armed, none were of force, though all were

fully manned. The Spanish fleet, it was afterward learned, mustered fourteen sail; two of forty guns, one of thirty-six, another of eighteen, and one of eight guns, with large companies to each ship. Two fire-ships attended the Spanish fleet.

Before the Bucaniers had finished consultation on their plan of operation, the Spanish fleet advanced upon them, and battle was resolved on. And, "lying to windward of the enemy, we had it," says Dampier, "in our choice whether to fight or not. It was three o'clock in the afternoon when we weighed, and being all under sail, we bore down right afore the wind on our enemies, who kept close on a wind to come to us; but night came on without any thing besides the exchanging of a few shot on each side. When it grew dark the Spanish admiral put out a light as a signal for his fleet to come to an anchor. We saw this light at the admiral's top for about half an hour, and then it was taken down. In a short time after we saw the light again, and being to windward, we kept under sail, supposing the light had been in the admiral's top; but, as it proved, this was only a stratagem of theirs, for this light was put out the second time at one of the barks' topmast-head, and then she was sent to leeward, which deceived us, for we thought still the light was in the admiral's top, and by that means ourselves to windward of them." At daybreak the Bucaniers found that by this stratagem the Spaniards had got the weather-gage of them, and were bearing down full sail, which compelled them to run for it; and a running fight was maintained all day, till, having made a turn almost round the bay, they anchored at night whence they had set out in the morning. Thus terminated their hopes of the treasure-ships, though it was afterward learned that the plate had been previously landed. The French captain, Groignet, had kept out of the action, for which he and his crew were afterward cashiered by their English associates. The common accusation which the English Bucaniers brought against their allies was reluctance to fight; while the latter blamed their indecent contempt of the Catholic religion, displayed as often as they entered the Spanish churches, by hacking and mutilating every thing with their cutlasses, and firing their pistols at the images of the saints. Next morning the Spanish fleet was seen at anchor three leagues to leeward, and as the breeze sprung up it stood away for Panama, contented with safety and the small advantage obtained on the former day. The Bucaniers were equally well satisfied to escape a renewed engagement, and after consultation they bore away for the Keys of Quibo to seek Harris, who had been separated from them in the battle or flight. At this appointed rendezvous they met their consort, and a fresh

consultation made them resolve to march inland and assault Leon, first securing the port of Ria Lexa.

The assault and conquest of these places offers nothing of interest or novelty; they were carried by the united Bucanier force, amounting to six hundred and forty men, with eight vessels, three of them being tenders, and one a fireship. In this assault Dampier was left with sixty men to guard the canoes in which the party had been landed. At Leon they lost a veteran Bucanier of the original breed, whom Dampier thus eulogizes: "He was a stout old gray-headed man, aged about eighty-four, who had served under Oliver (Cromwell) in the Irish rebellion; after which he was at Jamaica, and had followed privateering ever since. He would not accept the offer our men made him to tarry ashore, but said he would venture as far as the best of them; and when surrounded by the Spaniards, he refused to take quarter, but discharged his gun among them, keeping a pistol still charged; so they shot him dead at a distance. His name was Swan. He was a very merry, hearty old man, and always used to declare he would never take quarter."

A Mr. Smith, a merchant or supercargo, who had sailed with Captain Swan from London to trade in the South Sea, was made prisoner on the march to Leon. This city, situated near the Lake of Nicaragua, Dampier describes as one of the most healthy and pleasant in all South America. No sooner were the Bucaniers masters of it than they demanded a ransom of three hundred thousand dollars, which was promised but never paid; and becoming suspicious that the Spaniards were dallying with them merely to gain time and draw their force to a head, the town was set on fire, and they returned to the coast, first supplying themselves with beef, flour, pitch, tar, cordage, and whatever Leon or Ria Lexa afforded. One Spanish gentleman, who had been released on engaging to send in one hundred and fifty head of cattle, redeemed his parole with scrupulous honour. Mr. Smith was exchanged for a female prisoner, and Ria Lexa was left burning.

The Bucanier squadron now separated, and the fraternity broke into several small detachments, Dampier choosing to follow Captain Swan, who intended first to cruise along the shores of Mexico, the country of the mines, and then, sailing as high as the south-west point of California, cross the Pacific, and return to England by India. This plan presented many temptations to Dampier, whose curiosity and thirst of knowledge were insatiable; and he might also have shared in the hopes of his comrades, who promised themselves a rich booty in the towns in the neighbourhood of the mines before they

turned their faces westward. Captain Townley had kept by Swan when they separated from Eaton, and each ship had now a tender belonging to it. They put to sea on the 3d of September, and encountered frequent and fierce tornadoes till near the end of the month. Early in October they were off the excellent harbour of Gautalco, the mouth of which may be known by a great hollow rock, from a hole in which every surge makes the water spout up to a considerable height, like the blowing of a whale.

From the sea the neighbouring country looked beautiful. Here they found some provisions, and landed their sick for a few days.

The Cygnet and her consort advanced slowly along the coast, landed near Acapulco, plundered a carrier who conducted sixty laden mules, and killed eighteen beeves. They next passed on to Colima, their object being that tempting prize which for generations had quickened the avarice of maritime adventurers—the Manilla ship,—for which they kept watch at Cape Corientes. After quitting Ria Lexa, many of the men had been seized with a malignant fever; and as the same kind of disease broke out in Davis' squadron, it was with some feasibility imputed to infection caught at the place mentioned, where many of the inhabitants had been carried off by a disorder of the same kind some months before the Bucaniers visited the town.

To victual the ship for the long voyage in view was one main object of the continued cruise of Captain Swan on this coast; but the attempts made for this purpose were often baffled with loss; and so much time had now elapsed, that it was concluded the Manilla ship had eluded their vigilance. About the beginning of January, Townley left them in the Bay of Vandas, and returned towards Panama, carrying home a few Indians of the Darien who had accompanied Swan thus far. The Mosquito-men remained in the Cygnet.

To obtain provisions, Swan captured the town of St. Peaque, on the coast of New Galicia, where large stores were kept for supplying the slaves who worked in the neighbouring mines. He brought off on the first day a considerable quantity of provisions on horseback, and on the shoulders of his men. These visits were repeated, a party of Bucaniers keeping the town, till the Spaniards had collected a force. Of this Captain Swan gave his men due warning, exhorting them on their way to the canoes with the burdens of maize and other provisions which they carried, to keep together in a compact body; but they chose to follow their own course, every man straggling singly, while leading his horse, or carrying a load

on his shoulders. They accordingly fell into the ambush the Spaniards had laid for them, and to the amount of fifty were surprised, and mercilessly butchered. The Spaniards, seizing their arms and loaded horses, fled with them before Swan, who heard the distant firing, could come to the assistance of his men. Fifty-four Englishmen and nine blacks fell in this affair, which was the most severe the Bucaniers had encountered in the South Sea. It is in consonance with the spirit of that age to find Dampier relating that Captain Swan had been warned of this disaster by his astrologer.\* Many of the men had also, he states in his manuscript journal, foreboded this misfortune, and in the previous night, while lying in the church of St. Pecaque, "had been disturbed by grievous groanings, which kept them from sleeping."

This disheartening affair determined Swan and his diminished company to quit this coast; and they accordingly steered for Cape St. Lucas, the south point of California, to careen, and to refresh themselves before crossing the Pacific; but by adverse winds were compelled to put into a bay at the east end of the middle island of the Tres Marias, where they found iguanas, rackoons, rabbits, pigeons, and deer, fish of various kinds, turtle, and seals. There they careened the ship, divided and stowed the provisions between it and the tender, and went over to the mainland for water, having previously landed the prisoners and pilots, who were now of no use, save to consume provisions. That they were abandoned on an uninhabited island is said to have been in revenge of the fatal affair of St. Pecaque.

While they lay here, Dampier, who had escaped the contagious fever, languished under a dropsical complaint, of which several of the men had died. The method of cure was singular, but the patient believed it successful. "I was," he says, "laid and covered all but my head in the hot sand: I endured it near half an hour, and was then taken out, and laid to sweat in a tent: I did sweat exceedingly while I was in the sand, and I do believe it did me much good, for I grew well soon after."

While careening the ship, Swan had more fully laid before his company his plan of going to the East Indies, holding out to them hopes of plunder in a cruise among the Philippines. Dampier describes many of them as so ignorant that they imagined it impossible to reach India from California; others en-

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\* It was then customary before undertaking a voyage to consult an astrologer.

tertained more reasonable fears of their provisions failing before they could reach the Ladrões. Maize, and the fish which the Mosquito-men caught, some of which were salted for store, now constituted the whole provision of above one hundred and fifty men, and of this but a short allowance could be afforded daily, calculating on a run of at least sixty days.

On the 31st of March, having all agreed to attempt the voyage, and consented to the straitened allowance, the *Cygnets* and the tender commanded by Captain Teat sailed from the American coast, steering south-west till she arrived at 13° N., in which parallel she held due west for the Ladrões. The men received but one meal a day, and there was no occasion, Dampier says, to call them to their victuals, which were served out by the quarter-master with the exactness of gold. Two dogs and two cats which were on board soon learned to attend daily for their respective shares.

The *Cygnets* enjoyed a fair fresh-blowing trade-wind, and went on briskly, which was some consolation for scanty fare. At the end of twenty days they had made so much progress that the men began to murmur at being still kept upon such short allowance; and by the time they reached Guahan they were almost in open mutiny, and had, it was said, resolved to kill and eat Swan in the first place, and afterward in regular order all who had promoted this voyage! In the long run of five thousand miles they had seen no living thing, whether bird, fish, or insect, save in longitude 18° a flock of boobies, presumed to be the denizens of some cliffs or islands, though none were seen. On the 21st of May, near midnight, they had the happiness of coming to anchor on the west side of Guahan, about a mile from the shore, after a run which Dampier calculated at seven thousand three hundred and two miles. At this island the Spaniards had a small fort and a garrison of thirty men. Presuming that the *Cygnets* was a Spanish vessel from Acapulco, a priest came off, and was detained as a hostage till terms of obtaining provisions were arranged; and, as these were dictated by fair principles of exchange, no difficulty was experienced, both the Spaniards and the few natives on the island gladly bringing their goods to a safe and profitable market.

The natives and the Spaniards here lived in a state of constant hatred if not in open hostility; and Captain Eaton, who had touched at Guahan on his voyage to India, after parting with Davis on the coast of Peru, had been instigated by the governor to plunder and practise every cruelty upon the islanders. This advice neither himself nor his men were slow to follow. "He gave us leave," says Cowley's manuscript

narrative of the voyage, "to kill and take whatever we could find in one-half of the island where the rebels lived. We then made wars," as Cowley chooses to term wanton unprovoked aggression, "with these infidels, and went on shore every day, fetching provisions, and firing among them wherever we saw them; so that the greater part of them left the island. The Indians sent two of their captains to treat with us, but we would not treat with them. The whole land is a garden."

Dampier reckons that at this time there were not above one hundred Indians on the whole island, as most of those who had escaped slaughter destroyed their plantations, and went to other islands, remote from the tender mercies of the Spaniards and their new allies the Bucaniers. While a friendly and brisk trade was going on between the shore and the *Cygnets*, the Acapulco vessel came in sight of the island, but was warned off in time by the governor, without, luckily for herself, having been descried by the Bucaniers. In the eagerness of flight she ran upon a shoal, where her rudder was struck off, nor did she get clear for three days. As soon as the natives informed the Bucaniers of this prize, they "were in a great heat to be after her;" but Swan, who disliked his present vocation, and still hoped to open an honest traffic at Manilla, though he found it prudent under present circumstances to keep this design secret, persuaded, or as probably frightened, his wild crew out of this humour by representing the dangers of the chase.

Suitable presents were exchanged between the governor and the priest and the English captain, and preparations made to depart. Here Dampier first saw the bread-fruit,—the staff of life of so many of the insulated tribes of Polynesia. Of the *flying-proas*, or sailing canoes of these islands, so often described, he expresses the highest admiration. "I believe," he says, "they sail the best of any boats in the world;" one that he tried would, he believed, "run twenty-four miles an hour;" and one had been known to go from Guahan to Manilla, a distance of four hundred and eighty leagues, in four days.

It took the *Cygnets* nineteen days to reach the coast of Mindanao, for which she sailed on the 2d of June; and after beating about through several channels and islands, she came to anchor on the 18th of July opposite the river's mouth, and before the city of Mindanao. They hoisted English colours, and fired a salute of seven or eight guns, which was returned from the shore by three.

Captain Swan had many reasons for desiring to cultivate the friendship of the ruling powers at Mindanao. Immediately after the *Cygnets* came to anchor, Rajah Laut, the brother



and prime minister of the sultan, and the second man in the state, came off in a canoe, rowed with ten oars, to demand whence they were. One of the sultan's sons, who spoke the Spanish language, accompanied his uncle. When informed that the strangers were English they were welcomed, though Rajah Laut appeared disappointed that they were not come to establish a factory, for which proposals had already been made to him by the East India Company. The conversation was carried on by Mr. Smith, the late prisoner at Ria Lexa, and the sultan's son, who with his uncle remained all the while in the canoe. They promised to assist the English in procuring provisions, and were rowed off without more passing at this time.

Dampier regrets that the offer of a settlement here was not accepted, "by which," he says, "we might better have consulted our own profit and satisfaction than by the other roving loose way of life; so it might probably have proved of public benefit to our nation, and been the means of introducing an English settlement and trade, not only here, but through several of the Spice Islands which lie in its neighbourhood." They had not lain long here when they received another invitation to settle in a different island, the sultan of which sent his nephew to Mindanao to negotiate secretly with Captain Swan.

The Cygnet's company had not been aware of the dignity of their first visitors till they were gone, when the government-officer informed them; who, according to the customs of the ports of China and other parts in the East, came on board to measure the ship,—a practice of which Dampier could not conceive the reason, unless the natives wished to improve their knowledge of ship-building.

In the same afternoon Captain Swan sent Mr. More, one of the supercargoes, to the city with a present for the sultan, consisting of three yards of scarlet cloth, three yards of broad gold-lace, a Turkish scimitar, and a pair of pistols; and to the Rajah Laut, the dignitary they had already seen, three yards of the same cloth with silver-lace. After some preliminary ceremonies, the English envoy was at night admitted to an audience, to which he was conducted by armed men, accompanied by servants bearing torches. The sultan, with ten privy-counsellors all seated on carpets, awaited his arrival. The present was graciously accepted, a conference took place in Spanish, after which Mr. More and his attendants, being first treated with supper, returned on board. Next day Captain Swan was invited on shore, whither he went, preceded by two trumpeters. He was conducted to an audience, and en-

tertained with betel and tobacco. Two letters were shown him, sent by East India merchants to the sultan, demanding liberty to build a factory and fort, and specifying the terms of traffic, rates of exchange, and of weights and measures. One letter was beautifully written, and between each line there was drawn a line of gold. Another letter, left by a Captain Goodlud, who had lately visited Mindanao, and directed generally to any of the English who might touch there, concluded, "Trust none of them, for they are all thieves; but *tace* is Latin for a candle."

After the interview with the sultan, Captain Swan visited Rajah Laut, who, being rather in disgrace with his brother at this time, had not been present at the audience. He entertained the English captain with boiled fowls and rice, and strongly urged him to bring the ship into the river, as stormy weather was at this season to be expected. He also advised him to warn his men against offending the natives by infringing their customs, and altogether appeared very familiar and friendly. To impress Swan with an idea of his justice, he ordered a man who had formerly robbed Captain Goodlud to be now punished; and the miserable wretch was accordingly publicly exposed bound to a post, and stripped naked with his face opposite the scorching sun, while he was shifted round and kept in torture, following its course all day, stung by the gnats and mosquitoes. This was a usual mode of punishment. His life was at night fall left at the mercy of the English captain, who informed Rajah Laut that he had no right to take cognizance of any crime which had not been committed by his own men and in his own ship.

The letters from the company's agents, by convincing Swan that there was a serious intention of establishing a factory at this place, gave him confidence to enter the river, trusting also to the friendly professions of Rajah Laut. The *Cygnets* was accordingly lighted of part of her cargo, and, with the help of sixty native fishermen, Rajah Laut directing their operations in person, she crossed the bar with the first springtide, and was moored within the mouth of the river. The *Bucaniers* remained here so long upon a footing of daily intimate intercourse with the townspeople, that Dampier has been enabled to give a very full and minute account of the Mindanaians. A singular custom of the country facilitated easy intercourse with the natives; though seamen, having their pockets stored with gold and their ships with desirable commodities, who are neither suspected of any sinister intention by the people nor viewed with jealousy by the government, have rarely found the half-civilized tribes of the Indian islands difficult of access.

The custom common in the South Sea Islands of exchanging names and forming a comradeship with a native, whose house is henceforward considered the home of the stranger, extended in Mindanao to the other sex, and "an innocent platonic female friend, named a *pagally*," was offered to each of the Englishmen, besides his male comrade. These friendships were, however, not so perfectly disinterested as not to require the cement of presents on the one side and flatteries on the other. In Mindanao, as in more refined parts of the world, those who were best dressed and furnished with gold the most readily obtained companions and *pagallies*. Under the sanction of this singular national custom the wives of the greatest men might choose friends among the strangers, or be selected as *pagallies*, and allowed to converse in public with the persons who distinguished them by their choice.

On their first arrival,—for they soon declined in favour, owing probably to their own reckless and dissolute manners,—the seamen could not pass along the streets without being compelled to enter the houses, where they were presented with betel and tobacco, the cordial hospitality of the givers atoning for the scantiness of this oriental entertainment. To express the vivacity and degree of their affection, the natives would place the forefingers of both hands close together, saying the English and themselves were like this; the Dutch were signified by holding the same fingers six inches apart, and the Spaniards at double that distance. Captain Swan, who still had a large quantity of iron and lead, as well as other goods belonging to his owners, meanwhile traded with Rajah Laut, at whose house he dined every day till he established himself at a dwelling which he hired in the town. Those of the Bucaniers who had money also took houses on shore, lived a jovial life among their comrades and *pagallies*, and hired female servants from their masters as temporary housekeepers.

Besides being the wet season, it was Ramadan time when the Cygnet came to anchor in the river, and amusement and pleasure were nearly suspended in Mindanao; but as soon as this solemn period was passed, the Rajah Laut entertained his friend Captain Swan every night with dances, those bands of regularly trained dancing-women being seen here which are common over all India. But all the females of Mindanao were fond of dancing, which they practised in a ring of forty or fifty, who joined hand-in-hand, singing in chorus, and keeping time; and though they never moved from the same spot, making various gestures, throwing forward one leg, and clapping their hands at the close of the verse. The Rajah Laut was in return entertained by Captain Swan's men, who performed Eng-

lish dances to the music of violins, in a ball-room fitted up with gold and silver lace and illuminated by a profusion of wax candles. Dampier relates the very natural mistake into which the rajah fell regarding one of these quarter-deck performers. John Thacker, a common Bucanier, though he could neither read nor write, had acquired the accomplishment of dancing about some "of the music houses of Wapping," and coming into the South Sea with Captain Harris, had been so fortunate in acquiring booty, that he now wore fine clothes, and by his superior dress and dancing, was supposed by the natives to be a person of noble extraction. When the rajah, to satisfy his curiosity on this important point, put the question to one of the company, the seaman replied humorously that the conjecture as to Jack's quality was quite correct; and that most of the ship's company were of like extraction, at least all who wore good clothes and had money, those meanly clad being but common seamen. The rajah from this time portioned out his civilities according to the garb of his new friends.

Captain Swan was by this time deeply chagrined at the result of his voyage. Most of his crew were turbulent and lawless; those who had money revelling on shore, and continually involving themselves in quarrels with the natives,—while those who were poor were growling on board at the privations they suffered, and the time wasted in inaction. In the number of the penniless was Dampier, who had no means of recreation and no source of enjoyment save the faculty of a powerful and quick observation, and the delight of entering his remarks in his journal. The single and undivided object of the rest of the crew of the *Cygnets* was gold—the plunder of the Manilla ship; nor durst the commander reveal his dislike to their project. About the same time that his crew grew violently discontented, he became himself suspicious of the good faith of his friend Rajah Laut, who for the iron and lead which he had procured continued to pay with fair promises.

Beef was one of the articles which the rajah had promised to the English, and a party went a hunting with him, but found no prey. Dampier, a practised hunter, was always of these parties, and used the opportunities they afforded to extend his knowledge of the country. In these distant hunting excursions the rajah carried his wives, children, and servants along with him in the proas of the country, which were fitted up with rooms. They settled at some village in the neighbourhood of the hunting-ground, the chief and his family occupying one end of the house and the Englishmen the other. While he and his men, who always hunted from dawn till late in the

afternoon, were abroad, the Englishmen were frequently left at home with the women and children. Though these ladies never quitted their own apartments while the chief remained at home, he was no sooner gone than they usually flocked to the strangers' room, asking a thousand questions about the condition of the women, and the fashions and customs of England. These were the subject of long and earnest argument among themselves, some condemning and others applauding the custom, which all allowed to be singular, of even the king and chiefs having but one wife. Among the proselytes to monogamy was the war-queen or wife, the lady who enjoyed the privilege of attending the rajah to battle; and her reasons, if they did not convince, at least silenced her opponents.

During this excursion, Dampier, from the conversation of the women, considerably increased his acquaintance with the character and customs of the people. They bathed daily, and washed after every meal; and if they became unclean from touching accidentally any forbidden thing, underwent scrupulous purification. Though associating so intimately with the English, they did not like to drink with nor after them. Wild hogs abounded, but swine's flesh, and every part of that filthy animal, was held in the utmost abhorrence by the Mindanaians; and though they invited the seamen to destroy the animals that came to the city during the night to feed on garbage under the houses, they were ordered to take the swine on board, and those who had touched these abominable creatures were ever afterward loathed and avoided by the natives, and forbidden their houses. This superstitious dislike was carried to so great a length, that the Rajah Laut returned in a rage a pair of shoes made in the English fashion, of leather he had furnished, and in which he had taken great pride, till he learned that the thread with which they were sewed had been pointed with hog's bristles. The shoemaker got more leather, and made a quite unexceptionable pair, with which the chief was satisfied.

At this hunting village, in the evenings, the women danced before the rajah; and before the party broke up to return to Mindanao, he entertained the English with a jar of "rice drink," a fermented liquor, on which he and his attendants got very merry. He drank first himself, and then his men; "and they all," says Dampier, "were as drunk as swine before they suffered us to drink."

That balance in human affairs which pervades all conditions was now turning the scale in favour of the less fortunate portion of the Cygnet's crew. The Mindanaians, though hospitable and kind, were, when offended, vindictive and deadly in

their resentments ; the conduct of these dissolute and openly profligate seamen had given them great offence ; and sixteen of the Bucaniers were in a short time taken off by poison, to which more afterward fell victims. The islanders were skilled in subtle poisons, which had not their full operation till a long while after they were administered. Some of the men, after they were conscious of having been poisoned, lingered on for months. When they died their livers were found black, dry, and shrivelled " like cork."

The ship had not lain long in the river when it had been discovered that her bottom was eaten with worms, which bred in such great numbers in this place, that shortly before a Dutch vessel had been destroyed by them in two months, while the Rajah Laut became heir to her great guns. It began to be suspected that he entertained the hope of being equally fortunate in a legacy from the Cygnet, as he had given no intimation of a danger which the Mindanaians always avoided by placing their barks and boats in a dry-dock the moment they came into port, even when only returned from fishing. He shook his head and seemed displeased when he saw that the sheathing of the vessel had prevented serious damage, and gravely remarked, " that he never did see a ship with the cunning device of two bottoms before." Dampier had seen the same kind of worms in myriads in the Bay of Campeachy, and in the Bay of Panama, and in smaller numbers in Virginia. They are never seen far at sea.

This alarming damage was repaired in time, though, taken with other circumstances, it strengthened the suspicions of Captain Swan, and excited the discontent of the men by increasing their alarm. Rajah Laut also, if he did not absolutely refuse, still delayed to furnish the beef and rice necessary to their subsistence, and which were to be the price of the commodities with which Captain Swan had so largely furnished him. His English friend had also lent the rajah twenty ounces of gold, to defray the expenses of a solemn ceremonial observed shortly before, when his son had been circumcised. This splendid ceremony, at which the English assisted, had been celebrated with music, dances, the singular war-dance of the country, banquets, pageants, and processions by torchlight. The Rajah, in a manner not uncommon in eastern countries, not only refused to repay the gold, but when urged, insisted that it had been a present, and finally demanded payment for all the victuals Swan and his men had consumed at his hospitable board.

While the rajah thus refused to discharge his debts, the Bucanier crew clamoured to be gone, and, becoming openly

mutinous, a party of them resolved to carry off the ship. Neither Dampier, who happened to be on board, nor the surgeon's mate, approved of this treacherous design, but they were reluctantly compelled to go with the rest, leaving Captain Swan and thirty-six men at Mindanao, from whence the *Cygnets* sailed on the 14th of January, 1687, intending to cruise off Manilla. A Bucanier of Jamaica, named Read was chosen commander. The first intimation Swan had of his abandonment was the gun which was fired as the ship got under way. To his own irresolution, bad temper, and want of firmness, Dampier imputes this misfortune. If, when apprized of the design of the mutineers, he had come on board and behaved with prudence and courage, he might have brought back the greater part of the men to their duty, and taken his own measures with the ringleaders, to some of whom he had certainly given just cause of discontent.

After leaving at Mindanao, the *Cygnets*, with a crew now reduced by various causes to eighty men, coasted to the westward. They fell in with a great many Keys, or small low islets, between which and Mindanao there was a good channel. On the east of these Keys they anchored and obtained green-turtle. At different places they cut ratans, such as were used in England for walking-canes. They saw here large bats, "seven or eight feet from tip to tip" of the extended wings, which regularly at dusk took their flight from the smaller islands to the main island in swarms like bees, and returned like a cloud before sunrise. On the 23d they reached Luconia, having captured a Spanish vessel laden with rice and cotton cloth, bound for Manilla. The master had been boat-swain of the Acapulco ship which had escaped them at Guahan, and which now lay safe in port. Nothing, therefore, of consequence could be hoped for this season, and to beguile the time, and wait a more favourable opportunity, they resolved to sail for the Pulo Condore or "Islands of Calabashes," a group of small islands on the coast of Cambodia. They anchored at Condore on the 14th of March.

At this place the Bucaniers remained for a month; after which they cruised in the Gulf of Siam and in several parts of the China seas, taking all barks that fell in their way, whether Spanish, Portuguese, or native vessels. From the crew of a junk belonging to the Island of Sumatra, they learned that the English had established a factory on that island. The surgeon and Dampier, who had accompanied "this mad crew" against their inclination, "and were sufficiently weary of them," would have escaped here, and taken their chance of

getting to this or some other English factory; but they were constrained to remain in the Cygnet.

The next destination of the Bucaniers was the Ponghou Islands, which in no respect answered their purpose of quiet and security. At the place where they anchored there was a large town and a Tartar garrison.

In the charts which they possessed there were laid down, marked by the figure 5, a group of islands situated between Luconia (the cynosure of their hopes) and Formosa; and these, which offered a tolerably convenient station, they hoped might be either uninhabited or only peopled by tribes from whom they might with impunity plunder provisions, without danger of the outrage being heard of in the Philippines. They steered for them, and upon the 6th of August reached the interesting group now known as the Bashee Islands.

These five islands were more particularly named, 1. Orange Island, so called by the Dutchmen among the crew in honour of their native prince. It is the largest and most westerly of the group, and was uninhabited. 2. Grafton Island was so named by Dampier in compliment to the noble family in whose household he had, as has been mentioned, left his wife. 3. Monmouth Island was named by the seamen after the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth, the son of Charles II. The other two were called the Goat and the Bashee Island, from the number of goats seen on the one, and the abundance of the beverage which gained the approbation of the seamen that was made on the other. The two latter are small islands, lying to the south, in the channel which divides Orange Island from Grafton and Monmouth Islands. Monmouth Island is high, and so fenced with steep rocks and precipitous cliffs, that the Bucaniers did not land upon it as they did upon all the other islands. Grafton and Monmouth Islands were thickly inhabited, and on Bashee there was one village.

The natives were "short squat people, generally round-visaged, with low foreheads and thick eye-brows; their eyes small and hazel-coloured, yet bigger than those of the Chinese; short low noses, their lips and mouths middle-proportioned; their teeth white, their hair black, thick, and lank, which they wore cut short; it will just cover their ears, and so is cut round very even," says Dampier, and to this fashion they seemed to attach great importance. Their skins are a dark copper-colour. They wear neither hat, cap, turban, nor any thing to keep off the heat of the sun. The men had a cloth about their middle, and some wore jackets of plantain-leaves, "as rough and bristly as a bear's skin." The women were



clothed with a short cotton petticoat, which fell below the knees; of "a thick, stubborn" cloth that they manufactured themselves. Both men and women wore large earrings of a yellow glistening metal, found in the mines in their own mountains, resembling gold, but paler in colour.

No foreign commodities of any kind were seen among the Basheens, nor any thing that could have been introduced by sea, save a few bits of iron and pieces of buffalo-hides. In all points they appeared an unmixed race, in their dispositions singularly mild, amiable, and peaceful. Their islands produced plantains, bananas, pumpkins, and plenty of yams, which made the principal part of their food. They had no grain of any kind, and consequently but few fowls, which Dampier never saw in plenty where there was not either maize, rice, or grain of some sort.

The dwellings of the islanders, and the places upon which they had perched them, were among the most singular features of their social condition. In describing them we adopt the words of Dampier:—"These people made but low, small houses. The sides, which were made of small posts, wattled with boughs, and not above four feet and a half high: the ridge pole is about seven or eight feet high. They have a fireplace at one end of their houses, and boards placed on the ground to lie on. They inhabit together in small villages built on the sides and tops of rocky hills, three or four rows of houses one above another, under such steep precipices that they go up to the first row with a wooden ladder, and so with a ladder still from every story up to that above it, there being no other way to ascend. The plain on the first precipice may be so wide as to have room both for a row of houses, which stand all along the edge or brink of it, and a very narrow street running along before their doors, between the row of houses and the foot of the next precipice, the plain of which is in a manner level with the roofs of the houses below, and so for the rest. The common ladder to each row, or street, comes up at a narrow passage, left purposely about the middle of it, and the street being bounded with a precipice also at each end, 'tis but drawing up the ladder if they be assaulted, and then there is no coming at them from below but by climbing a perpendicular wall. And that they may not be assaulted from above they take care to build on the side of such a hill whose back hangs over the sea, or is some high, steep, perpendicular precipice, altogether inaccessible." These precipices and regular terraces appeared quite natural. Grafton and Monmouth Islands abounded in these rocky fortresses, in which the natives felt

themselves secure from pirates, and from enemies whether foreign or domestic.

The men of the Bashee Islands, while the *Cygnets* lay there, were generally employed in fishing, leaving the plantations to the care of the women. Their weapons were wooden lances, of which only a few were headed with iron; their armour a buffalo's hide, as thick as a board, which covered them to the knees, having holes for the head and arms. No form of worship was observed among this tribe, nor did any one seem to have more authority than another. Every man had one wife, and ruled his own household,—the single wife appearing affectionate and happy, and the children respecting and honouring their parents. The boys went out to fish with their fathers, while the girls attended to domestic duties with their mothers. Their plantations were in the valleys, where each family had one; and thither the young girls, as soon as they were able for the task, descended every day from their rocky abodes to dig yams and potatoes, which they carried home on their heads for the use of the family.

In no part of the world had Dampier seen people so perfectly quiet and civil as these islanders. "They dealt justly and with great sincerity," he says, "and made us very welcome to their houses with Bashee-drink."

Meanwhile the cruise off Manilla was not forgotten. Eighty hogs were salted, and yams and potatoes laid up for sea-store. The crew had taken in water, and now only waited the settling of the eastern monsoon to take their departure. On the 24th of September the wind shifted to the east, and by midnight blew so fiercely that they were driven to sea, leaving six of their men on the island. It was the 1st of October before they were able to recover their anchoring ground. The natives immediately rowed their comrades on board. As soon as the ship was out of sight, the islanders increased in hospitality and kindness to the strangers left among them. They only stipulated that the Bucaniers should cut their hair in the Bashee fashion; and on this condition offered each of them a wife, and, as a dowry, a plantation and implements of labour.

The late storm, their long and profitless cruise, now extending with some of them to years, and the penalties to which their criminal acts made them all alike liable in every civilized country, combined to depress the spirits of the crew of the *Cygnets*; and once more every man heartily wished himself at home, "as they had done a hundred times before." They were, however, persuaded by the captain and master to try one more chance, and agreed to steer for Cape Comorin, for

ever renouncing the long-indulged dream of capturing the Manilla ship. Dampier believed that the ultimate object of the pirate commanders was to cruise in the Red Sea, and by one more desperate effort to make or for ever mar their fortunes. Of all the company none was more heartily tired than our navigator, who had been betrayed into this voyage, and whose thoughts, since leaving Mindanao, had run continually on making his escape to some English settlement. To avoid the danger of meeting English or Dutch ships, with which, in taking the best and most direct course, they were in danger of falling in, they agreed, instead of steering for the Straits of Malacca, to go round the east side of the Philippines, and, keeping south to the Spice Islands, pass these, and enter the Indian Ocean about Timor. To Dampier all routes were alike. "I was well enough satisfied," he says, "knowing that the farther we went the more knowledge and experience I should get, which was the main thing I regarded, and should also have the more variety of places to attempt an escape from them.

On the 3d of October they sailed from the Bashee Isles, leaving, for the first time, a somewhat favourable impression of their characters, and bearing away grateful and affectionate remembrances of this gentle and amiable tribe. They steered S. S. W., with the wind at W. and fair weather; and passed certain islands which lie by the north end of Luconia. Leaving the coast of this island, and with it "all their golden prospects," they steered southward, keeping to the east of the Philippines, and on the 15th anchored between the two small islands named Candigar and Sarangan, near the south-east end of Mindanao; and next day, at the north-west end of the most easterly of the islands, found a fit place to careen and refit the ship. While they lay here the nephew of the sultan, who, in name of his uncle, had formerly been treating with Captain Swan to visit and garrison his island, and take in a cargo of spice, came on board and requested a passage home, as they were understood to be going southward. From him they obtained intelligence of Captain Swan and their deserted comrades, who had been fighting under Rajah Laut with a hostile tribe in the interior. The Englishmen had conducted themselves so bravely in fight, that they were now in high favour at Mindanao; though it was feared they had been found too powerful and useful as allies to be permitted easily to leave their new service. Swan had for some time been attempting, unsuccessfully, to hire a vessel to convey him to Fort St. George.

At this time Dampier took an opportunity of persuading the men to return to their duty, to carry the ship back to the river of Mindanao, and give her up to the true commander; but before this could be effected, one man, who seemed the most zealously to embrace the proposal, gave information, and Captain Read deemed it prudent to weigh anchor with all expedition, and without waiting the arrival of the prince, to whom a passage had been promised. Read held a course south-west, and once more disappointed the hopes of Dampier, who believed that, by carrying home the young chief, they might, at his uncle's island, establish a factory and a lawful traffic.

The ultimate fate of Captain Swan, of whom we are now to lose sight, was not a little painful. Two supercargoes or merchants of the ship, Harthop and Smith, died at Mindanao; and when the commander, after a series of vexations and disappointments, was going out to a Dutch vessel which lay in the river, hoping to get away at last, the boat was run down by the emissaries of Rajah Laut, and Swan and the surgeon were either drowned or killed in the water. The property of the English captain was immediately seized by the perfidious chief, who justified his conduct by imputing as crimes to the unfortunate Englishman the idle impotent threats wrung from him by hope deferred, irritation, and grief.

The Cygnet continued her bootless voyage among the islands and channels of the Philippines on to the Spice Isles, and anchored off Celebes, where the seamen obtained a supply of turtle, and found, among other shellfish, cockles of so monstrous a size that the meat of one of them made a meal for seven or eight persons. It was palatable and wholesome. Here they also found a vine, of which the leaves, pounded and boiled with lard, made an infallible sea-salve. One of the company had formerly learned its uses from the Indians of the Darien; and most of the seamen now laid up a store, such as had ulcers finding great benefit from its healing properties. On the 29th of November they left this place; and after encountering the dangers of the shoals which surround Celebes, and experiencing fierce tornadoes, on the 1st of December saw, and on the 5th approached, the north-west end of the island of Bouton. On the evening of the 30th they had seen at a distance two or three water-spouts, but escaped them all.

An Indian who spoke the Malay tongue came on board at this time with some of the turtle-strikers, and informed them of a good harbour on the east side of Bouton, for which they sailed. They came to anchor within a league of *Callasusung*, a clean and handsome town, situated upon a hill in the middle

of a fertile plain, surrounded with cocoa-trees. The people resembled the inhabitants of Mindanao, and their houses were built in the same style; but they appeared in all respects more "neat and tight." They were Mohammedans, and spoke the Malay language. The same description seems to fit every sultan whom the voyagers saw,—“a little man about forty or fifty, with a great many wives and children.” Unaware of the exact character of his visitors, the Sultan of Bouton was pleased to hear that they were English, and made them a visit in a handsomely ornamented proa, with a white silk flag displayed at the masthead, edged with red, and having in the centre, neatly painted, the device of the prince,—a green griffin trampling upon a dragon or winged serpent.

They had no object in remaining here; and as a forlorn hope, or from curiosity, resolved to steer for New-Holland, “to see what that country could afford them.” In leaving Bouton they got among shoals, and it was about three weeks before they passed Timor, and got clear of all the dangers of this chain. They stood off south, and on the 4th of January fell in with the north-west coast of New-Holland in  $16^{\circ} 50'$ . They ran close in, but found no safe anchoring-ground, as the coast lay open to the N. E. They steered for about twelve leagues N. E. by E., keeping close in by the shore, and reached a point, three leagues to the eastward of which they found a deep bay with many islets, and finally anchored at about a mile from the land. Seeing people walking on the shore, a canoe was sent off, but the natives ran away and hid themselves; and though traces of fires were seen, no habitation could be discovered. Toys and trinkets were left on the shore at such places as the people were likely to find them.

The coast here was low and level, with sandbanks. No water could be found, though at several places old wells were seen dry in the sandy bays. Having failed of their object on the mainland, neither provisions nor water being found, nor a hope of them, some of the boats visited the islands in the bay, and surprised a party of the natives. The men at first threatened the intruders, and showed their lances and swords; but the noise of a single gun frightened them, and the women seemed in very great alarm. Screaming, they ran away with their children, while the men stood to parley. Those who from sickness or feebleness were unable to follow, lay still by their fires uttering doleful lamentations; but when it was seen that no harm was intended them, they became tranquil, and many of the fugitives returned.

The Bucaniers had entertained no design against these wretched people more flagitious than to make them labour in

carrying the water-casks to the boats. To this they tried to bribe them with ragged shirts and old breeches, finery which could have charmed some of the insular families of the Pacific, though they were totally disregarded by the inert natives of New-Holland, whose first associations with European finery were connected with hard and compulsory labour. "We put them on them," says Dampier, speaking of the tattered rags of the Bucaniers, "thinking this finery would make them work heartily for us; and our water being filled in barrels of about six gallons, we brought these new servants to the wells, and put a barrel on each of their shoulders to carry to the canoe. But all the signs we could make were to no purpose; for they stood like statues without motion, but grinned like so many monkeys, staring upon one another." It was found that they had not even strength sufficient for the task of being carriers of water; and Dampier believed that an English ship boy of ten years old would have been able to bear heavier burdens than these feeble savages. "So we were forced," he says, "to carry our water ourselves; and they very fairly put the clothes off again, and laid them down, as if clothes were only to work in. I did not perceive," he adds, "that they had any great liking to them at first; neither did they seem to admire any thing we had."

The Mosquito-men were busily employed during the time that the ship was cleaned and the sails repaired; nor did Dampier miss the opportunity of once again persuading his messmates to go to some English factory and surrender the vessel and themselves. The threat of being left on this barren and melancholy coast, among the most wretched of the human race, compelled him to consult his prudence rather than his duty, and to wait a fairer chance of escape.

The destination of the *Cygnet* was still Cape Comorin; and on the 4th of May they made the Nicobar Islands, the chief commodities of which were ambergris and fruits, which the inhabitants disposed of to any European vessels that chanced to visit them. Dampier now openly expressed his intention of leaving the ship; and Captain Read, believing that he could not more effectually punish his refractory shipmate than by granting his wish, and leaving him at this island, at once gave him leave to go on shore. Lest Read might change his mind, Dampier immediately lowered his bedding and chest, and got some one to row him to the land. He had not been long on shore when a party were sent from the ship to bring him back, and he complied, aware that if he persisted in going away against their will, the Bucaniers would not hesitate to make a descent on the coast and kill some of the natives, who would

in turn revenge themselves on him. On returning to the ship, he found that his spirited example had moved some of the other persons who had long entertained a similar design of effecting their escape, and three of them now joined his party, of whom the surgeon was one. The captain and crew refused on any terms to let the surgeon depart; but after some altercation Dampier and his two companions, on a fine clear moonlight night, were landed and left in a sandy bay of this unknown island. One of the seamen who rowed them ashore stole an axe and gave it to them, as the means of propitiating the natives, or of buying provisions. They were speedily joined by four Acheenese previously found in a captured proa, whom Captain Read released before setting sail; and now they fancied themselves strong enough to row to Sumatra. A Portuguese, taken prisoner by the Bucaniers long before, was also landed, and the party of eight considered itself able for defence if attacked by the natives, though no one offered to disturb them.

From the owner of an empty hut in which they slept they bought a canoe with the stolen axe, and, placing their goods in it, embarked for Acheen. It upset as soon as under way, and though no life was lost their clothes were wetted, and what to Dampier was of far greater importance, the journals of many years and his drafts were damaged. Three days were spent in drying their things, and altering their canoe into a sailing boat, which was expertly done by the Acheenese, who fitted her with a mast, outriggers, and suit of mat-sails. With the natives, who watched all their movements, though more from curiosity than suspicion, they bartered rags and strips\* of cloth for mellory,—a fruit the size of the bread-fruit, shaped like a pear with a tough, smooth, light-green rind, which Dampier asserts is confined to these islands. They also obtained cocoanuts, which the Acheenese gathered, and might have had hogs, but that they did not choose to disgust their Malayan friends, who were Mahommedans. Once more they embarked in their frail vessel, their only guides a pocket compass, with which Dampier had provided himself, and a sketch of the Indian Seas, which, contemplating escape, he had previously from a chart in the ship, copied into his pocket-book.

They had been out three days when the weather became threatening and soon rose to a tempest. We shall employ the striking language of Dampier himself to describe what follow-

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\* A strip of cloth which those islanders wear attached to their slight covering led Linaeus into the ludicrous mistake of asserting, on the authority of an ignorant Swedish sailor, that here existed a race of men with tails.

ed, nor, while it reveals so much of his true character and feelings, could a better specimen of his more elevated and earnest style be easily selected:—

“The wind continued increasing all the afternoon, and the sea still swelled higher and often broke, but did us no damage; for the ends of the vessel being very narrow, he that steered received and broke the sea on his back, and so kept it from coming in, which we were forced to keep heaving out continually. The evening of this day was very dismal. The sky looked very black, being covered with dark clouds. The wind blew hard, and the seas ran high. The sea was already roaring in a white foam about us; a dark night coming on, no land to shelter us, and our little bark in danger to be swallowed by every wave; and, what was worst of all, none of us thought ourselves prepared for another world. I had been in many imminent dangers before now, but the worst of them all was but play-game in comparison with this. I had long before this repented me of that roving course of life, but never with such concern as now. I did also call to mind the many miraculous acts of God’s providence towards me in the whole course of my life, of which kind, I believe few men have met the like. And for all these I returned thanks in a peculiar manner, and once more desired God’s assistance, and composed my mind as well as I could in the hopes of it, and, as the event showed, I was not disappointed of my hopes. Submitting ourselves therefore to God’s good providence, and taking all the care we could to preserve our lives, Mr. Hall and I took turns to steer, and the rest to heave out the water; and thus we provided to spend the most doleful night I ever was in.”

The pious trust of Dampier and his companions did not fail them. After enduring great hardship, they reached a small fishing village in a river’s mouth, of the Island of Sumatra, at which their companions, the Malays of Acheen, were previously acquainted. They were so much exhausted when they arrived here as to be unable to row their canoe to the village,—another example of the sudden prostration of strength to which persons who have been in imminent jeopardy are liable as soon as the danger appears to be past. The people of the place assisted them in, and a chief who came to see them, being given to understand that they were prisoners escaped like the Acheenese from the pirates, treated them with great kindness. A house was provided for their reception, and far more provisions sent to it than they could use, as they were all sick from excessive fatigue, and the cold and heat to which they had alternately been exposed, now scorching unsheltered



in the noontide sun, and again bleaching in the chill rains of midnight. After resting for ten days, though not yet restored to health, they entreated to be allowed to proceed to Acheen to their countrymen; and they were provided with a large proa, and permitted to depart. On their arrival at Acheen they were strictly examined by the native magistrate, and then given up to the care of an Irish gentleman connected with the factory. The Portuguese died, and Ambrose, one of the Englishmen who left the *Cygnets* did not long survive him. Dampier, originally robust, and whose constitution was now by his hardy mode of life almost invincible, recovered, though slowly; the remedies of a Malay doctor, to whose care he was committed, having proved worse than the original disease.

We may here take a farewell glance of the *Bucaniers*, and especially of those left by Dampier in the South Sea. In pursuing their old vocation they became more successful after the *Cygnets* crossed the Pacific. They captured many vessels, and revelled in the plunder of several towns; sometimes cruising together, but as often in detached bands. Townley was so far fortunate as to obtain with ease at Lavelia the treasure and merchandise landed from the Lima ship on the former year, for which Swan had watched so long in vain, and for which the whole *Bucanier* force had battled in the Bay of Panama. Townley afterward died of wounds received in another attack. The French party stormed Granada; and Groignet, dying of his wounds, was succeeded by Le Picard. Harris followed Swan across the Pacific; and Knight, satiated with plunder, returned by Cape Horn to the West Indies.

The French *Flibustiers* countenanced by their government, continued to flourish during the war which followed the accession of William III. to the throne of England. At length *Bucaniering* having been severely checked, changed into the more legitimate channel of privateering; yet for more than twenty years, a few desperate characters, English, or English Creoles, outlaws or deserters, pretending to be the true successors of the old *Rovers*, who had strictly limited their depredations to the Spanish West Indies, continued to infest the commerce of every nation, and haunted every sea from Cape Wrath to the islands of the Indian Ocean, wherever robbery could be practised with impunity either by land or water.

As to Dampier, want of room forbids us to describe minutely the further progress of this voyage in all its details; suffice it to say that after some time spent at Fort St. George on the island of Bencoolen, an English vessel arrived from Mindanao, laden with clove bark, and having on board an Indian prince by the name of Jeoly, whom Dampier had formerly seen as a

slave at that place, and whom Mr. Moody, the supercargo of the ship, had purchased from his owner on a speculation. In this speculation Dampier now became interested, and concluded to return home in the ship. The voyage from the illness of the crew proved tedious and troublesome, but it was completed at last; though the same bad fortune which had attended Dampier at so many turns of life deprived him of all advantage from bringing home Jeoly. He arrived in the Thames in utter poverty, and was compelled by necessity to sell his share of the "painted prince;" thus forever renouncing the project of carrying him back to Meangis, which poor Jeoly was destined never again to revisit. After being seen by many "eminent persons," he caught the small-pox at Oxford, and died.

Of Dampier at this time we hear no more. The narrative of his eight years' ramble around the globe breaks off abruptly by saying, "We luffed in for the Downs, where we anchored, Sept. 16th, 1691."

In 1699, under the patronage of the Earl of Pembroke, Dampier undertook a voyage of discovery to New-Holland, which terminated in several important geographical results. In this voyage Dampier gave name to islands, capes, promontories, straits, and so forth, in the South Seas, of which Europeans had before but little if any knowledge. On the return home from this voyage, while near the island of Ascension, the ship being old and damaged, sprung a leak, and was obliged to be abandoned. Dampier remained on board to the very last. He had to regret the loss of many of his books and papers, and a collection of shells gathered at New-Holland. After remaining at Ascension about five weeks, an Indiaman and three English ships of war came into the bay. In these Dampier and his crew took passage home.

Captain Dampier had not been long at home when the death of King William III. took place, and was followed by the war of the Succession. Among the private enterprises attending this war with France and Spain was extensive privateering; and he obtained the command of the *St. George* and *Cinque Ports*, two vessels equipped by a company of English merchants, and intended to cruise against the Spaniards in the South Seas. The *St. George* left the Downs in April, 1703, with Captain Dampier on board; but it was September before both vessels left Kinsale. The basis of the expedition was the old Bucanier maxim, *no prey, no pay*,—a principle ill-adapted to the maintenance of discipline or order in a ship. In this voyage Dampier had in view three special objects,—namely, the capture of the Spanish galleons that sailed from Buenos

Ayres; and, failing that, to pass the Straits of Magellan, or double Cape Horn, and lie in wait for the ship that carried gold from Baldivia to Lima; or, finally, the oft-attempted exploit of the seizure of the Manilla galleon. The *St. George* carried twenty-six guns, and a crew of one hundred and twenty.

Before the voyage was well begun quarrels broke out among these irresponsible officers, and some of them quitted the ship, while the commander, without being invested with salutary power to restrain them, was left to bear the blame of the misconduct of the whole company.

The ships doubled Cape Horn, and reached Juan Fernandez without any remarkable adventure. While lying here a strange sail was seen, to which both ships gave chase. She proved to be a French ship cruising in these seas, and so strongly did the old Bucanier associations influence Dampier, that he acknowledged it was with reluctance he attacked a European vessel of whatever nation. He however engaged, and after a fight of seven hours, in which both ships suffered considerably, they parted.

Before the proper latitude was reached, the Baldivia treasure-ships had sailed. Though Dampier was the nominal commander, Stradling, in the *Cinque Ports*, acted independently; and as they differed about their future operations, the ships parted company. A design to surprise Santa Maria in the Bay of Panama failed; and though Dampier captured a few small vessels, he obtained no prize of any value.

While lying in the Gulf of Nicoya, the commander and his chief mate, John Clipperton, quarrelled, and the latter, with twenty-one of the crew, seized the tender, in which were most of the ammunition and stores, and put out to sea. It is alleged that Clipperton at this time stole his commander's commission. No captain ever sailed with a worse-disposed and more turbulent set of men and officers than those whom Dampier now commanded. They had all the bad qualities of Bucaniers, without their bravery, experience, and hardihood.

The *St. George* bore northward, and on the 6th of December, while only a short way beyond Port de Navidad, descried a sail, which proved to be the Manilla galleon. The Manilla ship had no suspicion of any enemy being on this coast, and she received several broadsides from the *St. George* before being cleared for action. Even taken thus at disadvantage, when her guns, which were of far heavier metal, were brought into play, they at once drove in the rotten planks of the *St. George*, and obliged Dampier to sheer off. The galleon also held on. It is presumed that the number of her men quadrupled those of the English ship, and her guns were eighteen and twenty-

four pounders, while those of the *St. George* were only five-pounders.

This proved a bitter disappointment, and the men became more and more impatient to end so profitless and fatiguing a voyage. In hopes of better fortune, they were, however, induced to continue the cruise for a few weeks longer on the coast of New Spain; but this produced nothing, and it was agreed to part company. One party, instigated by Funnel, the mendacious historian of the voyage, resolved to sail for India, and by this route return home. A brigantine of seventy tons which had been captured was given up to him, and the thirty-four men who chose to follow his counsels; and the stores, small arms, and ammunition were divided, four of the *St. George's* guns being also given to this party. Dampier's crew was thus left reduced to twenty-nine. After refitting his crazy disabled ship he returned to the coast of Peru. They plundered the town of Puna, and cruised along till their ship was no longer fit to keep the sea, when they abandoned her riding at anchor at Lobos de la Mar, and embarking in a brigantine which they had captured from the Spaniards, crossed the Pacific.

Of this voyage, and of the subsequent misfortunes of Dampier in India, there remain no certain or distinct accounts. It is however known, that, not having a commission to show, he was thrown into prison by the Dutch, but was at length liberated and returned home.

The fortunes of Dampier must have been at a very low ebb when he returned to England after this disastrous voyage; and it is with pain we find this veteran navigator, as much distinguished by superiority of understanding as by nautical skill and experience, obliged, in 1708, to act as a pilot under younger and very inferior commanders. This, which was Dampier's last voyage, again proved to be one round the world, and was undertaken in the *Duke* and *Duchess*, two privateers fitted out by several Bristol merchants.

Copious narratives of this voyage are written by the commanders, Woodes Rogers and Cook, but it is only incidentally that we learn any thing from them of their distinguished pilot.

At Juan Fernandez, Woodes Rogers, on this voyage, brought off the celebrated Alexander Selkirk, who had been left or rather abandoned here by Dampier's violent and tyrannical consort, Captain Stradling, four years previously. On the recommendation of Dampier, Selkirk was made second mate of the *Duke*.

The cruise of the privateers was successful. After capturing several rich prizes, they turned their thoughts homeward, and keeping the usual track of the galleons, reached Guahan

on the 10th of March, after a run of exactly two months, and anchored under Spanish colours. Apart from this venial deception, employed to facilitate the purchase of supplies, the conduct of the English privateers was unexceptionable. They rested for ten days, and made the north of Gilolo in about a month afterward. At Bouton they stopped to take in provisions and water, and next sailed for Batavia, where they experienced those noxious effects of climate from which hardly any ship's company escapes at that most unhealthy station.

They sailed from Batavia in the end of October, waited long at the Cape for a homeward-bound fleet, and coming round the north of Scotland, five-and-twenty sail, Dutch and English, anchored in the Texel in July of the following year, and in October, 1711, came to the Thames with booty in money and merchandize valued at £150,000. From this date we hear no more of Captain Dampier, whose name appears less frequently in the narrative of Rogers than, from the eminent nautical abilities of the man who bore it, it ought to have done. In difficulties he was, it appears, constantly applied to, and his former knowledge and experience taken as guides. At Bouton, where he had been in the *Cygnets*, he was intrusted to carry the present to the sultan; and, from respect to his judgment and integrity, he was also chosen umpire in the very delicate affair of deciding what was plunder for immediate division, and in allotting the respective shares.

Dampier was of the number of those men distinguished above their fellows, "who are not without honour save in their own country;" or if at home his merits were appreciated, wanting the most worthless quality of success, the glare and show, they failed of their reward. By French and Dutch navigators and men of science he has been uniformly regarded with the warmest admiration, as a man to whose professional eminence his own country has scarce done justice. They delight to style him the "eminent," the "skilful," the "exact," the "incomparable Dampier." Humboldt has borne testimony to his merits, placing the Bucanier seaman above those men of science who afterward went over the same ground; Malte Brun terms him "the learned Dampier; and the author of the voyages to Australia inquires, "*Mais ou trouve-t-on des Navigateurs comparables a Dampier?*"\* The acuteness, accuracy, and clearness of his nautical observations, and of his descriptions and general remarks, have made his voyages be assumed by foreign navigators as unerring guides and authori-

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\* But where shall we find navigators to be compared with Dampier?

ties in all subsequent expeditions ; and his rapidity and power of observation are fully as remarkable as his accuracy. His hasty glance at the places of New-Holland where he touched, has left subsequent voyagers little to do save to verify his descriptions. Dampier's veracity has in no instance been questioned, even by those the most disposed to cavil at facts which, being remote from their limited experience, appear extraordinary or impossible. Other writers, combining into one the relations of many different travellers, have amplified his descriptions ; but there is no detached account of the countries he visited more full of vital interest and exact information than the voyages of this wandering seaman.

The succession of brilliant discoveries which illustrated the early part of the reign of George III. for a time threw the adventures of Dampier, and of every previous navigator, into the shade, but they are again emerging into popularity. Compared with the voyages of recent navigators, his long solitary rambles are as the emprises of the single knightly combatant, bearing no proportion to the magnitude and splendour of regular battle-field, but, from their individuality, often commanding a more intense and powerful, because a more concentrated, interest.

The cloud which rested on the personal character of Dampier from the ignorance or misrepresentations of envious contemporaries, and the carelessness and haste with which writers for the press copy from each other and adopt current statements, is fast clearing away.

“ It is not easy to name another voyager or traveller who has given more useful information to the world, or to whom the merchant and the mariner are more indebted.” The philosopher and the naturalist, have rarely been so much indebted to any adventurer whose pursuits were so entirely remote from their subjects of speculation.

Though the life of this navigator was spent in incessant action, his natural genius appears to have been rather speculative than enterprising. He liked to reason and to scheme, and lost sight of present small but certain advantage in extensive and brilliant plans for the future, which his evil fortune forbade him to realize. If, indeed, there be such things as good and bad fortune in human affairs independent of skill and exertion, Dampier may be pointed out as an example of what the world calls an unlucky man,—one to whom every event proves adverse,—who seems singled out for misfortune. Except the capital error of the mode of life upon which he entered, none of his misadventures can be traced to himself; and this lawless life enriched many of his contemporaries, while it kept

him in poverty and left him a beggar. In relating its incidents, he has never once attempted to justify or palliate his manner of existence for so many years. Amid the vicissitudes and temptations to which it exposed him, his excellent understanding and the principles he had imbibed in the virtuous household of a Somersetshire yeoman preserved him, if not entirely spotless from evil contagion, yet from that decay and deadness of moral feeling which are of the worst consequences of vicious companionship. He was humane, just in the most strict and also in the most liberal sense, candid and charitable in his judgments, and (rare virtues in a Bucanier!) orderly and temperate, detesting the riotous excess of his associates. Get over the stumbling-block of his early life being squared by "the good old rule," and Dampier the Bucanier was a virtuous man. In the South Sea, and afterward in the *Cygnét*, he might have obtained command, such was the respect his shipmates entertained for his abilities; but the love of adventure was his strongest passion, and his sole ambition the acquisition of knowledge.

He appears latterly to have deeply felt the disgrace and galling servitude of his lawless life, and serious reflection and remorseful feelings pressed upon his mind with great force long before he was able to get free of his wild associates in the *Cygnét*.

By the time that Dampier returned to England with Woodes Rogers he was far advanced in life, and his career for forty years had been one of unremitting hardihood and professional exertion. It is therefore probable that he never embarked in any subsequent voyage; and as the remaining part of his life, whether long or short, is involved in complete obscurity, there is but too much reason to believe that it was passed in neglect, if not in poverty. Of this eminent seaman and traveller, though little more than a century can have elapsed since his death, no one is able now to tell how the evening of his life was spent, when he died, or where he was buried. Had he expired in some remote island of the Pacific, or perished in the element on which so great a portion of his life was passed, some imperfect record might have remained to satisfy our natural desire to know the last of the worn-out and veteran navigator; but it was his fate to sink unheeded amid the conflicting waves and tides of society; and no memorial or tradition remains of *his* death, in whose remarkable life the adventures of Selkirk, Wafer, and the Bucanier commanders of the South Sea appear but as episodes. So much for human fame!



CAPTAIN JAMES COOK.

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THE first expedition of importance, fitted out wholly for scientific objects, was that intrusted to the command of the celebrated CAPTAIN JAMES COOK. This great navigator was born of humble parents: his father was an agricultural labourer, whose steady conduct was at length rewarded by his employer with the situation of hind or under steward. As he had nine children, and his means were slender, he was unable to assist materially their individual exertions to procure a livelihood. James, when thirteen years of age, was apprenticed to a shopkeeper at Straiths, a fishing town not far from Whitby; but the predilection of young Cook for the sea was soon manifested with that strength of inclination which is sure



to accompany peculiar talents. He engaged himself for seven years with the owners of some ships employed in the coal trade; and, when the period of his engagement was expired, he was promoted by his employers to the rank of mate of one of their vessels. The coal trade of England, being chiefly carried on near a singularly dangerous coast, where unceasing vigilance is required on the part of the seamen, constitutes the best school of practical mariners in the world. Cook, who obeyed his own inclinations when he turned sailor, profited, no doubt, in the highest degree, from the opportunities which his coasting voyages afforded him of becoming acquainted with the practical part of navigation. At length, being in the Thames, in 1755, when impressments were carried on to a great extent, he resolved to anticipate the impending necessity, and offered himself to serve on board the *Eagle*, a man-of-war of sixty guns. Shortly after, the friends and patrons of his family in Yorkshire having warmly recommended his interests to the care of Mr. Osbaldiston, the member for Scarborough, and captain (afterwards Sir Hugh) Palliser, who commanded the *Eagle*, reporting well of his conduct and capacity, he was appointed master of the *Mercury*, a small vessel which soon afterwards joined the fleet of Sir Charles Saunders in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Here the talents and resolution of Cook soon became conspicuous.

It was found necessary, in order that the fleet might co-operate with the army under General Wolfe, that it should take up a position along the shore in front of the French encampments; but before this manœuvre could be put in execution, the channel of the river was to be sounded. This difficult task required the union of more than ordinary intelligence and intrepidity, and Cook was the person selected for the purpose. For several nights he carried on his operations unperceived; but at length the enemy discovered his movements, and, sending out a great number of boats after it grew dark, attempted to surround and cut him off. Cook pushed for the Isle of Orleans; and so narrowly did he escape being captured, that as he stepped on shore from the bow of his boat, the Indians in pursuit of him entered at the stern; and the boat itself, which was a pinnace belonging to a man-of-war, was carried off by the enemy. Cook, however, had accomplished his task, and laid before the admiral of the fleet a survey of the channel, which was found to be both full and accurate. After the conquest of Quebec he was appointed to examine the more difficult portions of the river St. Lawrence, with the navigation of which the English had but little acquaintance. His zeal and abilities soon after procured him an appointment as master to

the Northumberland, which bore the commodore's flag at Halifax. Here he found leisure to apply himself to the study of elementary mathematics, and to improve those talents as a practical hydrographer of which he had given such ample proofs in his first rude essays. An opportunity also soon occurred of displaying his improvement by surveying a part of the coast of Newfoundland. This island had lately fallen into the power of the English; and its importance as a fishing station being fully appreciated by Sir Hugh Palliser, who was appointed governor in the year 1764, he strongly represented to government the necessity of making an accurate survey of its coasts; and, accordingly, by his recommendation, Cook was appointed marine surveyor of Newfoundland and Labrador, and the Grenville schooner was placed under his command for this purpose. The manner in which Cook executed this task confirmed the high opinion already entertained of his zeal and ability. A short paper which he communicated to the Royal Society on an eclipse of the sun observed in Newfoundland, and the longitude of the place as calculated from it, procured him the character of a respectable mathematician.

But still higher honours awaited him. The transit of the planet Venus over the sun's disc, calculated to take place in 1769, was looked forward to by the scientific world with much anxious interest; and it was earnestly desired that all the advantage which could be derived to science from so rare a phenomenon might be secured by observing it in distant quarters of the globe. In accordance with this view, the Royal Society presented an address to the king, setting forth the advantage of observing the transit in the opposite hemisphere, their inability to fit out an expedition for the purpose, and praying his majesty to equip a vessel to be despatched to the South Sea under their direction. This petition was at once complied with. The person at first designed to command the expedition was Mr. Dalrymple, chief hydrographer to the Admiralty, and no less celebrated for his geographical knowledge than for his zeal in maintaining the existence of an Australian continent. Dalrymple had never held a commission in his majesty's navy; and the experience of Dr. Halley had proved that one so circumstanced cannot expect obedience from a crew subjected to the discipline of the navy. The pride of the profession scorns to submit to those who have not acquired their authority by passing through the ordinary routine of promotion. Dalrymple, however, refused to engage in the expedition unless with the amplest powers of a commander. The admiralty, on the other hand, were unwilling to intrust him with powers which might embroil him with his officers. Neither

party would yield ; and, while the affair thus remained in suspense, Cook was proposed. Enquiries were then made as to his abilities ; and, as all who knew him spoke favourably of him, and great confidence is usually felt in the steady and concentrated talents of the self-taught, he was chosen to command the expedition, being first promoted to the rank of lieutenant.

It is a proof of Cook's natural strength of understanding, that his mind was not enslaved by habit, but that he was always ready to introduce innovations into his practice whenever they were recommended by common sense and experience. Instead of selecting a frigate, or vessel of that description, for his voyage, he chose a vessel built for the coal trade, with the sailing qualities of which he was well acquainted. He justly represented, that a ship of this kind was more capable of carrying the stores requisite for a long voyage ; was exposed to less hazard in running near coasts—an object of great importance in a voyage of discovery ; was less affected by currents ; and, in case of any accident, might, without much difficulty or danger, be laid on shore to undergo repairs. The ship which he chose was of three hundred and sixty tons burden, and named the *Endeavour*. No pains were spared by the Admiralty in fitting her out for the voyage ; and, as the improvement of science was its main object, persons qualified to attain the desired end were appointed to accompany the expedition. Mr. Green was named by the Royal Society as the astronomer ; Dr. Solander, a learned Swede and pupil of Linnæus, went as naturalist ; Mr. (afterwards Sir Joseph) Banks, a gentleman of large fortune, and at that time very young, who afterwards reflected so much lustre on his country by devoting a long life and ample means to the interests of learning, renounced the ease to which his affluence entitled him, and commenced his active and honourable career by a voyage round the world. Being accompanied by able draftsmen, and being himself zealously attached to the study of natural history, and amply provided with every thing conducive to the gratification of his favourite pursuit ; being at the same time of a lively, open, liberal, and courageous temper, his company was no less agreeable than it was advantageous. Before the preparations were completed, Captain Wallis returned from his voyage round the world ; and having been advised to fix on some spot in the South Sea conveniently situated for the erection of an observatory, he named Port Royal in King George the Third's Island as a place well adapted for that purpose.

Every thing being now prepared, Lieutenant Cook sailed from Plymouth on the 26th of August, 1768. He touched at

Rio Janeiro, where the Portuguese governor, no less ignorant than suspicious, was much at a loss to comprehend the object of the expedition; nor, after much trouble, was he able to form a juster idea of it, than that it was intended to observe the north star passing through the south pole. It was only by stealth that Mr. Banks could go ashore, though nature seemed here to teem with the objects of his research, and brilliant butterflies flew round the ship to the height of the mast. In leaving this port, Cook, after the example of Byron, sailed over the position which had been assigned by Cowley to Pepys' Island, and finally dispelled all belief in its existence. He then directed his course through the Straits of Le Maire, to pass round Cape Horn.

The naturalists of the expedition landed on Terra del Fuego, and, crossing a morass and some low woods, ascended the highest eminence they could descry. It was now midsummer in this region, and the temperature during the day was moderately warm, but as night approached snow fell in great quantities, and the cold became excessive. The exploring party, who had incautiously advanced too far, were unable to effect their return to the shore before sunset, and were obliged to spend the night exposed to all the inclemency of the weather, in a singularly desolate and unsheltered region. Dr. Solander, who, having travelled in the north of Europe, was well acquainted with the fatal effects of cold on the constitution, repeatedly admonished his companions to resist the first approach of drowsiness, as the sleep superinduced by cold is sure to prove fatal; but he was the first to feel the dangerous torpor he predicted, and entreated his companions to allow him to lie down and take his rest; but they, fortunately instructed by his lessons, persisted in dragging him along, and thus saved his life. On reaching the woods in their descent, they kindled a fire, round which they spent the night, and when the sun rose they made their way to the ships; but two of the party, servants of Mr. Banks, who lay down to rest in the snow, were found dead the next morning.

The voyage round Cape Horn into the Pacific occupied thirty-four days; and Cook, who was rather fortunate in his weather, seems to think it preferable to the passage through the Straits of Magellan. In his voyage through the ocean, he descried some small islands, of the group which had been previously visited by Wallis and Bougainville. He proceeded, however, direct to the place of his destination, not allowing himself to be detained by unimportant discoveries. At length he arrived at King George the Third's Island, to which he found that the natives gave the name of Otaheite, and anchored

in *Matavai*, or Port Royal Bay. From the inhabitants he met with the most friendly reception, and being instructed by the errors of his predecessors, he drew up a set of regulations to guide his people in their intercourse with the natives, which reflect the highest honour on his good sense and humanity. He changed names with the chief of the island ; thus solemnly professing friendship according to the custom of the South Sea islanders. Permission was easily obtained to erect tents on shore for the sick ; a small fort was constructed, and the observatory set up. As the time approached for the observation of the transit, the greatest anxiety existed among the officers respecting the result, as a temporary cloudiness or unfavourable change of weather might totally frustrate the grand object of the expedition. A party, however, was prudently sent to Eimeo, a small island about twenty leagues distant, and another was stationed in Otaheite, considerably to the west of Matavai Bay, in order to lessen, by the number of observers, the chances of a total failure. At length the important day, the 3d of June, arrived, and the sun rose without a cloud. The observation was made successfully by all the parties, and the minds of our voyagers were relieved, the chief object of their mission being thus happily fulfilled.

The mild and judicious conduct of Cook completely won the confidence of the Otaheitans, and enabled him to form a more accurate opinion of their character than the voyagers who had previously visited their island. They were remarkably friendly and affectionate, and indeed their attachments alone seemed exempted from the characteristic levity which prevented them from fixing their attention on the same object for any length of time. They are a handsome people, finely made, and with open vivacious countenances : their ingenuity was in nothing more conspicuous than in the fine cloth, or rather paper, which they made of the inner bark of a tree. The garments of this material, which they wore, were becoming, and even elegant, and were arranged by the women so as to produce an effect little short of the classic draperies of antiquity. Their houses were little more than sheds, erected in the neighbourhood of the trees under which they reclined and took their meals during the day. These habitations stood very thick in the groves which cover the low margin of the island. High mountains rose behind, and a number of small streams stole down the declivities to the sea-shore ; the whole presenting, from a distance, a most enchanting picture.

It was conjectured by M. de Bougainville that the inhabitants of Otaheite were composed of two different races, and that one of these was in a servile condition : Cook also notices the

superiority of the chiefs in figure and appearance, but does not venture to ascribe this difference to any circumstances of origin or descent. He does not seem to have observed the power which the chiefs usually exercised over their retainers, and which the French navigator, with perhaps too little reason, seems to have considered as absolutely despotic. But the king, it was evident, though treated with respect by all, possessed no power but what was derived from the voluntary attachment of the chiefs, whose obedience or support in every enterprise could be secured only by consulting them. The rule of succession among these islanders is singular in the extreme. The son, as soon as he is born, succeeds to the authority of his father, who at once becomes only a regent instead of king, if he be fitted for that office. Associations of a licentious character existed among the chief persons in these islands; and, among other bad effects, tended to encourage the crime of infanticide; a crime to which the law of inheritance just mentioned may have held out some inducement, as the ambition of the parent was at once blighted by the birth of a son.

At the time of Cook's visit, the sovereignty had devolved on a boy only seven years old, the son of Homai and Oberea, the latter of whom had figured so conspicuously in Captain Wallis' narrative as queen of the island. She lived separate from her husband, and though still treated as a noble, no longer enjoyed the same degree of power and consideration which had rendered her friendship so valuable to the commander of the *Dolphin*. As a further proof of the progress made by these islanders towards civilization, it deserves to be remarked, that their women were not condemned to labour, as is usually the case amongst rude nations. They had, indeed, abundance of domestic occupation, in making and dyeing their cloth, preparing the meals, and similar offices; but though they were not permitted to eat with the men, they were in general treated with respect and attention.

When M. de Bougainville arrived here, he found the islanders already acquainted with the use of iron, which they called *aouri*, a name which he supposed them to have learned from the English, who had preceded him; but Captain Wallis observed that they were not wholly ignorant of that metal in his time, though he does not mention by what name they called it; for as soon as they were presented with iron nails, they began to sharpen them, while they took no such pains with pieces of brass and copper. Cook circumnavigated and surveyed the coasts of Otaheite, which he found to have a circumference of about thirty leagues; and after a stay of about three months

he prepared to depart. In leaving the affectionate islanders, he remarks, "that, allowing for their theft, they need not fear a comparison with any people on earth." A native named Tupia, one of Oberea's ministers, and well instructed in all the learning of his countrymen, offered to accompany the English, and the proposal was readily accepted. The Otaheitans, it appeared, sometimes ventured two or three hundred miles through the ocean in their open canoes; and Tupia had a vague knowledge of above eighty islands, the position of many of which he attempted to describe. He was well acquainted with the heavens; and, in every part of the subsequent voyage in the Endeavour, he was enabled to point out the direction of his native island.

Preparations were now made for departing; and Captain Cook hoped to quit the island without any misunderstanding with the natives, but in this he was mistaken. Two foreign sailors having been out, one of them was robbed of his knife, and striving to recover it, the Indians attacked and wounded him in a dangerous manner with a stone; his companion also received a slight wound in the head. As Captain Cook would have been unwilling to have taken farther notice of the transaction he was not sorry the offenders had made their escape.

Another affair equally disagreeable, soon after happened. In the evening two young mariners retired secretly from the fort, and in the morning were not to be met with. Notice having been given for all the company to go on board the next day, and that the ship would sail that day or the day ensuing, Captain Cook began to fear that the mariners intended to remain on shore. He was apprized, that no effectual steps could be taken to recover them, without risking the harmony and good fellowship which, at present subsisted between the English and the natives, and therefore resolved to wait a day in hopes of their returning.

The mariners not having returned the following morning, an inquiry was made after them, when the Indians declared they did not propose returning, having taken refuge in the mountains where it was impossible to discover them; and that each had taken a wife. In consequence of which it was intimated to several chiefs, who were in the fort with their women, that they would not be suffered to quit it till the deserters were produced. They received the intimation with very little signs either of fear or discontent, assuring the captain that the mariners should be sent back; but night coming on, Captain Cook judged it was not prudent to let the hostages remain in the fort; and he therefore ordered them to be brought on board. This gave an unusual alarm; and several of them, especially

the females, testified their apprehensions with great agitation of mind, and floods of tears when they were coming on board.

One of the mariners was brought back in the evening by some of the Indians, who reported that the other, and the two people who were sent to fetch them back, would be detained till Tootahah, one of the confined should be liberated. Mr. Hicks was immediately despatched in the long boat, with several men to rescue the English prisoners; at the same time, Captain Cook told Tootahah that it was incumbent on him to assist them with some of his people, and to give orders in his name, that the men should be set at liberty; for that he should expect him to answer for the event. Tootahah immediately complied, and this party recovered the men without any opposition.

When the deserters were examined, it was discovered that the account which the Indians had given was no way false. They had become fond of two females, and it was their design to keep themselves concealed till the ship had set sail, and continue upon the island.

Tupia, who had been prime minister of Oberea, and was also the principal priest of the island, having often testified a desire to go with them, on Wednesday morning the 12th, came on board with a boy about twelve years of age, his servant, named Tuyota, and finally requested the captain to receive them. As it was thought he would be useful to them in many ways, his request was complied with. Tupia then went on shore, for the last time to see his friends, and took with him several baubles to give them as parting tokens of remembrance.

On leaving Otaheite, Lieutenant Cook visited the neighbouring islands of Ulietea, Borabora, Otahah, Huaheine, and Raiataia. Tupia related, that in the time of his grandfather a friendly ship had called at the last named island, and he also stated that a ship had been wrecked on a low island called Oanna. These ships were, probably, those of admiral Roggewein's squadron, and Oanna may have been the *Schadelyk*, or *Pernicious* Island of that navigator. At Huaheine, Cook contracted a friendship with Oree, the old chief of the island, from whom he experienced unremitting kindness, and to whom, at his departure, he gave, along with some valuable presents, a small bag containing coins and medals, and a pewter plate with an inscription, as a memorial of his visit to this part of the world. These gifts the old chief promised to keep in safety. The people of Borabora had invaded some of the islands in the neighbourhood, and with such success that they were looked upon as invincible, and were become objects of dread to the simple islanders. Tupia was anxious that the English



should terrify those haughty conquerors, and exhibit their superiority by firing great guns at Borabora; and at length, to calm his importunity, a ball was fired towards the island when the ship was at least seven leagues distant from shore. To the group of islands, which Lieutenant Cook now quitted, he gave the collective name of the *Society Islands*.

After sailing four days to the west and south-west, an island was discovered to which Tupia gave the name of *Oheteroa*. The natives crowded on the shore to resist the landing of the strangers: they were a handsome vigorous people, and seemed far to excel the natives of the Society Islands in the beauty of their dress. The cloth was dyed in various patterns, and of several colours, though bright yellow seemed to predominate. Their robes being collected round their waist by a belt of red cloth, gave them a gay and warlike appearance. Some had caps made of the feathers of the tropic bird, while others wore small turbans of a very elegant appearance. Their canoes were well constructed; and, as well as the javelins, were carved in a manner highly creditable to their taste and ingenuity. But no anchorage could be found near the island; and as the natives seemed bent on hostility, our navigators gave up all thoughts of cultivating an acquaintance with them, and pursued their voyage.

On the 15th of August they sailed from Oheteroa, and in the beginning of October perceived, in the colour of the sea, in the weeds with which it was covered, and the birds which flew around them, unequivocal signs of the proximity of land. At length, on the 6th of that month, land was distinctly seen stretching to a great extent in the horizon; several ranges of hills were distinguished rising one above another, and a chain of mountains of an enormous height terminated the picture in the rear. The general opinion was, that they had discovered the *Terra Australis Incognita*, but it was soon perceived that this must be a part of New Zealand or Staaten Land, discovered by Abel Tasman in 1642.

A party who went on shore in order to open an intercourse with the natives met with no success. They were fierce, and obstinately hostile; but it was discovered, to the surprise and pleasure of our navigators, that when Tupia spoke to them in his native language, he was perfectly understood. In a quarrel which ensued, one of them was killed, and his dress appeared, on examination, to correspond exactly with the drawing appended to Tasman's voyage. As it was found impossible to commence an amicable correspondence with them by gentle means, it was determined to resort to force, and, according to the method followed by the first Spanish navigators, to

capture the Indians first, in order to have an opportunity of treating them with kindness. This plan of proceeding can hardly be justified upon principles of reason or morality, and it has never been attended with such unequivocal success as to palliate its demerits. Two canoes were seen entering the bay, and the ship's boats proceeded immediately to intercept them: in one, the natives escaped by paddling; but those in the other, which was a sailing canoe, finding it impossible to get off, boldly prepared for battle. Of seven Indians who were in the canoe, four were killed on the first discharge of musketry, and the other three, who were all young, immediately jumped overboard, and attempted to save themselves by swimming: they were, however, overtaken and picked up by the boat, though not without some difficulty. They expected to be put to death at once; but as the studious kindness with which they were treated soon convinced them of their error, their consternation gave way to transports of joy. They conversed freely with Tupia; and after having been kept a day on board the ship, were again sent ashore.

The account which the boys gave to their countrymen of their treatment on board the ship led to a correspondence, which did not, however, bear the appearance of confirmed friendship. The New Zealanders still maintained a fierce and independent carriage, and acted so little in concert, that the behaviour of different individuals was often of a totally opposite character: but their distrust could not be generally overcome, nor an intercourse established which was likely to prove safe and advantageous. An attempt was made by them to carry off Tayeto, Tupia's boy, and they nearly succeeded; but guns being fired at the canoe as it paddled off, the natives, in a moment of fear, let go their hold, and the boy leaped into the water. The New Zealanders made great exertions to secure their prize, but the ships' boats finally succeeded in picking up the youth, whose terror at the violent conduct of these savages was increased by the conviction which our navigators had obtained, that they were cannibals, and even that they regarded human flesh as a dainty.

This bay, in which no provisions could be procured, was named *Poverty Bay*; and our voyagers, on leaving it, proceeded along the coast towards the north. They gave the name of *Mercury Bay* to the inlet in which they anchored while observing a transit of that planet over the sun. They were surprised to find that the natives, notwithstanding their ferocity, were not unacquainted with the art of cultivating the ground. They had gardens, in which they reared gourds and several kinds of fruits. A decked canoe also was found

on this shore, which indicated their proficiency in maritime affairs. Their *heppahs* or hamlets were forts neatly constructed on elevated situations, defended by lines and trenches, and accessible only by a steep and narrow entrance. They had no knowledge of iron when our voyagers first touched here, although iron sand was found in the beds of several streams. The women were thickly painted with oil and red ochre, and the men were tattooed after the usual fashion of the South Seas. They were strong and active, not deficient in intelligence, or in sentiments of generosity, notwithstanding the cruelty of disposition engendered by their habits of continual warfare. Tupia conversed much with their priests; and from the superiority of his knowledge and the variety of his superstitious lore, he was regarded by them with peculiar respect and veneration.

In prosecuting his examination of the coast towards the north, Cook entered a deep inlet terminating in a large river, which he explored to the distance of fourteen miles: from the magnitude of this river, and the general appearance of the country round it, he named it the *Thames*. The timber which grew here was of enormous size, trees being seen nearly twenty feet in girth six feet from the ground, and above eighty feet in height to the branches.

Having finished the examination of the north-western shore of New Zealand, Cook experienced such severe gales, though it was now midsummer in these latitudes, that in five weeks he did not advance above fifty leagues in his course along the western shore. He at length reached a secure and capacious harbour, which he named *Queen Charlotte's Sound*. The country was here taken possession of, and the sound carefully surveyed. Wood, water, and fish, were in the greatest abundance, the natives friendly, and plants of an antiscorbutic quality were gathered on the shore, which soon restored the crew to perfect health. Here our voyagers were particularly struck with the exquisite warbling of the birds, which, like our nightingales, sing only during the night.

On ascending a height in the neighbourhood of the sound, Cook was surprised on descrying the sea to the south-east, and thus found that the land, the continuity of which he had not before suspected, was divided by a strait. Passing through this strait, to which geographers have unanimously given the name of its discoverer, he directed his course towards the north till he arrived near the point where his examination of this country had commenced. He then resumed his course to the south-east, and followed the coast of the southernmost of the two islands comprised under the name of New Zealand, re-

turning again from the south to Queen Charlotte's Sound. The southern island, or as the natives call it, *Tavai Poenam-moo*, is a rugged country, with mountains of prodigious height, and covered with snow the greater part of the year. The inhabitants also, though not more fierce, are ruder than their northern neighbours. They differ likewise in dialect from the inhabitants of *Eaheinomauve*, as the northern island is called, where, as the climate is more genial and the soil more luxuriant, the population is considerably greater, and the arts as well as the institutions of rude society much more advanced.

Of the natives of New Zealand, Cook entertained a highly favourable opinion, notwithstanding their cannibalism, of which he saw numerous incontestible proofs. He could not collect from them any tradition respecting the arrival of Tasman on their shores; but they heard of a country called *Ulimaroa*, situated N. W. by W., where the people eat hogs, and whence some canoes seemed to have accidentally arrived in their country. The circumnavigation of New Zealand was the first grand discovery of Cook. When Tasman touched on that country, he imagined it to be a part of the great Terra Australis, or continent supposed to extend to the south pole. Our navigator was satisfied with having disproved this supposition; and as the lateness of the season would not permit him to continue his researches in higher latitudes, he determined to direct his course to the eastern coast of New Holland, respecting which the learned world was still in total ignorance.

He took leave of New Zealand on the 31st of March, 1770, and in twenty days discovered the coast of New Holland at no great distance from the point where the survey of Tasman had terminated. In proceeding to the north, an inlet was entered, in which the ship rode securely for some days. Inhabitants were seen, but, from their shyness and timidity, they could not be induced to approach the strangers: they seemed to be sunk in that brutal condition which is insensible even to the promptings of curiosity. From the variety of new plants collected here by the naturalists of the expedition, this inlet received the name of *Botany Bay*. No rivers were discovered by Cook in his voyage along this coast, which has since been found abundantly supplied with fine streams. The natives, wherever they were seen, manifested the same repugnance to the strangers, and the same indifference to the trinkets presented to them. Towards the north, the country grew more hilly, and the navigation of the coast became more dangerous and intricate.

No accident had yet occurred in a voyage of two thousand miles along a coast hitherto unexplored; but in latitude 16° S.

a high headland being in sight, which from the circumstance was afterwards named *Cape Tribulation*, the ship during the night struck on some coral rocks with so much force that there seemed imminent danger of her going to pieces. The planks which formed her sheathing were seen floating off, and the water rushed in with such impetuosity, that, though all the pumps were manned, the leak could hardly be kept under. As day broke, land was descried eight leagues distant, without an island between, to which the boats might convey the crew in case of the ship's foundering. The guns and all the stores that could be spared were thrown overboard, and preparations were made to heave the ship off the rocks, although it was thought probable that she would sink soon after. On the following night, however, she was got afloat, and, to the surprise of all, it was found that the leakage did not increase. By constant exertion and cool perseverance, the ship was navigated to a small harbour opportunely discovered on the coast, and the only harbour, indeed, seen by our people during the whole voyage, which could have afforded them the same relief. On examining the injury done to the vessel, it was found that a large piece of the coral rock, having forced its way through the timbers, had remained fixed in the aperture; and but for this providential circumstance the ship must have sunk the moment she was got off the reef.

The cove in which our navigators found shelter is situated at the mouth of a small stream, to which was given the name of the *Endeavour River*. Here the natives appeared rather more familiar; but they set little value on any thing offered to them, except food. When some turtle, which they coveted, was refused them, they avenged the affront by setting fire to the long grass near the tents; an action which had nearly been attended with disagreeable consequences. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander found here abundance of employment; almost every thing connected with the animal and vegetable kingdoms being absolutely new. Our naturalists were particularly pleased with the animal called by the natives *kangaroo*; they saw several at a distance, but a long time elapsed before they could succeed in shooting one.

When the natives had become familiar with the ship's crew, one of them was desired to throw his lance, which he did with such dexterity and force, that though it was not above four feet from the ground at the highest, it penetrated deeply into a tree at the distance of fifty yards. On the 19th they saw several of the women, who as well as the men were quite naked. They were one day visited by ten of the natives, who seemed resolved to have one of the turtle that was on board, which being refused,

they expressed the utmost rage and resentment. At length they laid hands on two of the turtles, and drew them to the side of the ship where the canoe lay ; but the sailors took them away. They made several similar attempts, but being equally unsuccessful they leaped into their canoe and rowed off. At this instant the captain with Mr. Banks and five or six seamen, went ashore, where they arrived before the Indians. As soon as the Indians landed, one of them snatched a fire-brand from under a pitch-kettle, and running to the windward of what effects were on shore, set fire to the dry grass, which rapidly spread and endangered one of the tents. Appearing determined on further mischief, a musket loaded with small shot, was now fired, and one of them being wounded they ran off.

The natives continuing still in sight a musket charged with balls was fired near them, upon hearing which they soon got out of sight ; but their voices being soon heard in the woods, the captain, with a few of the men, went to meet them. When they were in sight of each other, both parties stopped, except an old Indian, who advanced before the rest a little way, and speaking a few words, retreated to his brethren. The English having seized some of their darts, followed them about a mile, and then sat down ; the Indians sitting about a hundred yards from them. The old man again came forward, having in his hand a lance with a point. He stopped and spoke several times ; on which the captain made signs of friendship. The old Indian now turned to his companions, and having spoken to them, they placed their lances against a tree, and came forward as in friendship ; whereupon their darts which had been taken were returned, and the whole quarrel seemed to be at an end. When Captain Cook got on board, he saw the woods burning at the distance of two miles from the fire thus kindled by the native. By the night of the 20th, the fire had extended many miles round them on the hills. The next day one of the seamen who had strayed from his company, met with four Indians at dinner : he was alarmed at this unexpected meeting, but had prudence enough to conceal his apprehensions, and sitting down gave them his knife, which having all looked at, they returned. He would have left them, but they chose to detain him, till, by feeling his hands and face, they were convinced he was made of flesh and blood like themselves. They then dismissed him, and directed him the nearest way to the ship.

The ship being repaired, our voyagers left the harbour, and, after much patient labour and anxiety, at length gained the deep sea, having been three months entangled within the reefs. They now prosecuted their voyage to the north, flattering

themselves that the danger was gone by, when the wind abated, and the ship was found to be drifting fast towards the reefs which lined this coast nearly in its whole extent, and on which the great waves of the Southern Ocean break with a tremendous surf. Her destruction seemed inevitable, when a narrow channel through the reefs was descried at no great distance; and although the attempt was attended with great risk, yet the ship was steered to run through it. Having thus entered from necessity a second time within the reef, Cook resolved to persevere through all difficulties in following the coast, lest he might lose the strait that separates New Holland from New Guinea; "if," as he doubtfully expresses it, "such a strait there be." He at length reached a point of land from which he could discern an open sea to the south-west, and was thus convinced that he had found the strait in question. He then landed, and in the name of his sovereign took possession of the immense line of coast that he had discovered, and to which he gave the name of *New South Wales*. The little island on which the ceremony was performed received the name of *Possession Island*.

The crew of the Endeavour had suffered so much from sickness and fatigue, that it was not deemed advisable to prolong the voyage by an examination of the coasts of New Guinea. Our navigator, therefore, held his course for Batavia, where he wished to refit his vessel.

On the 10th of October the captain went on shore and visited the only English gentleman then resident at Batavia. This gentleman whose name was Leith, received his countryman in the politest manner and entertained him with hospitality.

On the evening of the same day, there happened a most terrible storm of thunder and lightning, accompanied with very heavy rain, by which a Dutch East Indiaman was greatly damaged both in her masts and rigging. The Endeavour, though near this Dutch ship, escaped without damage, owing in Captain Cook's opinion, to an electrical chain, which conducted the lightning over the side of the vessel. A sentinel on board the Endeavour, who was charging his musket at the time of the storm, had it shaken out of his hand, and the ramrod was broken to pieces: the electrical chain looked like a streak of fire, and the ship sustained a very violent shock.

Next day Captain Cook waited on the council, who informed him that all his requests should be complied with. In the interim, a contract was made with the master of a hotel to furnish them with as much tea, coffee, punch and tobacco, as they might have occasion for.

Tupia in the mean time had been on board dangerously ill, yet persisted to refuse every medicine that was offered him. He was now removed to the town, and soon his whole frame appeared as if reanimated. The houses, carriages, people, and many other objects were totally new to him and filled him with astonishment.

Captain Cook now applied to several persons to advance him money sufficient to defray the expense of repairing the ship, but not one could be found who had the requisite sum in his possession, or, if he had, was willing to advance it; he therefore made application to the governor, who issued his orders that he should be supplied out of the treasury of the Dutch East India Company.

After little more than a week spent at Batavia, the ill effects of the climate began to be severely felt. By the twenty-fifth of the month very few of the crew were well enough to do duty. By the fifth of November, death was advancing with rapid strides. Several Malay servants were engaged to wait on those who were ill, but these people were so remiss in their duty, that it was no uncommon thing for the sick man to leave his bed in search of his attendant. By the twentieth, not above ten men out of the whole ship's crew, were able to do duty, and these were employed in getting the water and stores aboard, and in putting up the rigging. The ship at length being repaired, and the sick taken on board, they set sail on the morning of the 25th.

On the 10th of June, land, which proved to be the Lizard, was discovered by the same boy who had first seen New Zealand; and on the 12th, Cook came to an anchor in the Downs, having been employed two years and eleven months in his voyage round the earth.

The first important discovery made by Cook was effected by the circumnavigation of New Zealand. When Tasman described that country, he supposed it to be a part of the great Terra Australis Incognita, extending probably across the southern Pacific Ocean; but Cook's voyage at once overturned this theory. An opinion, however, which has long existed, cannot be at once dispelled, although utterly groundless, and many still continued to believe in the existence of a southern continent, although Cook's discoveries had cut off the connection between their theory and the facts which hitherto had been adduced in its support: but to set the question of a southern continent completely at rest, another expedition was necessary, and the English government, having now made the advancement of science the object of national exertions, re-



solved to continue their laudable researches. The king was partial to the scheme; and the earl of Sandwich, who was at the head of the admiralty, possessed a mind sufficiently liberal and comprehensive to second effectively the wishes of his sovereign.

Captain Cook was named at once as the fittest person to command the new expedition. Two ships, the *Resolution* and the *Adventure*, the former of four hundred and sixty-two, the latter of three hundred and thirty-six tons burden, were fitted out for the voyage; and, that no opportunities might be lost to science from the want of persons capable of observing nature under every aspect, astronomers and naturalists of eminent ability were engaged to accompany the expedition; Messrs. Wales and Bayley proceeding in the former, Reinhold Forster and his son in the latter capacity. The ships were amply stored and provided for a long and difficult voyage, particularly with antiscorbutics, and whatever was thought likely to preserve the health of the crews.

Cook sailed from Plymouth on the 13th of July, 1772, on his second voyage of discovery. On his arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, he was induced, by the entreaties of Mr. Forster, to allow the celebrated naturalist Sparmann to join the expedition. He now directed his course to the south, in search of the land said to have been discovered by the French navigator Bouvet, but violent gales drove him far to the east of the meridian in which it was supposed to lie. After long struggling with adverse winds, he at length reached the same meridian, some leagues to the south of the latitude assigned to Cape Circumcision. Having thus proved that the land said to have been seen by Bouvet, if it existed at all, was certainly no part of a southern continent, he continued his course to the south and east.

On the 10th of December our navigators first met with islands of ice, and on the following days these occurred in greater numbers and of larger size: some of them were nearly two miles in circuit, and sixty feet high; yet such was the force of the waves, that the sea broke quite over them. This was at first view a gratifying spectacle, but the sentiment of pleasure was soon swallowed up in the horror which seized on the mind from the contemplation of danger; for a ship approaching these islands on the weather side would be dashed to pieces in a moment. Amidst the obstructions to which our navigators were exposed from the ice islands continually succeeding one another, they derived the advantage of having an abundant supply of fresh water; large masses of ice were

carried off, and stowed on deck, and the water produced from its melting was found perfectly sweet and well tasted.

On the 17th of January, 1773, our navigators had reached the latitude of  $67^{\circ} 15' S.$ , and they saw the ice extending from east to west-south-west, without the least appearance of an opening. It was vain, therefore, to persist any longer in a southerly course; and as there was some danger of being surrounded by the ice, prudence dictated a retreat to the north. On the 8th of February, the weather being extremely thick and hazy, it was found that the *Adventure* had parted company: the rendezvous appointed in case of this accident was Queen Charlotte's Sound, in New Zealand; and thither Cook directed his course. In the latitude of  $62^{\circ} S.$ , on the 17th of the same month, between midnight and three o'clock in the morning, lights were seen in the heavens, similar to those that are known in the northern hemisphere by the name of the *Aurora Borealis*. Captain Cook had never heard that the *Aurora Australis* had been seen before, but the same phenomenon was witnessed repeatedly in the sequel of this voyage. During his run to the eastward in this high latitude, he had ample reason to conclude that no land lay to the south, unless at a very great distance. At length, after having been one hundred and seventeen days at sea, during which time he had sailed three thousand six hundred and sixty leagues without having come once within sight of land, he saw the shores of New Zealand on the 25th of March, and on the following day came to an anchor in Dusky Bay. Notwithstanding the length and hardships of his voyage, there was no sickness in the ship; the attention which he paid to the health of the men, by enforcing cleanliness, by keeping the vessel dry and well ventilated, and by the judicious use of antiscorbutic diet, being attended with complete success. Having surveyed Dusky Bay, he proceeded to Queen Charlotte's Sound, where Captain Furneaux had arrived before him.

The *Adventure*, after parting company with the *Resolution*, had followed a more northerly course, and traced the coasts of Van Dieman's Land along the southern and eastern shores. Captain Furneaux reported, "that in his opinion there are no straits between this land and New Holland, but a very deep bay." Cook had intended to investigate this point, but, considering it to be now settled by the judgment of his colleague, he resolved to prosecute his researches to the east, between the latitudes of  $41^{\circ}$  and  $46^{\circ}$ . But before he left Queen Charlotte's Sound he succeeded in establishing a friendly and mutually advantageous intercourse with the natives. He endeavoured

to give them substantial proofs of his kind intentions, by making an addition to their stock of useful animals. He put on shore a ewe and ram, and also two goats, a male and female. A garden also was dug, and a variety of seeds of culinary vegetables, adapted to the climate, were sown in it.

Although it was the winter season, Cook determined not to lose his time in utter inactivity. His ships being sound, and his crews healthy, he thought that he might safely proceed to examine the Southern Ocean within the latitude of  $46^{\circ}$ ; and then, refreshing at some of the islands between the tropics, return in the summer season to carry his researches to a higher latitude. His voyage from New Zealand towards the east was not productive of any interesting discoveries, nor diversified by any but the ordinary details of navigation. He felt convinced, from the great sea that rolled from the south, that no land of any extent could lie near him in that direction. When he had advanced so far as to find himself to the north of Carteret's track, he could no longer entertain any hope of finding a continent; and this circumstance, with the sickly state of the Adventure's crew, induced him to direct his course to the Society Islands. During this part of his voyage, he saw a number of those small low islands which compose the Dangerous Archipelago of Bougainville.

The ships narrowly escaped destruction by drifting on the coral reefs at Otaheite: they were saved only by the promptness of their commander and the unremitting exertions of the crew. On the 24th of August they anchored in their old station in Matavai Bay. The men on board the Resolution were at this time in perfect health; but the crew of the Adventure, on the other hand, suffered dreadfully from the scurvy, though the two ships were equipped alike, and the same precautionary system to preserve the health of the men was prescribed to both; but zeal on the part of the officers was requisite to give efficacy to the orders, and their example was necessary to encourage the men to sacrifice old habits in order to preserve their constitutions.

During this visit to Otaheite, our navigators obtained a more intimate acquaintance with the manners and character of the natives. Of their religious doctrines they were unable to acquire a distinct knowledge; but they ascertained that human victims were often sacrificed to their gods. They also witnessed the *Heavas* or dramatic representations of the people, and found them not devoid of archness and ingenuity. The performance was generally extemporaneous, founded upon some incidents presented at the moment, and in which our navigators usually made a prominent figure. Otoo, the pres-

ent king of Otaheite, a man of fine figure but of remarkably timid disposition, contracted an intimate friendship with Captain Cook. Oberea, who, when the island was first visited by Captain Wallis, was so conspicuous a character, was now reduced to an humble station, and had declined as much in personal appearance as in rank. It is remarkable that few inquiries were made after Tupia, who had accompanied Cook in his former voyage, or after Aootooroo, the native of Otaheite who had accompanied Bougainville to Europe; but, though the islanders were neglectful of their own countrymen, they were uniformly solicitous in inquiring after Mr. Banks.

On leaving Otaheite, Cook visited the other islands of the group, where he found provisions in greater abundance. Oree, the chief of Huaheine, evinced towards him the most affectionate regard. Omai, a native of Ulitea, being desirous to accompany the English, was admitted by Captain Furneaux on board the *Adventure*: Captain Cook wondered that Captain Furneaux would encumber himself with this man, who in his opinion, was not a proper sample of the inhabitants of these happy islands, not having any advantage of birth or acquired rank, nor being eminent in shape, figure or complexion. After his arrival in England, however, Cook changed his opinion, and doubted whether any other of the natives would have given more general satisfaction, by his behaviour among them. "Omai," he observes, "has certainly a very good understanding, quick parts and honest principles. He is of good natural behaviour, which rendered him acceptable to the best company, and a proper degree of pride, which taught him to avoid the society of persons of inferior rank. He has passions of the same kind with other young men, but has judgment enough not to indulge them in any improper degree. I do not imagine that he has any dislike to liquor, and if he had fallen into company where the person who drank the most met with the most approbation, I have no doubt but he would have endeavoured to gain the applause of those with whom he associated, but fortunately for him, he perceived that drinking was very little in use but among the inferior people, and as he was very watchful into the manners and conduct of the persons of rank who honoured him with their protection, he was sober and modest, and I never heard that during the whole time of his stay in England, which was two years, he ever once was disguised with wine, or ever showed an inclination to go beyond the strictest rules of moderation.

"During his stay in England, he was caressed by the principal nobility, and did nothing to forfeit the esteem of any one of them; but his principal patrons were the Earl of Sandwich,

**Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander.** It is to be observed that though Omai lived in the midst of amusements during his residence in England, his return to his native country was always in his thoughts, and though he was not impatient to go he expressed a satisfaction as the time of his return approached. He embarked with me in the *Resolution*, when she fitted out for another voyage, loaded with presents from his several friends, and full of gratitude for the kind reception and treatment he had experienced among us." A young native of Borabora, named Hete-Hete or Oedidee (as our great navigator named him,) was at the same time allowed by Captain Cook to embark in the *Resolution*.

On quitting the Society Islands, Cook directed his course to the west, where he had reason to believe, from the accounts of the natives, that much yet remained to be explored. At the island named Middleburg by Roggewein, he was well treated by a chief called Tioony: at Amsterdam Island his reception was equally favourable. The language of these islanders differed but little from that of Otaheite, and they were evidently of the same race. Some of our navigators thought them much handsomer; but others, and among these Cook himself, were of a different opinion. The men were grave and stately; but the women, on the contrary, were remarkably vivacious, and prattled unceasingly to the strangers, regardless of the mortifying fact that the latter could not understand them. But these people were chiefly distinguished from the natives of the Society Islands by their superior industry. On the Island of Amsterdam Captain Cook was struck with admiration; when he surveyed the cultivation and the beauty of the scene, he thought himself transported into the most fertile plains of Europe: there was not an inch of waste ground. The roads or paths occupied no more space than was absolutely necessary, and the fences did not take up above four inches each; nor was this small portion of ground wholly lost, for the fences themselves contained in general useful trees or plants. The scene was every where the same; and nature, assisted by a little art, no where assumed a more splendid appearance than in these islands.

Cook now directed his course again to New Zealand; but, on approaching that country, the ships had to encounter a succession of severe gales and continued bad weather, during which the *Adventure* was again lost sight of and never afterwards rejoined. On the 3d of November the *Resolution* anchored in Queen Charlotte's Sound. The winter had been spent not unprofitably in revictualling the ships, restoring the health of the crews, and obtaining a more accurate knowledge

of the islands between the tropics. And now, as summer approached, it was Cook's intention to run from New Zealand, where wood and water were to be procured in abundance, and to explore the high southern latitudes from west to east, in which course he might reckon upon having the winds and currents in his favour. While the *Resolution* lay in Queen Charlotte's Sound, indubitable proofs presented themselves that cannibalism was common among the natives: one of them who carried some human flesh in his canoe, was allowed to broil and eat it on board the *Resolution*, in order to satisfy the doubts of some of the officers. Oedidee, who witnessed all this, was shocked beyond measure at the spectacle: at first he stood motionless as a statue, but his horror at length gave way to rage, which vented itself not only on the New Zealander, but on the officers who had encouraged him; and he could not be induced even to touch the knife which had been employed to cut the human flesh.

On the 26th of November, Cook sailed to prosecute his examination of the antarctic seas. His crew were in good health and high spirits, not at all dejected by the arduous task which was before them. In a few days they crossed the antipodes of London, and were thus on the point of the globe which was most distant from their home. The first ice island was seen on the 12th of December; and, on the 30th of that month, our navigators had reached the seventy-first degree of southern latitude: but here the ice was so compact that it was impossible to proceed any farther towards the south; and it was also obvious that no continent existed in that direction but what must be inaccessible from the ice. It was Cook's intention to winter again within the tropic; but, in proceeding thither, he wished to satisfy himself as to the southern land said to have been discovered by Juan Fernandez. He sailed sufficiently near the position assigned to that supposed continent to assure himself that it could not have been any thing more than an island of moderate size. He now directed his course in search of Davis' Land or Easter Island, which had been sought in vain by Byron, Carteret, and Bougainville: Cook, however, succeeded better, and made the island on the 11th of March, 1774. The natives were found to speak a language radically the same with that of Otaheite, and which thus reaches across the Pacific Ocean from New Zealand to the sequestered islands in the East. Easter Island was found to be remarkably barren, ill supplied with water, and wholly without wood. But the attention of the English was forcibly attracted by the great statues seen on the island by Roggewein. About fifteen yards from the landing place was found a per-

pendicular wall of square hewn stones, about eight feet in height, and nearly sixty in length; another wall parallel to the first, and about forty feet distant from it, was raised to the same height; the whole area between the walls was filled up and paved with square stones of blackish lava. The stones of the walls were so carefully fitted as to make a durable piece of architecture. In the midst of the area was a pillar consisting of a single stone, about twenty feet high and about five feet wide, representing the human figure down to the waist. The workmanship was rude but not bad; nor were the features of the face ill formed, but the ears were long beyond proportion. On the top of the head was placed upright a huge round cylinder of stone, above five feet in height and in diameter; this cap, which resembled the head-dress of an Egyptian divinity, was formed of a kind of stone different from that which composed the rest of the pillar, and had a hole on each side, as if it had been made round by turning. It appeared as difficult to explain how the natives of this island, who were but few in number, could carve such huge statues with no better tools than those made of bones or shells, or how they raised them on their pedestals when finished, as to divine for what purpose they undertook such gigantic labours; for it did not appear that the statues were objects of worship; yet on the eastern side of the island they were numerous enough to employ the male population of the island for many centuries in their construction. The skill of this people in carving was still more manifest in the ornaments of their canoes, and in small wooden figures, of which the English brought home many curious specimens.

From Easter Island Cook directed his course to the Marquesas, discovered by Mendana in 1595; and on the 6th of April he got sight of one island of the group which was, however, a new discovery, and received, from the gentleman who first descried it, the name of *Hood's Island*. The other islands seen by Mendana, St. Pedro, Dominica, and St. Christiana, were afterwards discovered in succession. The ship with much difficulty anchored in Mendana's Port, in the last mentioned island. Magdalena, the fifth island of the group, was seen only at a distance. Of the inhabitants of these islands Captain Cook tells us, that collectively they are without exception the finest race of people in this sea; for fine shape and regular features they perhaps surpass all other nations. Nevertheless the affinity of their language to that spoken in Otaheite and the Society Islands shows that they are originally of the same nation. Oedidee could converse with them tolerably well, though the English could not, and it was obvious that

their languages were nearly the same. In their manners and arts the people resembled the natives of Otaheite, but appeared to be rather less ingenious and refined. Forts, or strong holds, were seen on the summits of the highest hills ; but they were not visited by the English, who had not become sufficiently acquainted with the natives to venture into the interior.

Cook, having rediscovered the Marquesas of Mendana, proceeded to Otaheite, and passing by a group, to which he gave the name of Palliser's Islands, and some others which had been seen by Byron, he anchored in Matavai Bay on the 22d of April. At this time there were no sick on board ; but as the island seemed to abound with provisions, our navigator was willing to prolong his stay here. His original stock in trade was, indeed, now exhausted ; but he found that the people of Otaheite set a great value on the red parrot feathers, of which he had brought a considerable supply from Amsterdam and Middleburg Islands. He thus accidentally learned an advantageous and easy course of traffic in the South Sea.

Among other entertainments with which our navigators were treated during this visit to Otaheite was a grand naval review. The vessels of war consisted of one hundred and sixty great canoes, from fifty to ninety feet in length ; they were decorated with flags and streamers ; and the chiefs, together with all those who were on the fighting stages, were dressed in their war habits. The whole fleet made a noble appearance, such as our voyagers had never before seen, and could not have expected in this part of the world. Besides the vessels of war, there were one hundred and seventy sail of smaller double canoes, which seemed to be designed for transports and victuallers. Upon each of them was a small house or shed ; and they were rigged with a mast and sail, which was not the case with the war canoes. Captain Cook estimated, at a moderate computation, that there could not be less than seven thousand seven hundred and sixty men in the fleet ; but the immense number of natives assembled as spectators astonished the English more than the splendour of the armament, and they were still farther surprised to learn that this fleet was the naval force of only one of the twenty districts into which the island is divided. On these equivocal grounds they were led to form an extremely exaggerated calculation of the population of Otaheite, which they estimated to be at least two hundred thousand souls ; a number exceeding the truth, perhaps, in the proportion of ten to one.

From Otaheite our navigators proceeded to visit the Society Islands, at Huaheine. Cook was affectionately received by the old chief Orce, who still carefully preserved the medals,



coins, and pewter plate with an inscription commemorating the voyage, which our commander had given him on a former visit. Odidee, who for seven months had been the faithful companion of our voyagers, and had made with them the tour of the Pacific, was put on shore at Ulietea. He left the English with regret demonstrative of a strong attachment to them; and nothing could have torn him from them but the fear of never returning to his native country. He was a fine young man, of a docile and humane disposition, and of the better class of natives, being nearly related to Opoony, the formidable chief of Borabora. But from his inexperience and imperfect acquaintance with the traditionary knowledge of his countrymen, but little could be learned from him respecting their history.

Cook again directed his course to the west, and repeated his visit to the Friendly Islands. This name he gave to a group extending through about three degrees of latitude and two degrees of longitude, and comprising Anamooka, which Tasman, who first discovered it, named Rotterdam, Tonga-taboo or Amsterdam, Eaowee or Middleburg, and Pylstart Islands. But this appellation, to which these islands were entitled by the firm alliance and friendship which seemed to exist among their inhabitants, and their courteous behaviour to strangers, might perhaps be extended much farther, so as to include the Boscawen and Keppel Isles, discovered by Captain Wallis, and inhabited by people of the same friendly manners.

Pursuing their course to the west, our navigators discovered, on the 16th of July, land, which was justly conjectured to be the *Terra Australis del Espirito Santo* of Quiros. After exploring the coast for a few days, Cook came to an anchor in a harbour in the island of Mallicolo. The inhabitants of this island were the most ugly and deformed race which our navigators had yet seen, and differed in every respect from the other inhabitants of the Southern Ocean: they were dark coloured, of small stature, with long heads, flat faces, and countenances resembling that of a monkey. Their language, also, was found not to have any discoverable affinity with that prevailing through the islands with which the English had any acquaintance. This people differed, likewise, from the great Polynesian race not more by their language and figure than by their scrupulous honesty. As our navigators proceeded towards the south from Mallicolo, they passed by a group which Cook named *Shepherd's Isles*. Farther to the south was discovered a large island agreeably diversified with woods and lawns over the whole surface, and exhibiting a most beautiful and delightful prospect. This our navigator named

*Sandwich Island*, in compliment to his friend and patron, the Earl of Sandwich. Still farther to the south was seen another large island, called by the natives *Erromango*, which he coasted for three days, and then came to an anchor in the intention of procuring a supply of wood and water. This, however, could not be effected without a violent conflict with the natives, who were both fierce and treacherous. It was observed that they differed from the inhabitants of *Mallicolo* both in language and physical conformation; they were well shaped and had tolerable features, but dark coloured, and with hair crisp and somewhat woolly. From this place Cook sailed for an island which had been descried some time before at a distance. He found that it was called *Tanna* by the inhabitants, from whom also he learned the names of three other islands in its neighbourhood—*Immer*, *Erronan*, and *Anaton*. Two languages were found to be spoken in *Tanna*; one of them, which was said to have been introduced from *Erronan*, was nearly the same with that of the *Friendly Islands*. The other, which our navigators considered peculiar to *Tanna*, *Erromango*, and *Anaton*, was different from any they had hitherto met with in the course of their researches. The people at *Tanna* were well proportioned, but not robust. They had good features and agreeable countenances. Though active, and fond of martial exercise, they seemed incapable of patient labour. It appeared that they practised circumcision, and that they were eaters of human flesh; though, as their island abounded with hogs and fowls, and a variety of fruits, they could not be driven by necessity to adopt this horrid practice.

Captain Cook devoted above a month to the survey of this archipelago, with which previous navigators had made but a superficial acquaintance. The northern islands were discovered, in 1606, by *Quiros*, who supposed them to be portions of the great southern continent. *Bougainville*, in 1768, dispelled this idea, though he did not proceed to examine the islands near which he sailed; but Captain Cook, besides ascertaining the extent and situation of the islands already known, explored the whole group; and, conceiving that in consequence he had a right to name them, bestowed on them the appellation of the *New Hebrides*.

The season was now approaching, when it would be necessary to resume his researches in a high southern latitude, and he hastened therefore to *New Zealand*, where he intended to refresh his people and prepare for a navigation of considerable length. He sailed from the *New Hebrides* on the 1st of September, and on the 4th discovered land, near which the *Resolution* came to anchor the next day. The inhabitants were a

strong, active, and handsome race, bearing some resemblance to the people of Tanna, and those of the Friendly Isles. The same mixed character was observed in their language: they had never seen Europeans before, but were friendly and obliging in their behaviour; and, what is still more remarkable in the South Seas, strictly honest in all their dealings. To this island Captain Cook gave the name of *New Caledonia*: and though compelled by necessity to leave it before it was fully surveyed, he had nevertheless examined it sufficiently to prove, that, excepting New Zealand, it is perhaps the largest island in the South Pacific Ocean. As the *Resolution* pursued her course from New Caledonia, land was discovered, which, on a nearer approach, was found to be an island of good height, and about five leagues in circuit. It was uninhabited, and probably our English navigators were the first persons who had ever set foot on it. In its vegetable productions it bore a close resemblance to New Zealand: the flax plant of that country was here particularly luxuriant; but the chief produce of the island was a majestic species of pine, of such a size that, breast high, two men could scarcely clasp the trunk. This little spot was named *Norfolk Island*. Its fine woods and fertile soil allured, some years later, a party of British settlers; who finally abandoned it, however, from the inaccessible nature of its coast.

On the 18th of October the *Resolution* came to anchor in Queen Charlotte's Sound. This was the third time of touching at New Zealand during this voyage. On searching for the bottle which Cook had left behind on his last visit, containing the particulars of his arrival, it was found to have been taken away; and from other circumstances it was evident that the *Adventure* had visited the harbour after the *Resolution* had left it. While the *Resolution* remained here, the intercourse maintained with the natives was of the most friendly description; Captain Cook continued his efforts to stock the island with useful animals, and for that purpose ordered a boar and sow to be put on shore.

On the 10th of November he left New Zealand, to pursue his voyage to the east. Towards the close of that month, he had reached the latitude of  $55^{\circ} 40' S.$ , when, deeming it useless to search any longer for a continent in that direction, he bore away for Cape Horn; and on the 17th of December, had sight of Tierra del Fuego. This is the first instance of a run quite across the Southern Pacific. It now only remained for our navigator to cross the Southern Atlantic to the point whence he had commenced his explorations. Having completed his examination of Tierra del Fuego and Staaten Land,

he proceeded towards the east; and, after a voyage of ten days, land was seen at a distance nearly covered with snow. On approaching the shore, it was found to be terminated in many places by perpendicular ice cliffs of considerable height. Pieces continually broke off with a noise like the report of cannon, and floated out to sea. The general aspect of the country was savage and horrid in the extreme. The wild rocks raised their lofty summits till they were lost in the clouds, and the valleys lay covered with everlasting snow. Our navigator, who at first view of this land supposed that it might be a continent, confesses that he was not much disappointed on discovering his error; "for to judge of the bulk by the sample it would not be worth discovering." In latitude  $59^{\circ}$ , and about  $8^{\circ}$  to the east of *New Georgia*, as this inhospitable shore was named, land was again seen, presenting an elevated coast, whose lofty snow-clad summits reached above the clouds. To this bleak region Cook gave the name of the *Southern Thule*, as it was the most southern land which had yet been discovered; but on leaving the coast he gave to the whole country the general appellation of *Sandwich Land*, which he concluded to be either a group of islands or the southern continent. But the great quantities of ice which he met with led him to infer the existence of a large tract of land near the south pole. He now sailed as far as the latitude assigned to Bouvet's supposed discovery; but no indications of land occurred, nor was it possible to believe any longer in the existence of Cape Circumcision.

On the 3d of August, they found themselves abreast a lofty promontory; and early the next morning, the captain went with two boats, to examine the coast, to look for a proper landing place, wood and water. At this time the natives began to assemble on the shore, and by signs invited them to land. The captain went first to a small beach, where he found no good landing. Some of the natives who were there offered to haul the boat over the breakers to the sandy beach, which was thought a friendly offer; but they had reason afterwards to alter their opinion. They put into the shore in two or three places, but not liking the situation did not land. By this time the natives conceived what they wanted, as they directed the boat round the rocky point, where, on a fine sandy beach, the captain stepped out of the boat without wetting a foot, in the face of a great multitude, with only a green branch in his hand. They received him with great courtesy and politeness; and would retire back from the boat on his making the least motion with his hand. A man, whom he took to be a chief, seeing this, made them form a semicircle round the boat's bow, and

beat such as attempted to break through this order. This man he loaded with presents, giving likewise to others, and asked by signs for fresh water, in hopes of seeing where they got it. The chief immediately sent a man for some, who ran to a house, and presently returned with a little in a bamboo; so that he gained but little information by this. He next asked by the same means for something to eat; and they as readily brought him a yam and some cocoa-nuts.

In short, he was charmed with their behaviour; and the only thing which could give the least suspicion was, that most of them were armed with clubs, spears, darts, bows and arrows. For this reason the captain kept his eye continually upon the chief, and watched his looks as well as his actions. He made many signs to haul the boat upon the shore, and at last slipped into the crowd, where the captain observed him speak to several people, and then return, repeating signs to haul the boat up, and hesitating a good deal before he would receive some spike nails which were then offered him. This made him suspect something was intended, and immediately he stepped into the boat, telling them by signs that he should soon return. But they were not for parting so soon, and now attempted by force, what they could not obtain by gentler means.

As they were putting off the boat, they laid hold of the gang-board, and unhooked it off the boat's stern; but as they did not take it away, it was thought this had been done by accident, and he ordered the boat in again to take it up. Then the natives hooked it over the boat's stern, and attempted to haul her ashore; others at the same time, snatched the oars out of the people's hands. On pointing a musket at them, they in some measure desisted, but returned in an instant, seemingly determined to effect their purpose. At the head of this party was the chief. Signs and threats having no effect, their own safety became the only consideration; and yet the captain was unwilling to fire on the multitude, and resolved to make the chief alone fall a victim to his own treachery; but his musket, at this critical moment, missed fire. Whatever idea they might have formed of their arms, the natives must now have looked upon them as childish weapons, and began to let them see how much better theirs were, by throwing stones and darts, and by shooting arrows. This made it absolutely necessary to give orders to fire. The first discharge threw them into confusion; but a second was hardly sufficient to drive them off the beach. Four lay, to all appearance, dead on the shore; but two afterwards crawled into the bushes. Happy it was for these people, that not half the muskets would

go off, otherwise many more must have fallen. One sailor was wounded in the cheek with a dart, the point of which was as thick as a little finger, and yet it entered above two inches; which shows that it must have come with great force.

As soon as they got on board, the captain ordered the anchor to be weighed. While this was doing, several people appeared on the rocky point, displaying two oars which had been lost in the scuffle. This they supposed was a sign of submission, and of their wanting to give them the oars. He nevertheless fired a four pound shot at them, to let them see the effects of their great guns. The ball fell short, but frightened them so much, that none were seen afterwards; and they left the oars standing up against the bushes.

In the night of the 5th of August, they saw a volcano, which they observed to throw up vast quantities of fire and smoke with a rumbling noise. They now made sail for the island whence it seemed to proceed, and presently after discovered a small inlet, which had the appearance of being a good harbour. Towards evening the captain landed at the head of the harbour, with a strong party of men, without any opposition being made by a great number of natives, who were assembled in two parties, the one on the right and the other on the left, all armed. After distributing to the old people and some others, presents of cloth, medals, &c., he ordered two casks to be filled with water out of a pond, about twenty paces behind the landing place, giving the natives to understand that this was one of the articles which they wanted. Besides water they got from them a few cocoa-nuts, which seemed to be in plenty on the trees; but they could not be prevailed upon to part with any of their weapons. These they held in constant readiness and in the proper attitudes of offence and defence, so that little was wanting to make them attack them. Their early re-embarking probably disconcerted their scheme, and after that they all retired.

While they were bringing the ship nearer the shore, to wood and water, they observed the natives assembling from all parts, and forming themselves into two parties, as they did the preceding evening, one on each side the landing place, to the amount of some thousands, armed as before. A canoe now and then came off, bringing a few cocoa-nuts and plantains. The captain made an old man, who seemed well disposed, understand by signs that they were to lay aside their weapons, and throwing those which were in the canoe overboard, made him a present of a large piece of cloth. There was no doubt that he understood him, and made this request known to his countrymen; for as soon as he landed, they observed he went

first to one party and then to the other ; nor was he ever after seen with any thing like a weapon in his hand. After this, three fellows came in a canoe under the stern, one of them brandishing a club with which he struck the ship's side, and committed other acts of defiance, but at last offered to exchange it for a string of beads and some other trifles. These were sent down to him by a line ; but the moment they were in his possession, he and his companions paddled off in all haste without giving the club in return. This was what the captain expected, and indeed what he was not sorry for, as he wanted an opportunity to show the multitude on shore the effect of their fire-arms, without materially hurting them. Having a fowling-piece with small shot he gave the fellow the contents ; and when they were above musket shot off, he ordered some of the musketoons to be fired, which alarmed them much. This transaction, however, seemed to make little or no impression on the people there ; on the contrary, they began to halloo and make sport of it.

After mooring the ship, and placing the artillery in such a manner as to command the whole harbour, he embarked with the marines and a party of seamen, in three boats, and rowed in for the shore. It has been already mentioned, that the two divisions of the natives were drawn up on each side the landing place. They had left a space between them of about thirty or forty yards, in which were laid to the most advantage, a few large bunches of plantains, a yam, and two or three roots. The old man before mentioned, and two or three more, invited them, by signs, to land ; but the former trap was still in their memory, which they were so near being caught in at the last island, and this looked something like it. In short every thing conspired to make them believe they meant to attack them as soon as they should be on shore. To prevent this, the captain ordered a musket to be fired over the party on the right, which was by far the strongest body ; but the alarm it gave them was momentary. In an instant they recovered themselves, and began to display their weapons. The ship now fired a few guns, which presently dispersed them, when the party landed and marked out the limits, on the right and left, by a line. The natives came gradually to them, seemingly in a more friendly manner, some even without their weapons ; but far the greatest part brought them, and when they made signs to lay them down, they gave the English to understand that they must lay down theirs first. Thus all parties stood armed. Many seemed afraid to touch what belonged to the visitors, and they seemed to have no notion of exchanging one thing for another.

Cook had now made a circuit of the Southern Ocean in a high latitude, and traversed it in such a manner as to demonstrate that no southern continent existed, unless near the pole, and beyond the reach of navigation. During this circumnavigation of the globe, from the time of his leaving the Cape of Good Hope, to his return to it again, he had sailed no less than twenty thousand leagues. On the 13th of July, 1775, he landed at Portsmouth, having been absent from Great Britain three years and eighteen days; during which time, and under all changes of climate, he had lost but four men, and only one of them by sickness.

It has been related above, that Captain Cook, on approaching New Zealand for the second time in the course of this voyage, lost sight of the *Adventure*, and never joined company with that ship again. Captain Furneaux was long baffled by adverse winds in his attempt to reach Queen Charlotte's Sound, which was appointed the rendezvous for the ships in case of separation. At length, on the 30th of November, the *Adventure* got safe into the desired port. The *Resolution* not being there, Captain Furneaux and his company began to entertain doubts of her safety; but, on going ashore, they observed on an old stump of a tree these words cut out—"Look underneath." They dug accordingly, and soon found a bottle corked and waxed down, with a letter in it from Captain Cook, signifying his arrival on the 3d, and departure on the 24th. Great exertions were now made to get the *Adventure* ready for sea, and on the 17th of December, the preparations being completed, Mr. Rowe, a midshipman, with nine men, were sent in the large cutter to gather a stock of wild greens for the ship's company. As the boat did not return the same evening nor the next morning, and the ship was now ready for sea, Mr. Burney, the second lieutenant, proceeded in search of her, in the launch, manned with the boat's crew and ten marines. The launch proceeded, firing guns into all the coves by way of signals, but no traces of the cutter were found till they reached Grass Cove: here a great many baskets were seen lying on the beach tied up; when cut open, some of them were found to be full of roasted flesh, and some of fern root, which served the natives for bread. On further search, some shoes were picked up, and a hand, which was immediately known to have belonged to Thomas Hill, one of the forecastle men, the initials of his name being marked on it with an Otaheitan tattooing instrument. The natives were collected in considerable numbers round Grass Cove, shouting and inviting the English to land, but evidently with no friendly intentions. From their numbers, and the suspicion which their conduct



excited in our people, Lieutenant Burney did not deem it prudent to trust himself among them, but he pursued his examination far enough to obtain a melancholy certainty as to the fate of his unfortunate companions. "On the beach," he says, "were two bundles of celery, which had been gathered for loading the cutter; a broken oar was stuck upright in the ground, to which the natives had tied their canoes, a proof that the attack had been made here. I then searched all along at the back of the beach to see if the cutter was there. We found no boat, but instead of her such a shocking scene of carnage and barbarity as can never be mentioned nor thought of but with horror; for the heads, hearts, and lungs of several of our people were seen lying on the beach; and, at a little distance, the dogs gnawing their entrails." The men who had thus fallen victims to the barbarity of the natives were among the healthiest and best of the ship's crew.

The Adventure was detained in the sound four days after this lamentable occurrence; during which time no natives were seen. On the 23d of December, however, she got to sea, and in little more than a month reached Cape Horn, being favoured by a strong current running to the east, and by westerly winds which blow continually in the summer season in the great ocean. Captain Furneaux continued his course eastward to the Cape of Good Hope, where he refitted his ship and refreshed his people. He then sailed for England, and anchored at Spithead on the 14th of July, 1774.

In 1769 some discoveries of importance were made in the South Seas by a French mercantile adventurer. Two ships were fitted out in Bengal by MM. Law and Chevalier, for a trading voyage to Peru, and were placed under the command of M. de Surville. While he was preparing to embark, news arrived in India that the English had discovered in the South Sea, seven hundred leagues from Peru, and in latitude  $27^{\circ}$  S., an island exceedingly rich, and inhabited by Jews. This story gained credit, being congenial to the avaricious cravings of mankind; and even those who suspected fiction in the mention of Jews were still willing to believe that the newly discovered country was eminently rich. Surville, touching at the Bashee Islands, carried off three of the natives to supply the deficiencies of his crew; thus furnishing a conspicuous example of that overbearing violence which has almost universally forced weak and uncivilized nations to regard Europeans as their natural enemies. In running to the south-east from New Guinea he discovered land, to which he gave the name of the *Land of the Arsicides*, and which was, in fact, a part of that long chain of islands that had already been seen by Bougain-

ville, who gave the name of *Louisiade* to the portion which he had examined. Surville, in his intercourse with the natives, found them to be of a fierce, intractable, and treacherous disposition, and chose to designate them *Arsacides*, a name which he supposed to be equivalent to the word assassins. Surville afterwards visited New Zealand, and anchored in a bay, to which he gave the name of *Lauriston*. Captain Cook, who named it *Double Bay*, was at the same time employed in surveying its shores, yet these two navigators did not meet nor descry each other. The French commander, having lost his boat while anchoring here, went on shore with an armed party to punish the natives, whom he supposed to have stolen it. In a short time he burned several villages, and carried off a native chief. This outrage, perpetrated by some of the first Europeans who visited them, was soon afterwards repaid with cruel reprisals by the New Zealanders. The chief died at Juan Fernandez, and Surville was drowned while going on shore at Valparaiso.

The *Land of the Arsacides*, which Surville had coasted on the north-eastern side, was again discovered in 1789, by Lieutenant Shortland, of the British navy, on his voyage from Port Jackson to the East Indies: he followed its southern shores, to which he gave the name of *New Georgia*, and passed through the straits of Bougainville, which he named from himself, being apparently ignorant of the discoveries of the French navigators. The chain of large islands thus seen successively and partially by Bougainville, Surville, and Shortland, and which stretch from north-west to south-east, between New Guinea and the New Hebrides, are unquestionably the *Salomon Islands* of the early Spanish navigators. The Egmont Island of Carteret, who sought the Salomon Islands, and who approached them very closely without being aware of it, may be considered as belonging to the archipelago.

It has been already mentioned that Bougainville brought home with him to France a native of Otaheite named Aootooroo. When the fame of Cook's discoveries began to excite a general interest in Europe, Captain Marion du Fresne, animated with a desire to emulate the glory of the English navigator, offered to take back the Otaheitean to his native land from the Isle of France at his own expense: the offer was accepted; and Kerguelen, a navigator of some note, was commissioned to carry Aootooroo to the Isle of France, and then to proceed to examine more carefully the southern part of the Atlantic Ocean. The Otaheitean died at Madagascar; but Marion did not on that account relinquish his plans, but proceeded, in the ardent hope of making some important discoveries. He

arrived at New Zealand without any accident, and anchored in the Bay of Islands, where his people lived on terms of familiarity, and apparently of cordial friendship with the natives; but some offence was given unawares to the passionate and capricious savages: Marion was murdered, with sixteen officers and men who had accompanied him on shore. Another party of eleven men, who were employed cutting wood in a different quarter, were at the same time set upon suddenly, and only one escaped to the ships to relate the dismal fate of his companions. When the French landed to seek the remains of their unfortunate commander, the natives insultingly cried to them from their fastnesses, "Tacowry (the chief of the district) has killed and eaten Marion." After this melancholy accident the ships returned to the Isle of France under the command of M. Duclesmeur, all plans of discovery being abandoned.

Kerguelen in the mean time sailed from the Isle of France in January, 1772; and, on the 12th of February, discovered, in latitude  $50^{\circ} 5'$  S., high land, near the coast of which he remained six days; during this time he was separated from the corvette which accompanied him. To the bleak and sterile shores which he had discovered he gave his own name; took formal possession of them for his sovereign; and, on his return to France, described their appearance in such glowing terms, that Louis XV., deceived by his representations, hung to his button-hole, with his own hand, the cross of St. Louis. Kerguelen's enemies, however, insisted that he had seen ice at a distance, and mistaken it for land; they called on him to show some of the productions of the country as a proof of his discovery, and insinuated that he had purposely got rid of his comrade that he might be at liberty to indulge in gross fictions. The king, however, afforded him the means of refuting these aspersions: Kerguelen sailed again to the Southern Atlantic; and, in December, 1773, again discovered land: by the 6th of January following he had traced its coasts above eighty leagues. It was, however, a barren, inhospitable, and, in general, an unapproachable shore, affording nothing that could satisfy the French nation of the importance of his discoveries. On his return he was accused of culpable indifference to the safety of his men and officers, or rather of purposely exposing those whom he disliked to dangers which eventually proved fatal. Being unable to exculpate himself, he was deprived of his rank and thrown into prison.

No expedition, fitted out for the purpose of maritime discovery, had ever equalled that from which Captain Cook had now returned, in the magnitude and arduous nature of its peculiar

object; and none had ever so completely answered its intentions, and performed its task with so little loss of life or injury to the ships. The success of Cook's voyage was gratifying in the highest degree to those who had patronized the undertaking. The Earl of Sandwich was still at the head of the admiralty, and felt naturally disposed to reward liberally one whose courage and skill had so well justified his expectations. Cook was immediately raised to the rank of post captain, and obtained a more substantial mark of favour, being appointed one of the captains of Greenwich hospital, which afforded him a liberal maintenance and repose from his professional labours. In February, 1776, only a few months after his return, he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society; and on the evening of his first appearance there, a paper was read containing an account of the method he had taken to preserve the health of the crew of his majesty's ship the *Resolution*, during her voyage round the world. The humane and successful attention which Cook bestowed on his ship's company was soon after rewarded by the Copley medal, a prize annually bestowed by the Royal Society on the author of the best experimental paper of the year. In the discourse which the President, Sir John Pringle, delivered on the occasion of bestowing the medal, he uses the following emphatic expressions:—

“What inquiry can be so useful as that which has for its object the saving the lives of men? and where shall we find one more successful than that before us? Here are no vain boastings of the empiric, nor ingenious and delusive theories of the dogmatist; but a concise and artless, and an uncontested, relation of the means by which, under divine favour, Captain Cook with a company of one hundred and eighteen men performed a voyage of three years and eighteen days throughout all the climates from fifty-two degrees north to seventy-one degrees south latitude, with the loss of only one man by sickness. I would now inquire of the most conversant with the bills of mortality, whether, in the most healthy climate, and the best condition of life, they have ever found so small a number of deaths within that space of time? How great and agreeable, then, must our surprise be, after purusing the histories of long navigations in former days, when so many perished by marine diseases, to find the air of the sea acquitted of all malignity; and, in fine, that a voyage round the world may be undertaken with less danger, perhaps, to health, than a common tour in Europe!”

The great question, as to the existence of a southern continent, was finally set at rest by the result of this voyage; not but that immense tracts of land might exist in the neighbour-

hood of the south pole. But Cook's researches reduced the limits of the southern continent, if it exist at all, within such high latitudes, as completely to dispel all those hopes of unbounded wealth and fertility with which imagination had hitherto graced that undiscovered country. One grand problem still divided the opinions of speculative geographers, and eluded every attempt made at a practical solution. The English nation had always felt a peculiar interest in the question of a north-west passage. Their earliest and most constant efforts in the career of discovery were directed towards Hudson's and Baffin's Bays in search of a communication with the Pacific Ocean, so that they might sail by a shorter navigation to China and Japan. In consequence of the disputes between Mr. Dobbs and Captain Middleton, respecting the feasibility of the scheme, the agitation of the question was tolerably recent in the public mind, and government adopting the views of the former gentleman, a reward of twenty thousand pounds was offered by act of parliament to those who should discover the desired passage.

The British government, captivated with the glory that might result from expeditions destined for the improvement of science, resolved now to direct its exertions towards the north-west; and, as a preliminary measure, Captain Phipps, (afterwards lord Mulgrave,) was despatched towards the north pole, to ascertain how far navigation was practicable in that quarter. After struggling obstinately with innumerable difficulties and dangers, arising from the quantity of ice that beset him, he was obliged to return, after having penetrated to the latitude of  $80^{\circ} 30'$ , or within  $9\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  of the terrestrial pole.

The hope of finding a passage between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans was not, however, abandoned; and consultations were held by lord Sandwich with Sir Hugh Palliser, and other experienced officers, relative to the plan which should be adopted in the expedition, and to the choice of a commander. Captain Cook had earned, by his eminent services, the privilege of honourable repose; and no one thought of imposing on him, for the third time, the dangers and hardships of a voyage of discovery round the world: but being invited to dine with lord Sandwich, in order that he might lend the light of his valuable experience to the various particulars under discussion, he was so fired with the observations that were made on the benefits likely to redound to science, to navigation, and the intercourse of mankind, from the projected expedition, that he voluntarily offered to take the command of it himself. This proposal was too much in accordance with the wishes of lord Sandwich to be rejected through motives of mere delicacy;

and Captain Cook was appointed accordingly to the command of the expedition in February, 1776. The act of parliament, passed in 1745, which secured a reward of twenty thousand pounds to ships *belonging to any of his majesty's subjects*, which should make the proposed discovery, was now also amended so as to include ships *belonging to his majesty*, and proceeding in *any direction*, for the old act referred only to ships which should find a passage through Hudson's Bay; whereas Cook was directed by his instructions to proceed into the Pacific Ocean, and to commence his researches on the north-west coast of America, in the latitude of 65°; and not to lose time in exploring rivers or inlets until he had reached that latitude.

The vessels fitted out for this voyage were the *Resolution* and *Discovery*, the latter under the command of Captain Edward Clerke. Messrs. Bayley and Anderson, who had both accompanied Captain Cook in his preceding voyage, now embarked with him a second time, the former in the capacity of astronomer, the latter in that of naturalist. Omai, who, during his residence in England, had been treated with great kindness, and loaded with presents from all quarters, now prepared to return to his native country; but the joy which he felt at the idea of returning to his relations in possession of inestimable riches, (for such the gifts with which he was loaded appeared to him to be,) scarcely equalled his regret at quitting shores where he experienced so much kindness and attention, and where the multiplicity of strange objects presented to his view, awakened him as it were to a new existence.

On the 12th of July, 1776, Captain Cook sailed from Plymouth Sound on his third voyage of discovery. In Table Bay, near the Cape of Good Hope, he was joined by Captain Clerke, whose departure had been unavoidably retarded. Here both the ships increased their freight of live stock, consisting of cows, horses, sheep, and goats, which were destined for the supply of the islands in the South Seas. On the 30th of November our navigators left the Cape of Good Hope; and, on the 12th of the following month, two small islands were descried: they had been previously discovered by Marion and Crozet; but not having received any name from them, Captain Cook called them *Prince Edward's Islands*. They appeared to be bleak and desolate, with bold rocky shores, and mountains in the rear, the sides and summits of which were covered with snow. Though it was now summer in the southern hemisphere, the weather was as severe as it usually is in England in the depth of winter.

On the 24th high land was again seen, which proved to be that discovered not long before by the French navigator, Kerguelen. A bottle was found on shore containing a piece of parchment, with an inscription written by him, intimating that he had visited this country in 1772 and 1773. Cook wrote the names of his ships and the date of his voyage on the other side of the parchment, which he then replaced in the bottle. This country appeared, as far as the eye could reach, to be little better than a huge assemblage of bare rocks; it had a little herbage, but not a single shrub or tree. Some verdure, which from the sea had an enticing appearance, was found, on nearer approach, to be occasioned by a small plant resembling saxifrage, which, with a few species of mosses and lichens, constituted the whole vegetable productions of this inhospitable shore. Fresh water, however, was abundant, and the rocks were covered with penguins and with seals: the latter so unused to be disturbed, that they evinced no timidity; and as many as were wanted for their oil or skins were killed without difficulty. Cook found that Kerguelen's Land, instead of being a continent, as its first discoverer had supposed, was only an island, extending in breadth from north to south not more than one hundred miles. He did not wish to change the name which it had received from its first discoverer, but that which he suggested as extremely applicable to it—The Island of Desolation,—has since been generally adopted in English maps. Soon after leaving this desolate coast, our navigators fell in with winds from the north, which brought on so dense a fog that the ships ran above three hundred leagues in the dark: they could rarely descry each other, and it was necessary to fire guns continually to prevent the inconvenience of a separation. At length, on the 26th of January, 1777, the ships anchored in Adventure Bay, on the southern coast of Van Dieman's Land. Here their first care was to collect grass for the cattle, which had suffered much from the severity of the weather and the distresses of a long sea passage. Two young bulls, one heifer, two rams, and several of the goats, had died while the ships were employed in the survey of Kerguelen's Land.

While the English remained here they were agreeably surprised by a visit from some of the natives, who in their abject misery, rooted indolence, and stupidity, appeared to be on an equality with the wretched inhabitants of Terra del Fuego. Their most comfortable dwellings were the trunks of large trees hollowed out by fire. They appeared to be ignorant of the art of fishing; not a single canoe was seen on their whole

coast. Their chief subsistence was derived from small birds and shell-fish, which they collected along the shore.

A sufficient supply of fodder being procured for the cattle, Captain Cook left Van Dieman's Land, of which, relying on the erroneous conclusions of Captain Furneaux, he observes, "It is well known to be the southern part of New Holland."

The ships anchored on the 12th of February in their old station in Queen Charlotte's Sound. On their arrival in New Zealand there were but two invalids in both the crews. Captain Cook was not a little surprised at the shyness and mistrust of the natives, most of whom were known to him, and had experienced his kindness on his former voyages; but he soon discovered the cause of their timidity. Omai was on board the *Adventure* with Captain Furneaux on the former voyage, when ten of the crew of that vessel, as above related, fell victims to the ferocity of the natives. Seeing Omai now on board the *Resolution*, they judged that Captain Cook could not be ignorant of the affair, and dreaded his vengeance in consequence; but as soon as he understood the cause of their mistrust, he laboured to convince them of his friendly intentions, assuring them that he had no design of retaliating on them for the consequences of an affray to which he was a stranger; and that so long as they conducted themselves peaceably they might consider him as their friend. A chief named Kahoorā frankly avowed that he had acted a principal part in cutting off Captain Furneaux's people, and that he had himself killed Mr. Rowe their commander. The attack was not, it appears, premeditated, but had its origin in a theft committed by one party and resented with hasty violence by the other; but when Captain Cook declared his willingness to forgive, he soon regained the confidence of the natives. To one chief he gave two goats, a male and a female, with a kid; and to another, two pigs. It was his intention at first to have left here some sheep also, along with a bull and two heifers; but fearing that the chiefs whom he found on this part of the coast were not powerful enough to protect the cattle from those who might ignorantly aim at destroying them, he changed his plan. He learned from the natives that the poultry which on former occasions he had left on the island had increased, the garden vegetables, though neglected, yet multiplied naturally, and some of them, as the potatoe, were greatly improved by the richness of the soil. At the request of Omai he consented to take with him two youths from New Zealand, who seemed at first delighted with the change; but when they completely lost sight of their native country, they were overwhelmed with violent grief, which continued for many days.



On the 25th of February the ships sailed from Queen Charlotte's Sound, and nothing remarkable occurred till the 29th of the following month, when land was discovered, which proved to be an inhabited island, called by the natives *Mangeea*. It was found impossible to land upon it for the surf. The natives spoke a language differing but little from that of the Society Islands, and were a handsome, vigorous people, resembling Spaniards in complexion. They wore white turbans on their heads, made of cloth like that of Otaheite; they also wore sandals, woven apparently with a strong grassy substance. One of them who ventured on board the ship happened to stumble over one of the goats, and immediately asked Omai what *bird* it was. This apparent blunder of the simple islander will appear less surprising when we reflect, that the name of a bird was perhaps the only general term for animals in his language; and therefore the only one applicable to a creature like a goat, not belonging to any of the species with which he was already acquainted.

Some leagues to the north of Mangeea another island was discovered, which the natives called Wateco. Here our navigators went on shore, and were conducted by crowds of admiring natives to the chief, who hospitably entertained them. Some plan, however, seemed to be concerted to separate the English, and to cut them off from their retreat to the ships; and perhaps the Indians were chiefly deterred from the execution of this plot by the exaggerations of Omai, who relating the wonders he had seen in England, described guns or instruments of war so large, that many men could sit within them, and which at one discharge could sink the island in the ocean. When questioned respecting the guns on board the ship, he said that they were capable of destroying immediately all the people on the island, though the ships were at that time a considerable distance from the shore. His story was not at first implicitly believed; but as he took delight in exciting the wonder of those who were simpler than himself, he heaped together a few cartridges, which he carried in his pocket, and then throwing on them some red hot embers, the conflagration and report that ensued appeared to the natives so astonishing, as sufficiently to confirm all that he had related. They were consequently more cautious of giving offence to the English, who on the approach of evening were allowed to return to the ships.

On this island Omai met with three of his countrymen, whose surprising adventure most happily illustrates the manner in which the scattered islands of the great ocean might have been originally peopled. About twenty persons of both

sexes had embarked in a canoe at Otaheite, to cross over to the neighbouring island of Ulietea. For this short passage they had taken but a moderate stock of provisions. A violent tempest arose, which drove them they knew not whither for many days. They had nothing to eat or drink, and their numbers daily diminished, worn out by hunger and fatigue. At length the canoe overset, when four only remained alive, and the destruction of this small remnant seemed now inevitable. They clung, however, to the sides of their vessel for some days, and providentially drifted towards this island, when the natives immediately sent out canoes and brought them ashore. Of the four who were thus saved one had since died; the remaining three were so well satisfied with the kind treatment they had received, that they rejected the offer made to them at Omai's request of a passage to their native island. As the inhabitants of the archipelagoes in the great ocean are frequently at sea, crossing from one island to another with their wives and families, accidents like this, which transported four individuals a distance of two hundred leagues, are likely to be of frequent occurrence. At all the islands which our navigators had discovered since their departure from New Zealand, they had been disappointed from the want of good anchorage and other circumstances, in their hope of finding water and provisions. The season was now far advanced, and large supplies of provisions would be necessary before proceeding into high northern latitudes. The prosecution of discoveries, therefore, in that direction was unavoidably postponed till the following year, as it was now much too late to venture into unknown seas with the prospect of achieving any thing important. Captain Cook determined to employ the intervening time in examining more minutely the seas between the tropics.

He accordingly directed his course to the Friendly Islands, and on the 1st of May arrived at Anamooka. Here he experienced the kindest treatment from a chief named Fenou, by whose persuasions he was induced to go to Hepaee, a large island, or rather a cluster of islands, connected together by reefs passable at low water, and situated towards the north of this archipelago. The abundance of provisions which he found at Hepaee justified the representations of his friend Fenou. Here also he met with Poulaho, the king of the Friendly Islands, who treated our navigators with a lavish generosity worthy of a sovereign. Tongataboo, or Amsterdam Island, is the centre of his insular dominions, which extends, according to the natives, over one hundred and fifty islands. Several of these, indeed, are low rocky islets, without any inhabitants. About thirty-five of them are said to be larger, and must con-

sequently be of much greater extent than Anamooka, which is ranked among the smaller isles. It is probable that the Prince William's Islands of Tasman, and the Keppel's and Boscawen's Islands of Captain Wallis, are comprehended in this list of islands subject to Tongataboo.

When Poulaho was asked in what manner the inhabitants of this latter island had acquired the knowledge of iron, he replied that they had at first received it from a neighbouring island called Neeootabootaboo. A ship had touched at that island a few years before, and had purchased a club from one of the natives for five nails which were afterwards sent to Tongataboo. This was the first iron known among them, and there can be little doubt that the ship from which it was procured was the Dolphin. If Poulaho's description of this island be compared with Captain Wallis' narrative, it will appear evident that Neeootabootaboo is the same as Keppel's Island.

But the most considerable islands within the knowledge of these people are Hamoa, Vavaoo, and Feejee. The two former are the largest islands under the dominion of Tongataboo; and from the information which Captain Cook received, it would appear that the inhabitants of Hamoa had outstripped the other islanders in arts and refinement. Feejee was hostile to Tongataboo, and its inhabitants were regarded with dread by the natives of the Friendly Islands for their fierceness in battle, and their savage practice of devouring their enemies. The men of Feejee, while they retain this barbarous custom, are not inferior to their neighbours in art and ingenuity. Before Captain Cook left the Friendly Islands he repaid the kindness of Poulaho by a gift of inestimable value, consisting of live stock, horses, cows, sheep, and goats. The islanders seemed gratified with the gift, and promised not to kill any of the animals until they had multiplied to a considerable number. On touching at Eooa our navigators were supplied with turnips, the produce of some seed scattered by them here on a former voyage.

After remaining at the Friendly Islands between two and three months, during which time he became minutely acquainted with their geography, and the character of their inhabitants, Captain Cook at length took his departure from them, and on the 12th of August arrived at Otaheite. He found that a Spanish ship had touched here in the mean time, and had put on shore some cattle, of which a bull alone remained alive. He felt great pleasure, therefore, in augmenting the stock of the island with three or four heifers, besides a horse and mare, which were intended as a present to the king, Otoo. Two days after their arrival here Captains Cook

and Clerke mounted on horseback, and took a ride round the plain of Matavai ; to the great surprise of a multitude of the natives who attended upon the occasion, and gazed upon the horsemen with as much astonishment as if they had been centaurs. What the two captains had begun was afterwards repeated every day by the other ship's officers, notwithstanding which the curiosity of the Otaheiteans still continued unabated. They were exceedingly delighted with these animals when they saw the use that was made of them. Not all the novelties put together which European visitors had carried among the inhabitants, had inspired them with so high an idea of the greatness of distant nations. Otoo was by no means ungrateful for the benefits conferred on him ; he offered a small double canoe, very elegantly finished, as a present to king George ; and he manifested his sense of respect still more strongly in expressing a wish that the English would establish a permanent settlement on the island. During this visit to Otaheite Captain Cook had an opportunity of witnessing the fearful excesses to which these social islanders are hurried by superstition, and of observing the number of human sacrifices offered to their idols, on every occasion of war or other general excitement.

It only remained now to settle Omai in the island of Huaheine, which had been chosen as his residence. A piece of ground was allotted to him by the chiefs of the island ; a comfortable wooden house was erected for him by the carpenters of the ships. All the treasures which he had brought from England were landed, and the two young men from New Zealand, though reluctant, were prevailed upon to remain with him, so that his family consisted altogether of twelve or thirteen persons. In order to deter the natives from treating him with injustice or violence, Captain Cook spoke of returning at no great distance of time. Omai did not live long to enjoy his good fortune ; it does not appear that he had any reason to complain of the rapacity or covetousness of his neighbours. The numerous articles of European manufacture which were in his possession, rendered his house a splendid museum in the eyes of a South Sea islander ; and it is possible that his pride felt gratified in being thus able to minister to their wonder and admiration. He conducted himself prudently, and gained the esteem of his neighbours, by the affability with which he recounted his voyages and adventures. About two years and a half after Captain Cook's departure, Omai died a natural death ; nor did the New Zealanders survive him long enough to furnish European navigators with an ample account of the

influence which his experience and observations abroad may have exerted on his countrymen.

On the 8th of December our voyagers left Borabora, and lost sight of the Society Islands; their course was towards the north, and, on the 18th of January, in latitude  $21^{\circ}$  N., land was discovered, which proved to be an island of considerable size, and beyond it two others successively became visible. As the ships approached the second island, a number of canoes came off from the shore, and the English were no less pleased than surprised to hear the natives speak the language of Otaheite. When they came on board they expressed their astonishment at the numerous strange objects that met their eyes, with more lively emotions than Captain Cook had ever yet witnessed among savage nations. They did not appear to be quite ignorant of iron, yet the wonder and surprise they displayed at every thing they saw, left little room to doubt that they were wholly unacquainted with Europeans. When Captain Cook went on shore, the people fell flat on their faces before him, as if rendering homage to a superior being. The island was amply provided with the necessaries of life; pigs, fowls, and fruits were purchased advantageously: and Captain Cook made an important addition to the natural wealth of the island, by putting on shore some of his live stock. Among other articles brought by the natives for trade were cloaks and helmets, beautifully made with red and yellow feathers. These islanders were not inferior to the inhabitants of the more southerly groups in ingenuity or friendliness of disposition. They seemed to Captain Cook to be less fickle and voluptuous than the natives of Otaheite, and less sullenly grave than those of Tongataboo; but his growing partiality to them was checked on discovering that they occasionally banqueted on human flesh. Of the group now for the first time visited, only five islands were seen by Captain Cook, and to these, in compliment to his noble patron, the first lord of the admiralty, he gave collectively the name of the *Sandwich Islands*.

It only remained now to accomplish the specific object of the voyage, by examining the north-west coast of America, and particularly by trying to effect a passage into the Atlantic Ocean, round the northern extremity of that continent. On the 7th of March our navigators made the coast of New Albion in latitude  $44^{\circ} 33'$ . The inhabitants of this country were clad in furs which they offered for sale; they conducted themselves civilly towards the English, but were remarkably tenacious of the rights of property, and expected payment for every thing, even the wood and water which the strangers took from the shore. They displayed considerable ingenuity, and were

acquainted with iron, although in all their dealings they gave the preference to brass, in consequence of which the sailors, in bartering for furs parted with all their buttons. Among other articles procured from these people by exchange, were two silver spoons, which, as well as the iron, were supposed by Captain Cook to have been obtained by a circuitous inland trade, either from the Spaniards in Mexico, or the English factories in Hudson's Bay. He was not aware that this coast had been surveyed by the Spaniards four years previously; and that while the Spanish vessels lay here, the natives had exercised with great success their thieving propensities: to this part of the coast he gave the name of *King George's Sound*, but the native name of Nootka has since prevailed.

On leaving Nootka Sound, the violence of the wind compelled him to keep at a distance from the shore, so that for some degrees he was foiled in his intention of surveying it; but, in latitude  $59^{\circ}$  he entered another wide inlet, to which he gave the name of *Prince William's Sound*, and here was surprised to find that the natives, in dress, language, and physical peculiarities, were exactly like the Esquimaux of Hudson's Bay. Beautiful skins were obtained in plenty from these people for a very moderate price. On proceeding to the north-west, a wide inlet was discovered, which some conjectured might be a strait communicating with the Northern Ocean. It was deemed, therefore, advisable to explore it; but when the boats had proceeded as high as latitude  $61^{\circ} 34'$  or about seventy leagues from the entrance, the inlet appeared to terminate in a small river. The ships now proceeded to the west, and doubled the great promontory of Alashka; and on the 9th of August, they reached the most western point of the American continent, distant only thirteen leagues from the opposite shores of Asia. To this headland Cook gave the name of *Cape Prince of Wales*. Crossing the strait to the western shores, he anchored near the coast of the Tshuktzki, which he found to extend many degrees farther to the east than the position assigned to them in the maps of that day. He thus ascertained distinctly the width of the strait that separates Asia from America; for though Behring had sailed through it before, he had not descried the shores of the latter continent, and, consequently, remained ignorant of the importance of his discoveries. Our navigators now pushed forward into the Northern Ocean, when they soon fell in with ice, which gave them reason to suspect the impossibility of continuing their voyage much farther. At length, on the 18th of August, when after repeated struggles they had attained the latitude of  $70^{\circ} 44'$ , they saw the ice before them, extending as far as the eye

could reach, forming a compact wall about six feet high: it was covered with a multitude of walruses or sea-horses, which, though coarse food, were preferred by the sailors to salt provisions.

It was now obviously impossible to advance, and Cook therefore resolved to employ the winter in completing the survey of the Sandwich Islands, and to renew his attempts in the Northern Océan in the course of the following summer. On his arrival at Oonalashka he received, through the hands of the natives, a salmon pie, and a note which, though unintelligible, was known to be Russian. Corporal Ledyard, of the marines, who afterwards became so distinguished as an enterprising traveller, now for the first time figured on the scene, and volunteered to go in search of the hospitable Russians. He was accordingly packed between the legs of two Esquimaux in a kajak or covered canoe, and in this uncomfortable state was rowed a distance of fourteen miles. In two days he returned with three Russian furriers; and shortly after a Russian merchant, named Ismiloff, arrived, who showed Captain Cook two charts, which satisfied our great navigator as to the limited acquaintance which the Russians had with the north-west coast of America, and the undisputed merit of his own discoveries.

On the 26th of November, in latitude  $20^{\circ} 55'$ , our navigators discovered Mowee, one of the Sandwich Islands which they had not visited; and on the last day of the month another great island, called Owlyhee, was discovered, which, as it appeared to exceed very far in magnitude and importance the other islands of the group, engaged a proportionate share of attention, and Captain Cook employed seven weeks in sailing round and surveying its coasts. At length the ships came to an anchor in *Karakakooa Bay*, on the south side of the island. The natives came off to the vessels in canoes laden with provisions, and in such multitudes, that Captain Cook in the whole course of his voyages had never seen so numerous a body of people assembled in one place. Many hundreds of them were swimming round the ships like shoals of fishes. The interesting novelty of this scene compensated our voyagers, in some degree, for the disappointment they had experienced in their expedition to the north. "To this disappointment," says Captain Cook, "we owed our having it in our power to revisit the Sandwich Islands, and to enrich our voyage with a discovery, which, though the last, seemed in many respects to be the most important that had hitherto been made by Europeans throughout the extent of the Pacific Ocean." Such is the concluding sentence of our great navigator's journal.

The intercourse of our people with the islanders was an uninterrupted series of acts of kindness on both sides, the mutual harmony being only momentarily disturbed by the thieving propensities of the natives. Provisions were procured in the greatest abundance, and Captain Cook made the experiment of salting a quantity of pork for sea stores; and he succeeded so completely, that when the ships returned to Europe, some of the pork cured in the Sandwich Islands was found to be still in good order. A society of priests on the island were particularly active in forwarding the views of the English, and procuring them the sort of provisions they required. They even sent a large quantity to the ships as a present. The king of Owwhyhee, Terecobook, was actuated by the same friendly zeal as his subjects; and in his dealings with Captain Cook evinced sincere attachment, as well as the liberality befitting a prince. The islanders had conceived a particular liking for Lieutenant King, and warmly solicited him to remain among them. When the day of departure arrived, they seemed inconsolable at their loss, and heaped whatever presents their island afforded on Cook and his companions.

Such were the friendly sentiments of the natives when the ships sailed out of Karakakooa Bay, on the 4th of September. It was Captain Cook's intention to make a complete survey of the islands; but before he had proceeded far a gale came on, in the course of which the *Resolution* sprung her foremast in so dangerous a manner, that it was deemed necessary to return to Karakakooa Bay in order to repair it.

When the ships arrived at their old anchorage, the bay was found to be nearly deserted. The crowds who had been drawn together by the traffic opened with the ships, had now returned to their habitations through the country; and it was, perhaps, owing to the absence of the chiefs, that the natives, who now came on board, carried on their depredations with much greater boldness than formerly. The punishment of the thieves gave rise to quarrels; and the intercourse with the islanders, though it had not altogether lost an amicable character, was embittered by constant jarring and complaint. A boat was sent in pursuit of a native who had stolen the tongs from the smith's forge; but the crew and the officer who commanded them, were disarmed, and roughly handled by the islanders. Soon after, a party of the natives took away in the night the *Discovery's* large cutter, which lay swamped at the buoy of one of her anchors. This was a matter of too much importance to be overlooked, and Captain Cook was resolved to have recourse to decisive measures to recover the boat. He had often found the advantage in the South Sea Islands of seiz-



ing some of the principal people as hostages on such occasions, and he determined in this instance to make Tereeboboo himself answerable for the recovery of the cutter. Armed boats were stationed at each end of the bay to intercept all canoes that might attempt to get out, while Captain Cook himself proceeded to land with a party of marines, his crew being also armed.

When he went on shore, the natives flocked around him as usual, prostrating themselves, and showing the customary marks of respect. He proceeded to the habitation of the king, whom, after some trouble, he persuaded to go on board. To this movement, however, the natives were generally averse; yet they offered no violence to Captain Cook as he led the king, with his two sons, through the crowd to the water side, where the marines were drawn up in case of attack. The old king followed with submission and apparent indifference; but when he came near the water's edge, his wives and relations became so importunate to prevent his entering the boat, that he sat down on the ground, and Captain Cook was obliged to relinquish the idea of making himself master of his person. There was now a great ferment among the natives, who were gathered in immense multitudes along the shore. Their alarm at the attempt made to entrap their king was heightened by an unfortunate occurrence that took place at a little distance; the boat stationed at the west end of the bay, seeing a large boat put off from shore, fired a gun ahead of it to stay its progress, and the shot accidentally killed Kareemoo, a chief of distinction. When this intelligence reached them, the agitation of the crowds at the landing-place rose into fury. They put on their war-mats, gathered large stones, brandished their knives, and exhibited in every way an insulting and menacing attitude. Notwithstanding the imminence of the danger, Captain Cook would not allow the marines to fire, still hoping that the affair might terminate without shedding of blood. He discharged his musket, indeed, loaded with small shot, at a chief who approached him with threatening gestures; but the shot rattling harmlessly off the thick matting, served only to embolden the infuriated savage. The marines as well as the crew of the pinnace now fired upon the crowd; but the multitude of the islanders was so great, that they could not easily retreat when daunted by the firing; and, rushing upon the marines, forced them into the water, where four of them were killed. The pinnace was so crowded by those who had been saved from the shore, that her crew were in a great measure prevented from using their fire-arms, and thus afforded little protection to Captain Cook, who now re-

mained alone upon the rock. "He was observed making for the pinnacle, holding his left hand against the back of his head to guard it from the stones, and carrying his musket under the other arm; an Indian was seen following him, but with caution and timidity, as if undetermined to proceed; at last he advanced upon him unawares, gave him a blow on the back of the head with a large club, and then precipitately retreated. The stroke seemed to stun Captain Cook; he staggered a few paces, then fell on his hand and one knee, and dropped his musket. As he was rising, and before he could recover his feet, another Indian stabbed him in the back of the neck with an iron dagger. He then fell into the water,



DEATH OF CAPTAIN COOK.

about knee deep, where others crowded upon him and endeavoured to keep him under; but struggling very strongly with them, he got his head up, and casting his eyes towards the pinnacle, seemed to solicit assistance. Though the boat was not above five or six yards distant from him, yet, from the crowded and confused state of the crew, it seems, it was not in their power to save him. The Indians got him under again, but in deeper water: he was, however, able to get his head up once more; and being almost spent in the struggle, he naturally turned to the rock, and was endeavouring to support himself by it, when a savage gave him a blow with a club, and he was seen alive no more. They hauled him up lifeless on the rocks, where they took a savage pleasure in using every bar-

barity to his dead body; snatching the daggers out of each other's hands, to have the horrid satisfaction of piercing the fallen victim of their barbarous rage."

The lieutenant who commanded in the launch was at no great distance during the whole of this affray, of which he remained an unconcerned spectator. To his want of intelligence or of courage the fatal events of the day may, in a great measure, be attributed. But what seems more remarkable, although the fire from the boats at length succeeded in putting the Indians to flight, and the remains of Captain Cook lay for some time deserted on the beach, yet the lieutenant returned to the ships without making any attempt to recover the dead body of his unfortunate commander. It was not without extreme difficulty, and until after repeated negotiations and threatening, that Captain Clerke could succeed in recovering the principal part of Captain Cook's bones, which were committed to the deep with the usual naval honours amidst the sincere lamentations of the afflicted crews.

As soon as the *Resolution* had undergone the necessary repairs, the ships hastened to leave a scene which recalled to the recollection of every one on board a calamity outweighing all the satisfaction that could result from the success of the expedition. Captain Clerke now took the place of the lamented Cook, and was succeeded by Lieutenant Gore in the command of the *Discovery*. After leaving *Owhyhee*, the ships touched at the island of *Atooe*, which was found desolated by a war originating in the claims of different chiefs to the goats which Captain Cook had put on shore. These animals had increased to six when the war broke out on their account, in the course of which they were all destroyed. The history of the introduction of useful animals into the South Sea Islands affords many parallel instances of human blindness, and of that barbarous degree of envy and rapacity which destroys a treasure rather than leave it in the possession of a rival.

Captain Clerke proceeded now to execute the intentions of his late commander, by repeating the attempt to find a passage through the Northern Ocean. He touched at the harbour of *St. Peter and St. Paul* in *Awatska Bay*, where he was treated by the Russians with unbounded hospitality; and then passing *Behring's Strait* a second time, penetrated as far as  $70^{\circ} 33'$  N., where the same obstacle which had prevented the progress of the ships the preceding year forbade him to advance any further. He met here with a firm barrier of ice, seven leagues farther to the south than that which had stopped the progress of Captain Cook. The impossibility of a passage by the north was now thought to be sufficiently proved, and it was resolved

to proceed homewards; the chief purpose of the expedition having been thus answered. This resolution of the officers diffused among the crews, who were now heartily tired of the length of the voyage, as lively a joy as if the ships, instead of having nearly the whole earth to compass, were already arrived in the British Channel. When the ships had just reached Kamtschatka, Captain Clerke died of a decline: he had already circumnavigated the globe three times, having sailed first with Commodore Byron, and afterwards with Captain Cook. Mr. Anderson, the talented physician and naturalist of the expedition, had expired at Oonalashka, the preceding year, of the same complaint. Captain Gore now succeeded to the command of the expedition, and Lieutenant King took the command of the *Discovery*. Their voyage to China was not productive of any important geographical results. In navigating those stormy seas they found it necessary to keep at a distance from land, and were thus baffled, by constant tempestuous weather, in their attempt to survey the coasts of Japan.

On the 3d of December our navigators arrived at Macao, where they first became acquainted with the events which had taken place in Europe since their departure, and of the war which had broken out between Great Britain and France. A rumour of the generous conduct of the latter government at the same time reached them: an order had been issued in March, 1779, by the minister of the marine at Paris, to all the commanders of French ships, acquainting them with the expedition and destination of Captain Cook, and instructing them to treat that celebrated navigator, wherever they should meet him, as a commander of a neutral and allied power. This measure, so honourable to the nation which adopted it, is said to have originated in the enlightened mind of the celebrated Turgot. Dr. Franklin, who at that time resided at Paris as ambassador from the United States, had, a short time before, issued a requisition, in which he earnestly recommended the commanders of American armed vessels not to consider Captain Cook as an enemy.

While the ships lay in the river of Canton, the sailors carried on a brisk trade with the Chinese for the sea otter skins which they had brought with them from the north-west coast of America, and which were every day rising in their value. "One of our seamen," says Lieutenant King, "sold his stock alone for eight hundred dollars; and a few prime skins, which were clean and had been well preserved, were sold for one hundred and twenty dollars each. The whole amount of the value, in specie and goods, that was got for the furs in both ships, I am confident did not fall short of two thousand pounds

sterling; and it was generally supposed that at least two thirds of the quantity we had originally got from the Americans were spoiled and worn out, or had been given away, or otherwise disposed of in Kamtschatka. When, in addition to these facts, it is remembered that the furs were at first collected without our having any idea of their real value; that the greatest part had been worn by the Indians from whom we purchased them; that they were afterwards preserved with little care, and frequently used for bedclothes and other purposes; and that probably we had not got the full value for them in China; the advantages that might be derived from a voyage to that part of the American coast, undertaken with commercial views, appeared to me of a degree of importance sufficient to call for the attention of the public." These observations of Lieutenant King point to that which eventually proved to be the most important result of this expedition. A great branch of trade in the Pacific Ocean, which had hitherto escaped the notice of the nations most interested in its development, and possessing establishments most conveniently situated for carrying it on, was suddenly discovered, and soon after vigorously prosecuted by a maritime people from the opposite side of the globe. The crews of both ships were astonished, as well as overjoyed, at the price paid them for their furs by the Chinese; and their rage to return to Cook's River, in order to procure a cargo of skins, proceeded at one time almost to mutiny. A few, indeed, contrived to desert, and were among the first adventurers who crossed the Pacific Ocean in the newly discovered fur trade. The seamen thus unexpectedly enriched soon underwent a total metamorphosis: they arrived at Macao in rags, many of them having inconsiderately sold their clothing in the South Sea Islands; but, before they left that harbour, they were decked out in gaudy silks and other Chinese finery. Nothing of importance occurred during the remainder of their voyage home; and, on the 4th of October, the ships arrived safe at the Nore, after an absence of four years two months and twenty-two days. In the whole course of the voyage the *Resolution* lost but five men by sickness, of whom three were in a precarious state of health when the expedition left England: the *Discovery* did not lose a man.

In order to estimate the merits of Captain Cook, it will be only necessary to survey generally the extent and nature of his discoveries, and to examine what influence they exerted immediately on the commercial enterprise of nations. In the extent of the coasts which he surveyed or discovered, he far surpasses every other navigator. The eastern coast of New

Holland, two thousand miles in extent, was totally unknown till he traced it; escaping from the dangers of that intricate navigation solely by his cool intrepidity and the resources of his skill. He also circumnavigated New Zealand, the eastern and southern parts of which were quite unknown, and supposed by many to be united to the *Terra Australis Incognita*. New Caledonia and Norfolk Island were both discovered by him; and the New Hebrides, from his labours, first assumed a definite shape in our maps. He rendered an essential service to geography also by his circumnavigating the globe in a high southern latitude; for, though the exertions and dangers of that difficult navigation were not repaid by any brilliant discoveries, it set at rest a question which had for ages divided the opinions of speculative geographers. Sandwich Land, or Southern Thule, may be numbered among his discoveries, although it is probably the land which Gerritz had descried a century before.

His discoveries on the north-west coast of America were still more important and more extensive. In one voyage he effected more than the Spanish navigators had been able to accomplish in the course of two centuries. In sailing through Behring's Strait, he determined the proximity of Asia and America, which Behring himself had failed to perceive; and he assigned the coast of the Tshuktzki to its true place; which, in many maps of his time, was placed some degrees too far to the westward.

It is needless to recapitulate here the large additions which he made to our knowledge of the groups of islands scattered through the Pacific Ocean. Some of the Society and Friendly Islands were known before his time; but he carefully surveyed those archipelagoes, and fixed the positions of the chief islands, such as Otaheite and Tongataboo, with an accuracy equal to that of a European observatory. He prided himself especially on having discovered the Sandwich Islands; and there is no good reason to refuse him that honour; for, even if it be true that a Spanish navigator, named Gali, discovered those islands in 1576; and that he gave to Owhyhee the name of *Mesa* or *Table* Mountain, which is marked in old Spanish charts twenty-two degrees to the west of the Sandwich Islands, but in the same latitude with them; yet no stress can be laid on a discovery from which mankind derived no knowledge. The Spaniards seem soon to have totally forgotten the Sandwich Islands, if they ever knew them, notwithstanding the advantages which they might have derived from those islands in their frequent voyages from New Spain to Manilla. Anson and many other navigators might have been spared infinite

distress and suffering in their voyages across the Pacific, had any thing certain been known of the existence and situation of the Sandwich Islands.

But Cook's merit is not more conspicuous in the extent of his discoveries, than in the correctness with which he laid down the position of every coast of which he caught a glimpse. His surveys afford the materials of accurate geography. He adopted in practice every improvement suggested by the progress of science; and, instead of committing errors amounting to two or three degrees of longitude, like most of his predecessors, his determinations were such as to be considered accurate even at the present day; nor was this the merit of the astronomers who accompanied him on his expeditions. He was himself a skilful observer, and at the same time so vigilant and indefatigable, that no opportunity ever escaped him of ascertaining his true place. He possessed in an eminent degree the sagacity peculiar to seamen; and in his conjectures respecting the configurations of coasts he very rarely erred. La Perouse, who was a highly accomplished seaman, always mentions the name of Cook with the warmest admiration, and frequently alludes to the remarkable correctness of his surveys. Crozet, also, who wrote the narrative of Marion's voyage, speaking of Cook's survey of the shores of New Zealand says—"That its exactness and minuteness of detail astonished him beyond expression;" but Cook's skill as a marine surveyor may be still better estimated from the chart which, at the commencement of his career, he constructed of the coasts of Newfoundland; and of that chart, Captain Frederick Bullock, the able officer who has recently completed the survey of Newfoundland, speaks in those terms of warm commendation which a man of ability naturally bestows on whatever is excellent.

From the second expedition of Cook may be dated the art of preserving the health of the seaman in long voyages: before that time, navigators who crossed the Pacific, hurried precipitately by the shortest course to the Ladrões or the Philippine Islands; and yet they rarely reached home without the loss of a large proportion of their crew. Cook, on the other hand, felt himself perfectly at home on the ocean; he did not care to limit his voyages, either in space of time or of distance; he sailed through every climate, crossing both the arctic and antarctic circles; and proved that a voyage of four years duration does not necessarily affect the health of seamen. This was a discovery of far greater importance than that of a new continent could have been: by his banishing the terror that arose from the frightful mortality that previously attended on long voyages,

he has mainly contributed to the boldness of navigation which distinguishes the present day.

Among the immediate effects of Captain Cook's voyages, the most important was the establishment of a colony at Botany Bay. That great navigator seems to have contracted a partiality towards the New Zealanders; he admired their generosity, their manly carriage, and their intelligence. Their country appeared to him fertile; abounding in commodities which might become valuable in commerce; and he hints, though with diffidence, to the possibility of a trade being carried on between Europe and New Zealand. His observations on this subject had influence, no doubt, on the minds of the English ministers, and they resolved on establishing a colony at New Holland; and the result has justified Cook's sanguine anticipations. The fur trade also, which soon caused such a concourse of European shipping in the Pacific Ocean, originated with his third voyage; but his familiarity with the South Sea islanders, the trade which he established with them, and the practice which he commenced of purchasing sea stores from them, have had, perhaps, a still stronger influence on navigation in the Pacific.

Finally, to complete the eulogium on this great navigator, it will be sufficient to enumerate some of the distinguished seamen who served under him, such as Vancouver, Broughton, Bligh, Burney, Colnett, Portlock, Dixon, &c.: these men learned under Cook the arduous duties of their profession, and they always spoke of him with unqualified admiration and respect.





SIR JOHN CHARDIN.

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SIR JOHN CHARDIN was born in Paris on the 16th of November, 1643. He was the son of a rich Protestant jeweller, who, as soon as his education, which appears to have been carefully conducted and liberal, was completed, intrusted him with the management of a commercial speculation in the East, and thus at once gratified and influenced the passion for visiting new and remote regions which had already taken possession of the mind of our traveller. Leaving Paris at the age of twenty-two, he visited Hindostan and Persia, where he remained several years, and was appointed merchant to the king. His manly but shrewd character, united with extensive knowledge and great sauvity of manners, procured him numerous friends at the court of Ispahan, some of whom filled important offices in the government, and were thus enabled to lay open to him the interior movements of the great political machine

which he afterwards described with so much vigour and perspicuity. He accompanied the shah on his visits to various portions of his dominions, and in this way was enabled to traverse with pleasure and advantage the wilder and least accessible districts of Persia, such as Mazenderan, Ghilan, and the other provinces bordering on the Caspian Sea. Of this portion of his life, however, he did not judge it necessary to give any detailed account; perhaps because he had afterward occasion to visit the same scenes, when his mind was riper, his views more enlarged, and his powers of observation and description sharpened and invigorated by experience and habit.

Returning to France in 1670, he remained fifteen months in the bosom of his family, and employed this period of tranquillity and leisure in the composition of his "History of the Coronation of Solyman III., King of Persia;" a small work usually appended to his account of his travels. The desire of fame and distinction, however, which in youthful and ardent minds is generally the ruling passion, urged him once more to quit his native country, where, as he himself observes, the religion in which he was educated excluded him from all hope of advancement or honours, in order to revisit those regions of the East where his faith would be no bar to his ambition, and where commerce was not thought to degrade even the majesty of kings.

Having collected together the jewels, gems, and curious clocks and watches which he had been commissioned to purchase for the king of Persia, he repaired to Leghorn, where he embarked with his mercantile companion for Smyrna. Owing to the unskilfulness of the mariners, the variableness of the winds, and the badness of the weather, this short voyage was not performed in less than three months, during which the passengers endured all the privation and misery which such a voyage could inflict. From Smyrna he proceeded to Constantinople, where, through the aid of M. de Nointel, the ambassador of France, he was initiated in all the mysteries of diplomacy, which he unveils in his travels with infinite skill and *naivete*, for the amusement of his readers.

In other respects his connexion with the French ambassador was rather prejudicial than useful to him; for M. de Nointel having conducted himself in all his negotiations with the Turks in a puerile and fluctuating manner, passing by turns from extreme haughtiness to extreme cringing and servility, the anger of the Porte was roused and directed against the whole French nation; and Chardin, when he became desirous of departing, was denied a passport. From this diffi-

cult and somewhat dangerous position he was delivered by the ingenuity of a Greek, who contrived to procure him a passage to Azoph, on the Palus Mæotis, on board of a Turkish vessel then about to set sail with the new commandant and fresh troops which the Porte sent every year to that remote fortress. The Black Sea, which receives its appellation from the gloomy clouds and tempestuous winds which hover over and vex its waters in almost every season of the year, was now to be traversed: and considering the unskilfulness and apathy of Turkish sailors, who creep timidly along the shore, and have little knowledge of the use of the compass, our traveller was not without his apprehensions. After a voyage of eight days, however, they arrived at Caffa, in the Crimea, where, by the help of the Greek friend who had enabled him to laugh at the sultan's beard and embark without a passport, he eluded the exorbitant demands of the custom-house, and transported his merchandise on board another vessel bound for Mingrelia.

Setting sail from Caffa, where there was little to be seen but stinking Tartars and caviare, they arrived in twenty-four hours at Touzlah, or the Salt Marshes, a vast sweep of low shore, alternately covered by the waters of the sea, artificially introduced, and a white saline crust, looking like a sheet of snow from a distance. Here upwards of two hundred ships are annually freighted with salt; and it was for the purpose of taking on board a cargo of this useful merchandise that the vessel in which Chardin and his companion were embarked now touched at the place. On landing, the village was found to consist of ten or twelve houses, with a small mosque, and a considerable number of felt-covered tents, which served for stables, kitchens, and dormitories for the slaves. Salt was by no means the only article of commerce obtained at this place. Every morning fires were observed lighted along the shore, as signals that the brigands of the country had laid violent hands upon a number of their fellow creatures, and had them conveyed thither, chained together like cattle, for sale. These fires being observed, boats were immediately sent on shore; and when they returned, crowds of women and children, half-naked, or covered with rags and filth, but resplendent with beauty, were hoisted on board, where their wretched apparel was exchanged for clean neat garments, and where, perhaps, for the first time in their lives they tasted bread. The men and boys were chained two and two every night; the women, from whom no danger was apprehended, were permitted the free use of their limbs. These Circassians did not fetch a great price. A Greek merchant, whose cabin was contiguous to that of Chardin, purchased for twelve crowns a woman of

extraordinary beauty, with an infant at the breast. What chiefly surprised our traveller in the circumstances of this affair was, the coolness and serenity with which these honest people submitted to their fate. Had not the women, much against their will, been compelled to occupy themselves with needle-work, and the men with such little matters as they could perform on board, they would have been perfectly happy. Idleness was their *summum bonum*; and this the most beautiful among the women knew they were about to enjoy in the harems of Turkey.

On arriving at Isgaour, in Mingrelia, the place where the general market of the country is held, Chardin naturally expected to find human dwellings, with provisions, and such other necessities as in civilized countries are everywhere attainable for money. In this hope he went on shore with the Greek merchant, who had hitherto been in a manner his guardian angel; but on entering the place, they indeed found two long rows of huts formed of the branches of trees, where merchandise and provisions had once been exposed for sale, but now empty and deserted. In the vicinity of the place neither house nor habitation appeared as far as the eye could reach. Two or three peasants, however, who flitted about like spectres among the deserted huts, engaged to bring on the morrow a quantity of that species of grain called *gom*, which is bruised, boiled, and eaten instead of bread, together with wine and other provisions. There being no alternative, they were compelled to rely on the promises of these men, as they were nearly in want of every necessary of life; but their presents failing them, it became necessary to dissemble with his servants, who already began to murmur aloud and curse the persons by whose advice he had taken the route of the Black Sea, relying for the future upon the bounty of Providence. The reason why the market of Isgaour was thus deserted was, that the Abcas, a neighbouring people of savage character and barbarous manners, having made an irruption into the country, were now ravaging it with fire and sword, while the peasantry and their lords were flying before them in dismay, or plunging for refuge into the deepest recesses of their forests. Ten days after their arrival these savages passed along the shore in search of plunder; and finding none in this celebrated market, set the huts on fire and reduced them to ashes.

In this dilemma, Chardin had much difficulty in determining what course to take. He had immediately on landing applied for aid to the Catholic missionaries of Colchis, the chief of whom promised in reply to be with him by a certain day, but failed in his engagement; and when after a second application

he repaired to the place of rendezvous, it was less with the design of forwarding our traveller's views than of dissuading him from attempting the journey at all. Perceiving, however, that his advice could not be followed, he rendered the travellers every service in his power with alacrity, but without in the least concealing the magnitude of the danger they were about to incur.

It was now the beginning of October, and Chardin, irritated at the numerous obstacles and hindrances which had impeded his progress, was so extremely impatient to be in Persia, that no dangers appeared to him so terrible as delay. He had very soon cause to repent his impetuosity. The evils he had hitherto endured dwindled to nothing when compared with those which now rushed upon him like a torrent, and threatened to swallow up in a moment his wealth, his ambitious projects, and his life. Nevertheless, with that unshrinking courage which his total ignorance of the future and the pressure of present evils bestows upon man, he hastened to put his foot upon the shores of Mingrelia; and embarking with all his merchandise on board the felucca in which the monk had arrived, set sail for Anarghia, where they next day arrived. Here his followers made themselves ample amends for the scarcity they had endured at Isgaour; for poultry, wild pigeons, pork, goats' flesh, wine, and other provisions were abundant and cheap.

After remaining nine days at Anarghia, they departed on the 14th, two hours before day, and having sailed about six miles up the river, disembarked their merchandize and provisions, with which they loaded eight small vehicles, and proceeded on their journey by land. The report that a party of Europeans were passing with incalculable riches through the country was soon spread; and as few rich travellers ever traversed Mingrelia, this rumour immediately inflamed to the highest degree the cupidity of the hungry prince and his feudatories, who forthwith formed the design of appropriating these treasures to themselves. They arrived, however, on the evening of the same day at Sipias, the residence of the missionaries, where they proposed to remain a few days in order to prepare themselves by a little repose for the fatigues which were to come, as well as to deliberate with the monks respecting the means of escaping from the rapacity of the rulers of Mingrelia.

Four days after his arrival, the princess or queen, as she termed herself, of Mingrelia, came to Sipias to visit our traveller, attracted by the rumours of his wealth, as vultures are attracted by the scent of a carcass. Her majesty was followed by a train of eight women and ten men, to all of whom a

decent suit of clothes and a tolerable beast to ride on would have been a welcome present, for they were very badly mounted and meanly clad. In order to ward off, as far as possible, the dangerous reputation of being rich, which is elsewhere so much coveted, our travellers endeavoured to pass for Capuchin friars, and pretended that the baggage with which their vehicles were loaded consisted entirely of books. The princess believed neither of these stories. Being informed that Chardin understood Turkish and Persian, she tormented him, by means of a slave who could speak the former language, with a thousand questions, of which the greater number turned upon the subject of love. After pushing these questions beyond the verge of decency, to the great amusement of her suite, who appeared to be more delighted in proportion as her majesty became more obscene, she suddenly turned to a still more embarrassing topic—demanding to examine the effects of our traveller, and the stores of the monks. They all now trembled for their property. Whatever she should have seen would have been lost. To allay her cupidity, therefore, and at least put off the evil day, the principal monk humbly informed her that the usual present should be sent on the morrow, accompanied by another from the travellers. With this assurance she appeared to be satisfied, and departed.

On the next day our traveller and two of the monks were invited to dine with the princess, and were of course careful not to present themselves before her empty-handed, it being a crime in the East for an inferior to come into the presence of his superior without some gift, in token of dependence and homage. Her highness of Mingrelia, who had painted her face and adorned her person to the best of her ability, in order to appear to advantage in the eyes of the traveller, seemed to be highly gratified with his present, which, though tasteful and elegant, was of small value, the better to maintain a show of poverty. Some ten or twelve ragged but merry-looking wenches, and a crowd of half-naked ragamuffins, constituted the court of this princess, her maids of honour having, as she assured the traveller, taken refuge in a neighbouring fortress on account of the war! The better to enjoy the pleasure of tormenting M. Chardin, she caused him to sit near her, and commenced her attack by observing, that it was her will and pleasure that he should marry one of her friends, and settle in the country, when she promised to bestow on him houses, lands, slaves, and subjects. From all he had heard and seen of the women of Mingrelia, our traveller would have felt less repugnance to marrying a vampire than one of them, beautiful as they were; so that the bare possibility of the thing made

him shudder. He was for the present delivered from the discussion of this painful topic by the appearance of dinner, during which the princess inflamed her naturally ardent temperament by copious libations of wine, which stifled whatever remains of shame might have lingered in her soul, and impelled her to exhibit all the importunity and effrontery of a courtesan.

The menaces of this princess, who gave them clearly to understand that she had determined upon visiting the monastery, for the purpose of examining their treasures, caused them to return dejected and melancholy from the castle, the monks apprehending new extortions and vexations, and Chardin the loss of all he possessed. The remainder of the day was passed in deliberating upon the present posture of affairs, and it was at length resolved, that as soon as it was night, pits should be dug, and the most valuable portion of their merchandize buried in the earth. Accordingly, the sun had no sooner set behind the mountains, than they commenced operations, first digging a pit five feet deep in the apartments of one of the monks, where they buried a large chest filled with watches and clocks set with jewels. When this had been done, and the earth smoothed over, and made to appear as before, they repaired under cover of the darkness to the church, where the principal monk advised our traveller to open the grave of one of the brotherhood, who had been interred there some six years before, and deposite among his ashes a small casket filled with the most costly gems of the East, designed for the princesses and great ladies of Persia. A secret presentiment prevented Chardin from following this advice, who selected in preference an obscure corner of the church, where accordingly a pit was sunk, and the casket carefully interred. Other costly articles, as a sabre and poniard set with jewels, were concealed in the roof of the monastery; and such articles of great value as were small and portable our travellers retained about their persons.

Many days had not elapsed before they were convinced that their fears were not without foundation. It was now Sunday, and Chardin, in offering up his prayers to God, according to custom, would not presume, he says, to petition his Maker for freedom, so persuaded was he that slavery was to be his fate; he merely prayed for a mild master, and to be delivered from a Mingrelian wife. While the classical idea of Medea was haunting his imagination, and disturbing his devotion, a person came running in, exclaiming that two neighbouring chiefs, with a band of followers, armed to the teeth, were knocking at the outer gate, and demanding admittance. There being no

alternative, they were allowed to enter, which they had no sooner done than they seized and bound the travellers, commanded the monks to retire, and threatened to put to death the first person who should make the least stir or resistance. The principal friar was terrified and fled ; but the rest stood firmly by their guests, particularly the lay-brother, whom not even a naked sword pointed at his throat could induce to abandon them. When the bandits proceeded to bind their servants, one of the latter, who had a large knife in his hand, endeavouring to defend himself, was instantaneously struck to the earth with a lance, bound hand and foot, and fastened to a tree. This being done, the ruffians informed the travellers that they wished to examine their effects. Chardin replied that it was within their power ; that they were but poor monks, whose whole wealth consisted in books, papers, and a few wretched garments, the whole of which, if they would abstain from violence, should be shown them. Upon this he was unbound, and commanded to open the door of their apartment, where their books, papers, and wardrobe were kept. Chardin's companion had sewn the most valuable of his jewels in the collar of his coat ; but our traveller himself had made two small packets of his, which were sealed, and put among his books, not daring to carry them about him lest he should be assassinated, stripped, or sold for a slave. In order to gain a moment to withdraw these packets, he requested his companion and the lay-brother to hold the chiefs in conversation, by pretending to negotiate with them, and offering them a small sum of money. The stratagem succeeding for an instant, he darted up stairs, their apartment being on the first floor, entered the chamber, and locked the door. His design was suspected, and the whole band of ruffians rushed up after him ; but the door being somewhat difficult to be broken open, he had time to take out his packets and conceal them in the roof of the house. His companion, however, who was in the room below, called out to him that he ought to be on his guard, for that he was observed through the cracks in the floor. Upon hearing this, and seeing that the door was giving way, he became confused, and scarcely knowing what he did, took down the jewels out of the roof, thrust them into his pocket, and opening the window of the apartment, jumped out into the garden. Without noticing whether he was watched or not, he threw the packets into a thicket, and then hastened back to the room, now filled with robbers, some of whom were maltreating his companion, while others were battering his coffers with their spears or lances, in order to break them open.



He now plucked up his courage, imagining that the greater part of his wealth was out of their reach, and bid them take heed of what they did; that he was the envoy of the King of Persia; and that the Prince of Georgia would take ample vengeance for whatever violence might be offered to his person. He then showed them his passport from the king. One of the chiefs snatched it out of his hand, and was about to tear it in pieces, saying that he neither feared nor regarded any man upon earth; but the other, awed by the royal seal and letters of gold, restrained him. They now said, that if he would open his coffers and allow them to examine his effects, no violence should be offered him; but that if he refused any longer, they would strike off his head from his shoulders. He was still proceeding to contest the point, when one of the soldiers, impatient to proceed to business, drew his sword, and aimed a blow at his head, which would have cleft it in twain, had not the villain's arm been instantaneously arrested by the lay-brother. Perceiving the kind of arguments they were disposed to employ, he unlocked his chests, which in the twinkling of an eye were rummaged to the bottom, while every thing which appeared to possess any value was taken away. Turning his eyes from this painful scene towards the garden, he perceived two soldiers searching among the bushes in the very spot where he had thrown his jewels; and rushing towards them, followed by one of the monks, they retired. He then, without reflecting upon the extreme imprudence of his conduct, began himself to search about for the packets, but not being able to discover them, he supposed the soldiers had found and carried them off. As their value was little less than ten thousand pounds, the loss fell upon him like a thunderbolt. Nevertheless, there was no time for sorrowing. His companion and the lay-brother were loudly calling him from the house. He therefore tore himself away from the spot. In returning towards the house, two soldiers fell upon him, dragged him up into a corner, and after clearing his pockets of all they contained, were about to bind him and hurry him off; but after much resistance and expostulation, they released him, and shortly afterward the whole troop retired from the monastery.

The robber chiefs and their followers had no sooner departed, than Chardin again repaired to the garden, and was sorrowfully prying about the thickets where he had concealed his jewels, when a man cast his arms about his neck, and threw him into more violent terror than ever. He had no doubt it was a Mingrelian, who was about to cut his throat. The next moment, however, he recognized the voice of his faithful Armenian valet, who, in accents broken by sobs, and with eyes

overflowing with tears, exclaimed, "Ah, sir, we are ruined!" Chardin, strongly moved by this proof of his affection, bade him restrain his tears. "But, sir," said he, "have you searched the place carefully?" "So carefully," replied the traveller, "that I am convinced all further search would be so much labour lost." This did not satisfy the Armenian. He wished to be informed exactly respecting the spot where the traveller had thrown the jewels; the manner in which he had cast them into the thicket; and the way in which he had sought for them. To oblige him, Chardin did what he desired, but was so thoroughly persuaded that all further search was useless, that he refused to remain upon the spot, and went away, overwhelmed with grief and vexation. How long he remained in this state of stupefaction he could not tell; he was roused from it, however, by the presence of the Armenian, who, approaching him in the dark, for it was now night, once more threw himself about his neck, and thrust the two packets of jewels into his bosom.

By the advice of the monks, Chardin next morning proceeded to the prince's castle, to relate his griefs, and demand justice; but all he gained by this expedition was, the thorough conviction that his highness was as arrant a thief as his subjects, and had shared the fruits of the robbery which was apparently undertaken by his orders. This discovery, however, was important; it opened his eyes to the true character of the country; and taught him that in Mingrelia, at least, the man who put his trust in princes was a fool. In the course of two days, to give the finishing stroke to their misfortune, they learned that the Turks, irritated at the insolence and rapacity of its chief, had made an irruption into the country, were laying it waste with fire and sword on all sides, and had already approached to within a short distance of Sipias. At midnight, two cannon-shots from the neighbouring fortress of Ruchs announced the approach of the enemy, and the peasants, with their wives, children, and flocks, immediately took to flight, and before dawn the whole population was in motion. Our traveller, whose companion, excited and irritated by the preceding untoward events, was now ill, fled among the rest, leaving behind him his books, papers, and mathematical instruments, which he hoped the ignorance of both Turks and Mingrelians would protect. His buried wealth he also left where it was, and, considering the complexion of events, regarded as much safer than what he carried with him.

The sight of this whole people, suddenly thrown into rapid flight, was sufficiently melancholy. The women bore along their children in their arms, the men carried the baggage.

Some drove along their cattle before them, while others yoked themselves like oxen to the carts in which their furniture was loaded, and being unable long to continue their extraordinary exertions, sunk down exhausted and dying on the road. Here and there, along the wayside, groups of old people, or very young children, implored the aid of those whose strength had not yet failed, with the most heart-rending cries and groans. At another moment the spectacle would have caused the most painful emotions, but it was now beheld with the utmost indifference. The idea of danger having swallowed up every other, they hurried by these miserable deserted creatures without pity or commiseration.

The castle in which they now took refuge belonged to a chief who had been a double renegade, having deserted Christianity for Mohammedanism, and Mohammedanism for Christianity; notwithstanding which, he was supposed to be a less atrocious brigand than his neighbours. He received the fugitives politely, and assigned them for their lodgings an apartment where they were somewhat less exposed to the weather than in the woods, though the rain found its way in on all sides. The castle, however, was already crowded with people, eight hundred persons, of whom the majority were women and children, having taken refuge in it, and others still more destitute and miserable arriving every moment.

Next day one of the missionaries returned to the monastery, for the purpose of bringing away, if possible, such plate and provisions as had been left behind: but he found that place in possession of the Turks, who beat him severely, and carried away whatever was portable in the house. The night following, a Mingrelian chief, more barbarous and destructive than the Turks, sacked the monastery a third time, and having no torches or flambeaux to light him in his depredations, made a bonfire of our traveller's books and papers, and reduced the whole to ashes. The chief in whose castle they had taken refuge, being summoned to surrender by the Turkish pasha, and perceiving the absurdity of pretending to measure his strength with that of the enemy, consented to take the oath of allegiance to the Porte, and, what was equally important, to make a handsome present to its agent. This present was to consist of three hundred crowns in money, and twenty young slaves, which the wretch determined to levy from the unfortunate creatures who had thrown themselves upon his protection, confiding in the sacred laws of hospitality. Among Mingrelians, however, there is nothing sacred. Every family possessing four children was compelled to give up one of the number to be transported into Turkey as a slave; but it was

found necessary to tear away the children from the arms of their mothers, who grasped them convulsively, pressed them to their bosoms, and yielded only to irresistible violence. Instead of twenty children, the chief forced away twenty-five, selling the additional number for his own profit; and instead of three hundred crowns, he extorted five hundred. Providence, however, compelled him and his family to devour their share of grief. The pasha peremptorily demanded one of his sons as a hostage, and as he and his wives beheld the youngest of their boys depart into endless captivity for the hostage, delivered up to the Porte never to return, they had an opportunity of tasting a sample of the bitterness they had administered to others. Chardin, who had neither wife nor children to lose, was taxed at twenty crowns.

Perceiving that the state of the country verged more and more every day upon utter anarchy and confusion, our traveller came to the resolution of departing at all hazards for Georgia, to demand its prince's aid in withdrawing his property from Mingrelia. His companion remained to watch over it in his absence. Not being able to procure either guards or guides from among the natives, for with all their misery there is no people who fear death or danger more than the Mingrelians, he was constrained to set out with a single domestic, who, as fate would have it, was the most consummate scoundrel in his service. On the way to Anarghia, where he was once more to embark on the Black Sea, he learned that the church in which he had deposited his wealth had been sacked and stripped to the bare walls, that the very graves had been opened, and every vestige of property removed. Here was a new source of anguish. It was now a question whether he was a rich or a poor man. He paused in his journey—sent off an express to his companion—the ruins of the church were visited—and their money found to be untouched. This circumstance, he informs us, marvellously exalted his courage, and he proceeded with fresh vigour on his new enterprise.

Embarking in a felucca at Anarghia, in company with several Turks and their slaves, he sailed along the south-eastern coast of the Black Sea, passed by the mouth of the Phasis, the site of Sebaste, and many other spots redolent of classical fame, and in three days arrived at Gonia in the country of the Lazii. Here the character of his valet began to develop itself. Repairing as soon as they had landed to the custom-house, leaving his master to manage for himself, the vagabond imparted to the authorities his conjectures respecting the real condition of the traveller, and thus at once awakened their vigilance and cupidity. His effects were in consequence

rigorously examined, and the dues exacted from him, which were heavy, perhaps extortionate, no doubt enabled the custom-house officers to reward the treachery of his servant. When these matters had been settled, the principal officer, who, after all, was a man of humane disposition and tolerably just principles, made Chardin an offer of an apartment in his house, where he invited, nay, even entreated him to pass the night; but having already suffered from what he regarded as his rapacity, the traveller dreaded some new act of extortion, and obstinately refused his hospitality. He very soon repented this false step. It being nearly night, he proceeded, on quitting the custom-house, to the inn, or rather hovel, whither his valet had directed his effects to be conveyed after examination. Here he was sitting down, fatigued and dejected, disgusted with dirt and stench, and listening to the condolences of his Turkish travelling companions, when a janizary from the lieutenant of the commandant, the chief being absent, entered in search of his valet, with whom that important personage was desirous of holding a conference. In another hour the presence of the traveller himself was required; and when, in obedience to authority, he repaired to the fort, he found both the lieutenant and his own graceless servant drunk, and began to perceive that a plan for pillaging him had been concerted. The lieutenant now informed him, with as much gravity as the prodigious quantity of wine he had taken would permit, that all ecclesiastics who passed through Gonia were accustomed to pay two hundred ducats to his superior; and that he, therefore, as a member of that profession, for Chardin had thought proper to pass for a Capuchin, must deposite that sum in his hands for the commandant. It was in vain that the traveller now denied all claim to the clerical character, and acknowledged himself to be a merchant; merchant or priest, it was all the same to the lieutenant; what he wanted was the two hundred ducats, which, after much altercation, were reduced to one hundred; but this M. Chardin was compelled to pay, or submit to the punishment of the *carcan*, a species of portable stocks, through which the offender's head is put instead of his feet. The worst feature, however, of the whole affair was, that the drunken officer took it into his head to cause the present thus extorted to appear to be a voluntary gift; and again having recourse to menaces, which he was prepared to execute upon the spot, he forced the traveller to make oath on the Gospel that he bestowed the money freely, and would disclose the real nature of the transaction to no one. This being done, he was allowed to retire.

Next morning the custom-house officer, who, in inviting him to pass the night in his house, had intended to protect him from this species of robbery, furnished him with a guide, and two men to carry his luggage; and with this escort, in addition to his hopeful valet, he departed for Akalzike'. The road at first lay through a plain, but at length began to ascend, and pierce the defiles of the Caucasus; and as he climbed higher and higher among the precipitous and dizzy heights of this sublime mountain, among whose many peaks the ark is supposed to have first taken ground after the deluge, and from whence the stream of population flowed forth and overspread the world with a flood of life, he felt the cares, solitudes, and sorrows which for many months had fed, as it were, upon his heart, take wing, and a healing and invigorating influence spread an exquisite calm over his sensations. This singular tranquillity, which he experienced on first reaching these lofty regions, still continued as he advanced, notwithstanding the rain, the hail, and the snow which were poured on him by the tempest as he passed; and in such a frame of mind he attained the opposite side of the mountain, upon whose folding slopes he beheld numerous villages, castles, and churches, picturesquely scattered about, and at length descended into a broad and beautiful valley, cultivated with the greatest care, and fertilized by the waters of the Kur.

Arriving without accident or adventure at Akalzike', and remaining there four days to repose himself, he departed for Georgia. The route now presented nothing extraordinary. A castle or a ruin, picturesquely perched upon the crest of a rocky eminence, a church, or a village, or a forest—such were the objects which met the eye. He at length reached the Capuchin convent in the vicinity of Gory, whence, after mature consultation with the monks, who, for strangers, entered with extraordinary earnestness into his views, he set out, accompanied by a lay-brother of the order, for Tiflis, partly with the design of demanding aid from the Prince of Georgia, and partly to obtain the advice of the principal missionary respecting the steps he ought to take in order to deliver his partner and property from the avaricious hands of the Mingrelians. The opinion of the monks was, that since the Prince of Georgia entertained rather loose notions respecting his allegiance to the King of Persia, whose servant Chardin was to be considered, and, like all petty potentates, was possessed by extreme cupidity and laxity of principle, there would in all probability be as much danger in being aided by him, as in depending on the uncertain will of fortune and his own pru-

dence and ingenuity ; that he ought to return secretly to Mingrelia ; and that, for the greater chance of success, he should take with him one of the brotherhood, who was deeply versed in the small politics of those countries ; and a native dependent on the monastery, who had been a thousand times in Mingrelia.

With these able coadjutors he returned once more into the country of Media, whence, after incredible difficulties and very considerable danger, he succeeded in rescuing his property. On his return to Tiflis he calculated, with the aid of his companion, the losses they had sustained during the journey from Constantinople to Georgia, and found that, by great good fortune, it did not exceed *one per cent.* upon the merchandize they had succeeded in conveying safe and entire to that city. He now tasted of that delight which springs up in the mind after dangers escaped and difficulties overcome ; and commenced the pleasing task of studying the manners of a people among whom, however impure and depraved might be their morals, a stranger had little to fear. The beauty of the women, he found, was so irresistible in Georgia, and their manners so graceful and bewitching, that it was impossible to behold them without love ; but the depravity of their morals, and the blackness and perfidy of their souls, exceeded, if possible, the perfection of their forms, and rendered them as odious to the mind as they were pleasing to the eye.

After remaining a short time at Tiflis, and going through the usual routine of giving and receiving presents, &c., he departed for Armenia. Being now accompanied by a mehmandar, or guest-guard, he proceeded without obstacle or extortion ; this officer taking upon himself the care of adjusting matters with the custom-houses, and of providing horses, carriages, and provisions on the way. Though in so low a latitude, the whole face of the country was still covered with snow in March, and it was with much difficulty that they proceeded over the narrow pathways made by the few travellers who were compelled to traverse the country at such a season. To guard against the reflection of the sun's rays from the snow, which weakened the sight, and caused a burning heat in the face, our traveller wore a handkerchief of green or black silk tied across the eyes, after the manner of the inhabitants, though this merely diminished, but could not altogether prevent the evil. Whenever they met any travellers moving in a contrary direction, they had to dispute who should yield up the narrow path, upon which two horses could not pass each other, and go out into the soft snow, in which the animals instantly sunk up to their bellies ; but in the end every one

yielded the preference to the mehmandar. Creeping along in this manner through the cold, they arrived at Eryvan on the 7th of March.

Being now in a country where civilization had made some progress, Chardin took lodgings in a caravansary, and was provided abundantly with the necessities of life by the bounty of the governor, who, no doubt, expected that his civilities would be remembered when he should come in the sequel to bargain for a portion of the traveller's jewels. In the East it is an established rule that the natives shall always take advantage of a stranger, sometimes by force, at other times by cunning, but invariably in some way or another. In Mingrelia our traveller had to guard against force and violence; here against wheedling, deceit, flattery, double-dealing, hypocrisy, and meanness. In the former case, however, being weak, it was necessary to evade or succumb; but in the present, since ingenuity was the weapon on both sides, there were more chances of success, though it often appeared that plain honest good sense is not always a match for practised cunning. In the intervals of business the time was passed in parties, dinners, and visits, which at least furnished opportunities of studying the manners of the people.

Perceiving that the time of his departure was drawing nigh, the governor came to the point at which he had been steadily aiming all the while, under cover of his hospitality and caresses, which were put forward as so many stalking-horses, to enable him to bring down his game with greater certainty. Sending for Chardin to the palace, he proceeded warily and stealthily to business, occasionally shaking the dust of compliments and flattery in the traveller's eyes as he went along. He first lamented the actual state of Persia, in which, reduced by bad government and the malignant inclemency of the seasons to a state bordering upon famine and anarchy, there was of course little or no demand for expensive articles of luxury; besides, even if public affairs had been flourishing, and the royal resources abundant, the present king had no taste for jewelry; and that, therefore there was no hope of disposing of costly precious stones at the court of Ispahan. From this preliminary discourse, which was meant to diminish in the traveller's eyes the value of his merchandise, though in reality the picture was correct, the governor passed at once to the genuine object of his oration, and made an offer to purchase a part of the jewels. His conduct on this occasion was a masterpiece of mercantile skill, and he succeeded, by holding out the hope of more important purchases in the sequel, in getting every thing that he really intended to buy, at a very cheap rate.



When his object was gained, he closed the negotiation in the coolest manner in the world, by returning the large quantity of jewels which he had caused to be sent to his palace, as if he had intended to bargain for them all; and the traveller now perceived that the wily Persian had made a dupe of him. As all manifestations of discontent, however, would have been altogether useless, he affected to be extremely well pleased at his bad luck, and retired to his caravansary, cursing all the way the talents and aptitude of the governor of Eryvan for business and cheating.

On the 8th of April he departed from the capital of Armenia, and travelling for several days through level and fertile plains, interspersed with churches and villages, arrived at Nacchivan, a city formerly celebrated, and of great antiquity, but now in ruins. From hence he proceeded, etymologizing and making researches as he moved along, towards Tabriz, where he arrived on the 17th. At this city, then the second in Persia in rank, riches, and population, he took up his quarters at the Capuchin convent, where he was visited by several of the nobles of the place, on account of his jewelry, the fame of which flew before him on the road, and like a pioneer smoothed and laid level his passage into Persia. In proceeding southward from Tabriz he had to traverse the plains of Aderbijan, the ancient Media, which being covered at this season of the year by tribes of Koords, Saraneshins, and Turcomans, all striking their tents, and putting themselves in motion for their summer emigration to the mountains, could not be crossed by a stranger without considerable danger. He was therefore counselled to defer his departure for a few days, when he would have the advantage of travelling in the company of a Persian nobleman, whose presence would be a sufficient protection. He adopted this advice, and in less than a week set out under the safeguard of his noble escort, and crossed those rich and beautiful plains, which afford the best pasturage in the world, and where, accordingly, the ancient kings of Media kept their prodigious studs, which sometimes consisted of fifty thousand horses. The ancients relate, that the horses of Nysa, which must be sought for in these plains, were all cream-coloured; but the nobleman who accompanied Chardin had never read or heard of any part of Persia where horses of that colour were produced.

In his journey through Media he saw on the side of the road circles of huge stones, like those of Stonehenge, and the Dolmens of Normandy and Brittany, which, according to the traditions of the Persians, were placed there by the Kaous, or giants, who formerly held possession of those regions. The

same superstitions, the same fables, the same wild belief in the enormous strength and stature of past generations, prevailed, we see, throughout the world, because the desires, faculties, and passions of the mind are everywhere the same.

It was now June, and instead of disputing with those they met, the possession of a narrow snow-track, they were compelled to travel by night to avoid the scorching heat of the sun. They usually set out about two hours before sunset, and when day had entirely disappeared, the stars, which in the clear blue atmosphere of Persia yielded a strong brilliant light, agreeably supplied its place, and enabled them to proceed from caravan-sary to caravan-sary with facility. At every step historical associations crowded upon the traveller's mind. The dust which was thrown up into a cloud by the hoof of his camel, and the stones over which he stumbled in the darkness, were the dust and the wrecks of heroes and mighty cities, crumbled by time, and whirled about by the breath of oblivion. Cyrus and Alexander, khalifs, khans, and sultans, had fought, conquered, or perished on those plains. Vast cities had risen, flourished, and vanished like a dream. A few days before his arrival at Kom, he passed at a little distance the ruins of Rhe, a city scarcely less vast in its dimensions, or less magnificent or populous than Babylon, but now deserted, and become so unhealthy in consequence, that, according to a Persian poet, the very angel of death retired from it on account of the badness of the air.

On his arrival at Koms, after escaping from the storms of the Black Sea and the Mingrelians, Chardin was nearly killed by the kick of a horse. He escaped, however, and set out two days afterward for Kashan, traversing fine fertile plains, covered with villages. In this city, celebrated for its burning climate and scorpions, he merely remained one day to allow his horses a little repose, and then departed and pushed on to Ispahan, where he arrived on the 23d of June.

Chardin was faithful to the Capuchin friars; for whenever he passed through or visited a city in which they possessed a convent, it was the first place to which he repaired, and the last he quitted. On the present occasion he took up his residence, as usual, with these monks, at whose convent he found on his arrival a bag of letters addressed to him from various parts of the world: before he could read the half of which, many of his Persian and Armenian friends, whom he had known during his former residence, and all the Europeans of the city, came to welcome him on his return to Ispahan. From these he learned that the court, which had undergone innumerable changes during his absence, the greater number of those great

men who had distinguished themselves, or held any offices of trust under the late king, being either dead or in disgrace, was now in the utmost confusion, the persons who exercised most influence in it being a set of young noblemen, without virtue, talents, or experience. And what was still worse for Chardin, though not for Persia, it was secretly whispered about that Sheikh Ali Khan, formerly prime minister, but now in disgrace, was about to be restored to favour; in which case our traveller anticipated great losses, as this virtuous and inflexible man, whose great talents had always been employed in the service of his country, was an enemy to all lavish expenditure, and regarded jewels and other costly toys as mere dross, unworthy the attention of a sovereign prince.

Chardin perceived, therefore, that he had not a moment to lose, it being of the highest importance that his business with the king should be transacted before Sheikh Ali Khan should again be prime vizier; but by whom he was to be introduced at court was the question. The persons to whom he applied in the first instance, at the same time that they willingly consented to use their best efforts in his favour, and counselled him not to despair, yet gave so sombre a picture of the state of the court, and threw out so many insinuations, indicating their belief that the future would be still more unpropitious than the present, that they succeeded in casting a damp over his energies, and in dissipating, or at least blighting his hopes. Nevertheless, something was to be done, and that quickly; and he determined, that what ever might be the result, he would at all events not fail through inattention or indolence.

While Chardin was labouring to put those springs in motion, the harmonious action of which was to produce the fulfilment of his hopes, Sheikh Ali Khan suddenly entered into office. This event was brought about in a strange manner. The king, during one of those violent fits of intoxication to which he was liable, and during which he acted more like a wild beast than a man, had commanded the right hand of a musician who was playing before him to be struck off, and immediately fell asleep. The person to whom the barbarous order was given, imagining that all recollection of the matter would pass away with the fumes of sleep, ventured to disobey; but the king awaking, and finding the musician, whom he expected to find mutilated and bleeding, still touching the instrument, became so enraged, that he gave orders for inflicting the same punishment upon the disobedient favourite and the musician; and finding that those around him still hesitated to execute his brutal commands, his madness rose to so ungovernable a pitch that he would probably have had the arms and legs of

all the court cut off, had not Sheikh Ali Khan, who fortunately happened to be present, thrown himself at his feet, and implored him to pardon the offenders. The tyrant, now beginning to cool a little, replied, "You are a bold man, to expect that I shall grant your request, while you constantly refuse to resume, at my most earnest entreaties, the office of prime minister!" "Sire," replied Ali, "I am your slave, and will do whatever your majesty shall command." The king was pacified, the culprits pardoned, and next morning Sheikh Ali Khan reassumed the government of Persia.

The event dreaded by our traveller had now arrived, and therefore the aspect of affairs was changed. Nevertheless, not many days after this event, he received an intimation from one of his court friends, that is, persons purchased over by presents, that the nazir, or chief intendant of the king's household, having been informed of his arrival, was desirous of seeing him, and had warmly expressed his inclination to serve him with the shah. Chardin, who understood from what motives courtiers usually perform services, laid but small stress upon his promises, but still hastened to present himself at his levee, with a list of all the articles of jewelry he had brought with him from Europe, which the nazir immediately ordered to be sent to him for the inspection of the king. A few days afterward he was introduced to the terrible grand vizier, Sheikh Ali Khan himself, who, from the mild and polished manner in which he received our traveller, appeared extremely different from the portraits which the courtiers and common fame had drawn of him.

His whole fortune being now at stake, and depending in a great measure upon the disposition of the nazir and the conduct of the shah, Chardin was unavoidably agitated by very painful and powerful feelings, when he was suddenly summoned to repair to the intendant's palace, where the principal jewellers of the city, Mohammedan, Armenian, and Hindoo, had been assembled to pronounce upon the real value of the various articles he had offered to the king. He had not long entered before the nazir ordered the whole of his jewels to be brought forth, those which his majesty intended to purchase being set apart in a large golden bowl of Chinese workmanship. Chardin, observing that notwithstanding the whole had been purchased or made by order of the late king, not a fourth part had been selected by his present majesty, felt as if he had been stricken by a thunderbolt, and became pale and rooted, as it were to the spot. The nazir, though a selfish and rapacious man, was touched by his appearance, and leaning his head towards him, observed, in a low voice, "You are vexed

that the king should have selected so small a portion of your jewels. I protest to you that I have taken more pains than I ought to induce him to purchase the whole, or at least the half of them ; but I have not been able to succeed, because the larger articles, such as the sabre, the poniard, and the mirror, are not made in the fashion which prevails in this country. But keep up your spirits ; you will still dispose of them, if it please God." The traveller, who felt doubly vexed that his chagrin had been perceived, made an effort to recover his composure, but could not so completely succeed but that the shadow, as it were, of his emotion still remained upon his countenance.

However, pleased or displeased, it was necessary to proceed to business. The shah's principal jeweller now placed before him the golden bowl containing the articles selected by his majesty, and beginning with the smaller pieces, asked the price of them in a whisper ; and then caused them to be estimated by the other jewellers present, beginning with the Mohammedans, and then passing on to the Armenians and Hindoos. The merchants of Persia, when conducting any bargain before company, never make use of any words in stating the price to each other ; they make themselves understood with their fingers, their hands meeting under a corner of their robe, or a thick handkerchief, so that their movements may be concealed. To close the hand of the person with whom business is thus transacted means *a thousand* ; to take one finger of the open hand, *a hundred* ; to bend the finger in the middle, *fifty* ; and so on. This mode of bargaining is in use throughout the East, and more particularly in India, where no other is employed.

The value of the jewels being thus estimated, the appraisers were dismissed, and the nazir, coming to treat *tete-a-tete* with Chardin, succeeded so completely in throwing a mist over his imagination, by pretending to take a deep interest in his welfare, that he drew him into a snare, and in the course of the negotiation, which lasted long, and was conducted with infinite cunning on the part of the Persian, caused him to lose a large portion of the fruits of his courage and enterprise. Other negotiations with various individuals followed, and in the end Chardin succeeded in disposing of the whole of his jewels.

These transactions closed with the year 1673. In the beginning of the following year, which was passed in a devotional manner among the Protestants of Ispahan, the traveller began to feel his locomotive propensities revive ; and an ambassador from Balkh, then in the capital, happening to pay him a visit,

so wrought upon his imagination by his description of his wild country, and gave him so many pressing invitations to accompany him on his return, that, had it not been for the counter-persuasion of friends, Chardin would undoubtedly have extended his travels to Tartary. This idea being relinquished, however, he departed for the shores of the Persian Gulf, a journey of some kind or other being necessary to keep up the activity of both body and mind.

He accordingly departed from Ispahan in the beginning of February, all the Europeans in the city accompanying him as far as Bagh Koolloo, where they ate a farewell dinner together. He then proceeded on his journey, and in eleven days arrived at the ruins of Persepolis, which he had twice before visited, in order once more to compare his ideas with the realities, and complete his description of this celebrated spot. These magnificent ruins are situated in one of the finest plains in the world; and as you enter this plain from the north through narrow *gayas* or between conical hills of vast height and singular shape, you behold them standing in front of a lofty ridge of mountains, which sweep round in the form of a half-moon, flanking them on both sides with its mighty horns. On two of these lofty eminences which protected the approaches to the city, and which, when Persepolis was in all its glory, so long resisted the fierce, impatient attacks of Alexander, the ruins of ancient forts still subsisted when Chardin was there; but, after having travelled so far, principally for the purpose of examining the ruins scattered around, he found the hills too steep and lofty, and refused to ascend them!

Having occupied several days in contemplating the enormous ruins of temples and palaces existing on the plain, our traveller descended into what is called the Subterranean Temple; that is, a labyrinth of canals or passages, hewn out in the solid rock, turning, winding, and crossing each other in a thousand places, and extending to an unknown distance beneath the bases of the mountains. The entrances and the exits of these dismal vaults are unknown; but travellers and other curious persons find their way in through rents made by time or by earthquakes in the rock. Lighted candles, which burned with difficulty in the heavy, humid air, were placed at the distance of every fifty yards, as Chardin and his companions advanced, particularly at those points where numerous passages met, and where, should a wrong path be taken, they might have lost themselves for ever. Here and there they observed heaps of bones or horns of animals; the damp trickled down the sides of the rocks; the bottom of the passages was moist and cold; respiration grew more and more difficult

every step; they became giddy; an unaccountable horror seized upon their minds; the attendant first, and then the traveller himself, experienced a kind of panic terror; and fearing that, should they much longer continue to advance, they might never be able to return, they hastened back towards the fissures through which they had entered; and without having discovered any thing but vaults which appeared to have no end, they emerged into daylight, like Æneas and his companion from the mouth of hell.

Departing from the ruins of Persepolis on the 19th of February, he next day arrived at Shiraz, where he amused himself for three days in contemplating the waters of the Roknebad and the bowers of Mosellay. In proceeding from this city to Bander-Abassi, on the Persian Gulf, he had to pass over Mount Jarron by the most difficult and dangerous road in all Persia. At every step the travellers found themselves suspended, as it were, over tremendous precipices, divided from the abyss by a low wall of loose stones, which every moment seemed ready to roll of their own accord into the depths below. The narrow road was blocked up at short intervals by large fragments of rock, between which it was necessary to squeeze themselves with much pains and caution. However, they passed the mountain without accident, and on the 12th of March arrived at Bander-Abassi.

This celebrated port, from which insufferable heat and a pestilential atmosphere banish the whole population during summer, is at all times excessively insalubrious, all strangers who settle there dying in the course of a few years, and the inhabitants themselves being already old at thirty. The few persons who remain to keep guard over the city during summer, at the risk of their lives, are relieved every ten days; during which they suffer sufficiently from the heat, the deluges of rain, and the black and furious tempests which plough up the waters of the gulf, and blow with irresistible fury along the coast.

Though the eve of the season of death was drawing near, Chardin found the inhabitants of Bander in a gay humour, feasting, drinking, and elevating their sentiments and rejoicing their hearts with the heroic songs of Firdoosi. Into these amusements our traveller entered with all his heart—the time flew by rapidly—the advent of fever and death was come—and the ship which he expected from Surat had not yet arrived. Talents and experience are not always accompanied by prudence. Chardin saw the whole population deserting the city; yet he lingered, detained by the *auri sacra*

*fumes*,\* until far in the month of May, and until, in fact, the seeds of a malignant fever had been sown in his constitution. Those uneasy sensations which are generally the forerunners of sickness and death, united with the representations of the physicians, at length induced him to quit the place, his attendants being already ill; but he had not proceeded many leagues before a giddiness in the head and general debility of body informed him that he had remained somewhat too long at Bander.

Arriving on the 24th of May at Tangnedelan, a place where there was not a single human being to be found, he became delirious, and at last fell into a fit from which his attendants had much difficulty in recovering him. There happened, by great good fortune, to be a French surgeon in his suite. This surgeon, who was an able man in his profession, not only took all possible care of our traveller during his moments of delirium, but, what was of infinitely greater importance, had the good sense to hurry his departure from those deserted and fatal regions, procuring from the neighbouring villages eight men, who carried him in a litter made with canes and branches of trees to Lar. As soon as they had reached this city, Chardin sent for the governor's physician, who, understanding that he was the shah's merchant, came to him immediately. Our traveller was by this time so weak that he could scarcely describe his feelings; and, as well as the French surgeon, began to believe that his life was near its close. The Persian Esculapius, however, who discovered the nature of the disorder at a glance, assured him it was a mere trifle; that he needed by no means be uneasy; and that, in fact, he would, with God's blessing, restore him to health that very day, nay, in a very few hours.

This dashing mode of dealing with disorders produced an excellent effect upon the traveller's mind. The hakim seemed to hold Death by the beard, to keep him in his toils, to curb him, or let him have his way at pleasure. Chardin's whole frame trembled with joy. He took the physician by the hand, squeezed it as well as his strength would permit, and looked up in his face as he would have looked upon his guardian-angel. The hakim, to whom these things were no novelties, proceeded, without question or remark, to prescribe for his patient; and having done this, he was about to retire, when the traveller cried out, "Sir, I am consumed with heat!" "I know that very well," replied the hakim; "but you shall be

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\* Love of gain.



cooled presently!" and with the word both he and his apothecary disappeared.

About nine o'clock the young apothecary returned, bringing with him a basketful of drugs, enough, to all appearance, to kill or cure a regiment of patients. "For whom," inquired Chardin, "are all those medicines?" "For you," replied the young man; "these are what the hakim has ordered you to take this morning, and you must swallow them as quickly as possible." Fevers make men docile. The traveller immediately began to do as he was commanded; but when he came to one of the large bottles, his "gorge," as Shakspeare phrases it, began to rise at it, and he observed that it would be impossible to swallow that at a draught. "Never mind," said the young man, "you can take it at several draughts." Obedience followed, and the basketful of physic disappeared. "You will presently," observed the apothecary, "experience the most furious thirst; and I would willingly give you ices to take, but there is neither ice nor snow in the city except at the governor's. As his thirst would not allow him to be punctilious, Chardin at once applied to the governor; and succeeding in his enterprise, quenched his burning thirst with the most delicious drinks in the world.

To render him as cool as possible his bed was spread upon the floor in an open parlour, and so frequently sprinkled with water that the room might almost be said to be flooded; but the fever still continuing, the bed was exchanged for a mat, upon which he was extended in his shirt, and fanned by two men. The disorder being still unsubdued, the patient was placed upon a chair, where cold water was poured over him in profusion, while the French surgeon, who was constantly by his side, and could not restrain his indignation at seeing the ordinary rules of his practice thus set at naught, exclaimed, "They are killing you, sir! Depend upon it, that it is by killing you the hakim means to remove your fever!" The traveller, however, maintained his confidence in the Persian, and had very soon the satisfaction of being informed that the fever had already abated, and of perceiving that, instead of killing, the hakim had actually cured him. In one word, the disorder departed more rapidly than it had come on, and in a few days he was enabled to continue his journey.

Remaining quietly at Ispahan during the space of a whole year after this unfortunate excursion, he then departed from the capital for the court, which still lingered at Casbin, in company with Mohammed Hussein Beg, son of the governor of the island of Bahreint. This young man was conducting from his father to the king a present, consisting of two wild

bulls, with long, black, sharp horns, an ostrich, and a number of rich Indian stuffs; and being by no means a strict Mussulman, drinking wine and eating heartily of a good dinner, whether cooked by Mohammedan or Christian, was a very excellent travelling companion. On his arrival at Casbin, Chardin, who was now extremely well known to all the grandees of the kingdom, was agreeably and hospitably received by the courtiers, particularly by the wife of the grand pontiff, who was the king's aunt. This lady, in order to manifest the friendship she entertained for him, though in consequence of the peculiar manners of the country their souls only had met, made him a present of eight chests of dried sweetmeats, scented with amber and the richest perfumes of the East. Her husband was no less distinguished by his friendship for our traveller, who no where in Persia experienced more genuine kindness or generosity than from this noble family.

During this visit to Casbin, Chardin had the honour, as it is vulgarly termed, of presenting two of his countrymen to the shah; and so powerful is the force of habit and prejudice, that this able, learned, and virtuous man really imagined it an honour to approach and converse familiarly with an opium-eating, cruel, and unprincipled sot, merely because he wore a tiara and could sport with the destinies of a great empire! The nazir, in introducing the traveller, observed, "Sire, this is Chardin, your merchant." To which the shah replied, with a smile, "He is a very dear merchant." "Your majesty is right," added the nazir; "he is a politic man; he has overreached the whole court." This the minister uttered with a smile; and he had a right to smile, says Chardin, for he took especial care that quite the contrary should happen.

Chardin soon after this took his final leave of the court of Persia, and returned by way of Ispahan to Bander-Abassi, whence he purposed sailing by an English ship for Surat. The fear of falling into the hands of the Dutch, then at war with France, prevented him, however, from putting his design into execution; and relinquishing the idea of again visiting Hindostan, he returned to Europe in 1677. Of the latter part of his life few particulars are known. Prevented by religious considerations from residing in his own country, where freedom of conscience was not to be enjoyed, he selected England for his home, where, in all probability, he became acquainted with many of the illustrious men who shed a glory over that epoch of her history. It was in London, also, that he first met with the lady whom he immediately afterward made his wife. Like himself, she was a native of France and a Protestant, forced into banishment by the apprehension of religious perse-

cution. On the very day of his marriage Chardin received the honour of knighthood from the hand of the gay and profligate Charles II.

Having now recovered from the fever of travelling, the beautiful Rouennaise in all probability aiding the cure, Chardin devoted his leisure to the composition of his "Travels' History," of which the first volume appeared in London in 1686. While he was employed in preparing the remainder of his works for the press, he was appointed the king's minister plenipotentiary or ambassador to the States of Holland, being at the same time intrusted with the management of the East India Company's affairs in that country. His public duties, however, which could not entirely occupy his mind, by no means prevented, though they considerably delayed, the publication of the remainder of his travels; the whole of which appeared, both in quarto and duodecimo, in 1711. Shortly after this he returned to England, where he died in the neighbourhood of London, 1713, in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

The reputation of Chardin, which even before his death extended throughout Europe and shed a lustre over his old age, is still on the increase, and must be as durable as literature and civilization; his merit not consisting in splendour of description or in erudite research, though in these he is by no means deficient, but in that singular sagacity which enabled him to penetrate into the heart and characters of men, and to descend with almost unerring precision to the roots of institutions and manners. No European seems to have comprehended the Persians so completely; and no one has hitherto described them so well. Religion, government, morals, manners, costume—every thing in which one nation can differ from another—Chardin had studied in that bold and original manner which characterizes the efforts of genius. His style, though careless, and sometimes quaint, is not destitute of that *naïvete* and ease which result from much experience and the consciousness of intellectual power; and if occasionally it appear heavy and cumbrous in its march, it more frequently quickens its movements, and hurries along with natural gracefulness and facility. Without appearing desirous of introducing himself to the reader further than the necessities of the case require, he allows us to take so many glimpses of his character and opinions, that by the time we arrive at the termination of his travels we seem to be perfectly acquainted with both; and unless all these indications be fallacious, so much talent, probity, and elegance of manners has seldom been possessed by any traveller. Marco Polo was gifted

with a more exalted enthusiasm, and acquired a more extensive acquaintance with the material phenomena of nature; Pietro della Valle amuses the reader by wilder and more romantic adventures; but for good sense, acuteness of observation, suavity of manner, and scrupulous adherence to truth, no traveller, whether ancient or modern, is superior to Chardin.

## PIETRO DELLA VALLE. .

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PIETRO DELLA VALLE, "the most romantic in his adventures of all true travellers," was descended from an ancient and noble family, and born at Rome on the 11th of April, 1586. When his education, which appears to have been carefully conducted and liberal, was completed, he devoted himself, with that passionate ardour which characterized all the actions of his life, to the study of literature, and particularly poetry; but the effervescence of his animal spirits requiring some other vent, he shortly afterward exchanged the closet for the camp, in the hope that the quarrel between the pope and the Venetians, and the troubles which ensued upon the death of Henry IV. of France, would afford him some opportunity of distinguishing himself. His expectation being disappointed, however, he in 1611 embarked on board the Spanish fleet, then about to make a descent on the coast of Barbary; but nothing beyond a few skirmishes taking place, he again beheld his desire of glory frustrated, and returned to Rome.

Here vexations of another kind awaited him. Relinquishing the services of Fame for that of an earthly mistress, he found himself no less unsuccessful, the lady preferring some illustrious unknown, whose name, like her own, is now overwhelmed with "the husks and formless ruin of oblivion." Pietro, however, severely felt the sting of such a rejection; and in the gloomy meditations which it gave birth to, conceived a plan which, as he foresaw, fulfilled his most ambitious wishes, and attached an imperishable reputation to his name. The idea was no sooner conceived than he proceeded to put it in execution, and taking leave of his friends and of Rome, repaired to Naples, in order to consult with his friend, Mario Schipano, a physician of that city, distinguished for his oriental learning and abilities, concerning the best means of conducting his hazardous enterprise. Fortunately he possessed sufficient wealth to spurn the counsel of sloth and timidity, which, when any act of daring is proposed, are

always at hand, disguised as prudence and good sense, to cast a damp upon the springs of energy, or to travesty and misrepresent the purposes of the bold. Pietro, however, was not to be intimidated. The wonders and glories of the East were for ever present to his imagination, and having heard mass, and been solemnly clothed by the priest with the habit of a pilgrim, he proceeded to Venice in order to embark for Constantinople. The ship in which he sailed left the port on the 6th of June, 1614. No event of peculiar interest occurred during the voyage, which, lying along the romantic shores and beautiful islands of Greece, merely served to nourish and strengthen Pietro's enthusiasm. On drawing near the Dardanelles the sight of the coast of Troy, with its uncertain ruins and heroic tombs, over which poetry has spread an atmosphere brighter than any thing belonging to mere physical nature, awoke all the bright dreams of boyhood, and hurrying on shore, his heart overflowing with rapture, he kissed the earth from which, according to tradition, the Roman race originally sprung.

From the Troad to Constantinople the road lies over a tract hallowed by the footsteps of antiquity, and at every step Pietro felt his imagination excited by some memorial of the great of other days. On arriving at the Ottoman capital, where he purposed making a long stay, one of his first cares was to acquire a competent knowledge of the language of the country, which he did as much for the vanity, as he himself acknowledges, of exhibiting his accomplishments on his return to Italy, where the knowledge of that language was rare, as for the incalculable benefit which must accrue from it during his travels. Here he for the first time tasted coffee, at that time totally unknown in Italy. He was likewise led to entertain hopes of being able to obtain from the sultan's library a complete copy of the *Decades* of Livy; but after flitting before him some time like a phantom, the manuscript vanished, and the greater portion of the mighty Paduan remained veiled as before. While he was busily engaged in these researches, the plague broke out, every house in Galata, excepting that of the French ambassador, in which he resided, was infected; corpses and coffins met the sickened eye wherever it turned; the chief of his attendants pined away through terror; and, although at first he affected to laugh and make merry with his fears, they every day fed so abundantly upon horrors and rumours of horrors, that they at length became an overmatch for his philosophy, and startled him with the statement that one hundred and forty thousand victims had already perished, and that peradventure Pietro della Valle might be the next.

This consideration caused him to turn his eye towards Egypt; and although the plague shortly afterward abated, his love of motion having been once more awakened, he bade adieu to Constantinople, and sailed for Alexandria. Arriving in Egypt, he ascended the Nile to Cairo, viewed the pyramids, examined the mummy-pits; and then, with a select number of friends and attendants, departed across the desert to visit Horeb and Sinai, the wells of Moses, and other places celebrated in the Bible. This journey being performed in the heart of winter, he found Mount Sinai covered with snow, which did not, however, prevent his rambling about among its wild ravines, precipices, and chasms; when, his pious curiosity being gratified, he visited Ælau or Ailoth, the modern Akaba, and returned by Suez to Cairo. Among the very extraordinary things he beheld in this country were a man and woman upwards of eight feet in height, natives of Upper Egypt, whom he measured himself: and tortoises as large as the body of a carriage!

His stay in Egypt was not of long continuance, the longing to visit the Holy Land causing him to regard every other country with a kind of disdain; and accordingly, joining a small caravan which was proceeding thither across the desert, he journeyed by El Arish and Gaza to Jerusalem. After witnessing the various mummeries practised in the Holy City at Easter by the Roman Catholics, and making an excursion to the banks of the Jordan, where he saw a number of female pilgrims plunging naked into the sacred stream in the view of an immense multitude, he bent his steps towards Northern Syria, and hurried forward by the way of Damascus to Aleppo. In this city he remained some time, his body requiring some repose, though the ardour and activity of his mind appeared to be every day increasing. The journey which he now meditated across the Arabian Desert into Mesopotamia required considerable preparation. The mode of travelling was new. Horses were to be exchanged for camels; the European dress for that of the East; and instead of the sun, the stars and the moon were to light them over the waste.

He was now unconsciously touching upon the most important point of his career. In the caravan with which he departed from Aleppo, September 16, 1616, there was a young merchant of Bagdad, with whom, during the journey he formed a close intimacy. This young man was constantly in the habit of entertaining him, as they rode along side by side through the moonlight, or when they sat down in their tent during the heat of the day, with the praises of a young lady of Bagdad, who, according to his description, to every charm of person

which could delight the eye united all those qualities of heart and mind which render the conquests of beauty durable. It was clear to Pietro from the beginning that the youthful merchant was in love, and therefore he at first paid but little regard to his extravagant panegyrics ; but by degrees the conversation of his companion produced a sensible effect upon his own mind, so that his curiosity to behold the object of so much praise, accompanied, perhaps, by a slight feeling of another kind, at length grew intense, and he every day looked upon the slow march of the camels, and the surface of the boundless plain before him, with more and more impatience. The wandering Turcoman with his flocks and herds, rude tent, and ruder manners, commanded much less attention than he would have done at any other period ; and even the Bedouins, whose sharp lances and keen scimitars kept awake the attention of the rest of the caravan, were almost forgotten by Pietro. However, trusting to the information of his interested guide, he represents them as having filled up the greater number of the wells in the desert, so that there remained but a very few open, and these were known to those persons only whose profession it was to pilot caravans across this ocean of sand. The sagacity with which these men performed their duty was wonderful. By night the stars served them for guides ; but when these brilliant signals were swallowed up in the light of the sun, they then had recourse to the slight variations in the surface of the plain, imperceptible to other eyes, to the appearance or absence of certain plants, and even to the smell of the soil, by all which signs they always knew exactly where they were.

At length, after a toilsome and dangerous march of fifteen days, they arrived upon the banks of the Euphrates, a little after sunrise, and pitched their tents in the midst of clumps of cypress and small cedar-trees. On the following night, as soon as the moon began to silver over the waters of the Euphrates, the caravan again put itself in motion ; and, descending along the course of the stream, in six days arrived at Anah, a city of the Arabs, lying on both sides of the river, whose broad surface is here dotted with numerous small islands covered with fruit-trees. They now crossed the river ; and the merchants of the caravan, avoiding the safe and commodious road which lay through towns in which custom-house officers were found, struck off into a desolate and dangerous route, traversing Mesopotamia nearly in a right line, and on the 19th of October reached the banks of the Tigris, a larger and more rapid river than the Euphrates, though on this occasion Pietro thought its current less impetuous. The night be-



fore they entered Bagdad the caravan was robbed in a very dexterous manner. Their tents were pitched in the plain, the officers of the custom-house posted around to prevent smuggling; the merchants, congratulating themselves that they had already succeeded in eluding the duties almost to the extent of their desires, had fallen into the sound sleep which attends on a clear conscience; and Pietro, his domestics, and the other inmates of the caravan had followed their example. In the dead of the night the camp was entered by stealth, the tents rummaged, and considerable booty carried off. The banditti, entering Pietro's tent, and finding all asleep, opened the trunk in which were all the manuscripts, designs, and plans he had made during his travels, carefully packed up, as if for the convenience of robbers, in a small portable escrutoire; but by an instinct which was no less fortunate for them than for the traveller and posterity, since such spoil could have been of no value to them, they rejected the escrutoire, and selected all our traveller's fine linen, the very articles in which he hoped to have captivated the beauty whose eulogies had so highly inflamed his imagination. A Venetian, who happened to be in the camp, had his arquebuse stolen from under his head, and this little incident, as it tended to show that the robbers had made still more free with others than with him, somewhat consoled Pietro for the loss of his linen. As the traveller does not himself attach any suspicion to the military gentlemen of the custom-house, it might, perhaps, be uncharitable to deposite the burden of this theft upon their shoulders; but in examining all the circumstances of the transaction, I confess the idea that their ingenuity was concerned did present itself to me.

Next morning the beams of the rising sun, gleaming upon a thousand slender minarets and lofty-swelling domes surmounted by gilded crescents, discovered to him the ancient city of the califs stretching away right and left to a vast distance over the plain, while the Tigris, like a huge serpent, rolled along, cutting the city into two parts, and losing itself among the sombre buildings which seemed to tremble over its waters. The camels were once more loaded, and the caravan, stretching itself out into one long, narrow column, toiled along over the plain, and soon entered the dusty, winding streets of Bagdad. Here Pietro, whose coming had been announced the evening before by his young commercial companion, was met by the father of the Assyrian beauty, a fine patriarchal-looking old man, who entreated him to be his guest during his stay in Mesopotamia. This favour Pietro declined, but at the same time he eagerly accepted of the permission to visit at his house;

and was no sooner completely established in his own dwelling than he fully availed himself of this permission.

The family to which he became thus suddenly known was originally of Mardin, but about fourteen years previously had been driven from thence by the Kurds, who sacked and plundered the city, and reduced such of the inhabitants as they could capture to slavery. They were Christians of the Nestorian sect; but Della Valle, who was a bigot in his way, seems to have regarded them as aliens from the church of Christ. However, this circumstance did not prevent the image of Sitti Maani, the eldest of the old man's daughters, and the beauty of whom he had heard so glowing a description in the desert, from finding its way into his heart, though the idea of marrying having occurred to him at Aleppo, he had written home to his relations to provide him with a suitable wife against his return to Italy. Maani was now in her eighteenth year. Her mind had been as highly cultivated as the circumstances of the times and the country would allow; and her understanding enabled her to turn all her accomplishments to advantage. In person, she was a perfect oriental beauty; dark, even in the eyes of an Italian, with hair nearly black, and eyes of the same colour, shaded by lashes of unusual length, she possessed something of an imperial air. Pietro was completely smitten, and for the present every image but that of Maani seemed to be obliterated from his mind.

His knowledge of the Turkish language was now of the greatest service to him; for, possessing but a very few words of Arabic, this was the only medium by which he could make known the colour of his thoughts either to his mistress or her mother. His passion, however, supplied him with eloquence, and by dint of vehement protestations, in this instance the offspring of genuine affection, he at length succeeded in his enterprise, and Maani became his wife. But in the midst of these transactions, when it most imported him to remain at Bagdad, an event occurred in his own house which not only exposed him to the risk of being driven with disgrace from the city, but extremely endangered his life and that of all those who were connected with him. His secretary and valet having for some time entertained a grudge against each other, the former, one day seizing the khanjar, or dagger, of Pietro, stabbed his adversary to the heart, and the poor fellow dropped down dead in the arms of his master. The murderer fled. What course to pursue under such circumstances it was difficult to determine. Should the event come to the knowledge of the pasha, both master and servants might, perhaps, be thought equally guilty, and be impaled alive; or, if matters

were not pushed to such extremities, it might at least be pretended that the deceased was the real owner of whatever property they possessed, in order to confiscate the whole for the benefit of the state. As neither of these results was desirable, the safest course appeared to be to prevent, if possible, the knowledge of the tragedy from transpiring; a task of some difficulty, as all the domestics of the household were acquainted with what had passed. The only individual with whom Pietro could safely consult upon this occasion (for he was unwilling to disclose so horrible a transaction to Maani's relations) was a Maltese renegade, a man of some consideration in the city; and for him, therefore, he immediately despatched a messenger. This man, when he had heard what had happened, was of opinion that the body should be interred in a corner of the house; but Pietro, who had no desire that so bloody a memorial of the Italian temperament should remain in his immediate neighbourhood, and moreover considered it unsafe, thought it would be much better at the bottom of the Tigris. The Maltese, most fortunately, possessed a house and garden on the edge of the river, and thither the body, packed up carefully in a chest, was quickly conveyed, though there was much difficulty in preventing the blood from oozing out, and betraying to its bearers the nature of their burden. When it was dark the chest was put on board a boat, and, dropping down the river, the renegade and two of his soldiers cautiously lowered it into the water; and thus no material proof of the murder remained. The assassin, who had taken refuge at the house of the Maltese, was enabled to return to Italy; and the event, strange to say, was kept secret, though so many persons were privy to it.

When this danger was over, and the beautiful Maani irrevocably his, Pietro began once more to feel the passion of the traveller revive, and commenced those little excursions through Mesopotamia which afterward enabled Gibbon to pronounce him the person who had best observed that province. His first visit, as might be expected, was to the ruins of Babylon. The party with which he left Bagdad consisted of Maani, a Venetian, a Dutch painter, Ibrahim a native of Aleppo, and two Turkish soldiers. For the first time since the commencement of his travels, Pietro now selected the longest and least dangerous road, taking care, moreover, to keep as near as possible to the farms and villages, in order, in case of necessity, to derive provisions and succour from their inhabitants. Maani, who appears to have had a dash of Kurdish blood in her, rode astride like a man, and kept her saddle as firmly as any son of the desert could have done; and Pietro constantly

moved along by her side. When they had performed a considerable portion of their journey, and, rejoicing in their good fortune, were already drawing near Babylon, eight or ten horsemen armed with muskets and bows and arrows suddenly appeared in the distance, making towards them with all speed. Pietro imagined that the day for trying his courage was now come ; and he and his companions, having cocked their pieces and prepared to offer a desperate resistance, pushed on towards the enemy. However, their chivalric spirit was not doomed to be here put to the test ; for, upon drawing near, the horsemen were found to belong to Bagdad, and the adventure concluded in civility and mutual congratulations.

Having carefully examined the ruins of Babylon, the city of Hillah, and the other celebrated spots in that neighbourhood, the party returned to Bagdad, from whence he again departed in a few days for Modain, the site of the ancient Ctesiphon, near which he had the satisfaction of observing the interior of an Arab encampment.

His curiosity respecting Mesopotamia was now satisfied ; and as every day's residence among the Ottomans only seemed more and more to inflame his hatred of that brutal race, he as much as possible hastened his departure from Bagdad, having now conceived the design of serving as a volunteer in the armies of Persia, at that period at war with Turkey, and of thus wreaking his vengeance upon the Osmanlees for the tyranny they exercised on all Christians within their power. Notwithstanding that war between the two countries had long been declared, the Pasha of Bagdad and the Persian authorities on the frontier continued openly to permit the passage of caravans ; and thus, were he once safe out of Bagdad with his wife and treasures, there would be no difficulty in entering Persia. To effect this purpose he entered into an arrangement with a Persian muleteer, who was directed to obtain from the Pasha a passport for himself and followers, with a charosh to conduct them to the extremity of the Turkish dominions. This being done, the Persian, according to agreement, left the city, and encamped at a short distance from the walls, where, as is the custom, he was visited by the officers of the custom-house ; after which, Pietro caused the various individuals of his own small party to issue forth by various streets into the plain, while he himself, dressed as he used to be when riding out for amusement on the banks of the Tigris, quitted the town after sunset, and gained the place of encampment in safety.

When the night had now completely descended upon the earth, and all around was still, the little caravan put itself in

motion ; and being mounted, some on good sturdy mules, and others on the horses of the country, they advanced at a rapid rate, fearing all the way that the pasha might repent of his civility towards the Persian, and send an order to bring them back to the city. By break of day they arrived on the banks of the Diala, a river which discharges itself into the Tigris ; and here, in spite of their impatience, they were detained till noon, there being but one boat at the ferry. In six days they reached the southern branches of the mountains of Kurdistan, and found themselves suddenly in the midst of that wild and hardy race, which, from the remotest ages, has maintained possession of these inexpugnable fastnesses, which harrassed the ten thousand in their retreat, and still enact a conspicuous part in all the border wars between the Persians and Turks. Living for the most part in a dangerous independence, fiercely spurning the yoke of its powerful neighbours, though continually embroiled in their interminable quarrels, speaking a distinct language, and having a peculiar system of manners, which does not greatly differ from that of the feudal times, they may justly be regarded as one of the most extraordinary races of the Asiatic continent. Some of them, spellbound by the allurements of wealth and ease, have erected cities and towns, and addicted themselves to agriculture and the gainful arts. Others, preferring that entire liberty which of all earthly blessings is the greatest in the estimation of ardent and haughty minds, and regarding luxury as a species of Circean cup, in its effects debasing and destructive, covet no wealth but their herds and flocks, around which they erect no fortifications but their swords. These are attracted hither and thither over the wilds by the richness of the pasturage, and dwell in tents.

In Kurdistan, as elsewhere, the winning manners of Della Valle procured him a hospitable reception. The presence of Maani, too, whose youth and beauty served as an inviolable wall of protection among brave men, increased his claims to their hospitality ; so that these savage mountaineers, upon whom the majority of travellers concur in heaping the most angry maledictions, obtained from the warm-hearted, grateful Pietro the character of a kind and gentle people. On the 20th of January, 1617, he quitted Kurdistan, and entered Persia. The change was striking. A purer atmosphere, a more productive and better-cultivated soil, and a far more dense population than in Turkey, caused him, from the suddenness of the transition, somewhat to exaggerate, perhaps, the advantages of this country. It is certain that the eyes of the traveller, like the fabled gems of antiquity, carry about the light by which he

views the objects which come before him ; and that the condition of this light is greatly affected by the state of his animal spirits. Pietro was now in that tranquil and serene mode of being consequent upon that enjoyment which conscience approves ; and having passed from a place where dangers, real or imaginary, surrounded him, into a country where he at least anticipated safety, if not distinction, it was natural that his fancy should paint the landscape with delusive colours. Besides, many real advantages existed ; tents were no longer necessary, there being at every halting-place a spacious caravansary, where the traveller could obtain gratis lodgings for himself and attendants, and shelter for his beasts and baggage. Fruits, likewise, such as pomegranates, apples, and grapes, abounded, though the earth was still deeply covered with snow. If we add to this that the Persians are a people who pique themselves upon their urbanity, and, whatever may be the basis of their character, with which the passing traveller has little to do, really conduct themselves politely towards strangers, it will not appear very surprising that Della Valle, who had just escaped from the boorish Ottomans, should have been charmed with Persia.

Arriving at Ispahan, at that period the capital of the empire, that is, the habitual place of residence of the shah, his first care, of course, was to taste a little repose ; after which, he resumed his usual custom of strolling about the city and its environs, observing the manners, and sketching whatever was curious in costume and scenery. Here he remained for several months ; but growing tired, as usual, of calm inactivity, the more particularly as the court was absent, he now prepared to present himself before the shah, then in Mazenderan. Accordingly, having provided a splendid litter for his wife and her sister, who, like genuine amazons, determined to accompany him to the wars should he eventually take up arms in the service of Persia, and provided every other necessary for the journey, he quitted Ispahan, and proceeded northward towards the shores of the Caspian Sea. The journey was performed in the most agreeable manner imaginable. Whenever they came up to a pleasant grove, a shady fountain, or any romantic spot where the greensward was sprinkled with flowers or commanded a beautiful prospect, the whole party made a halt ; and the ladies, descending from their litter, which was borne by two camels, and Pietro from his barb, they sat down like luxurious gipsies to their breakfast or dinner, while the nightingales in the dusky recesses of the groves served them instead of a musician.

Proceeding slowly, on account of his harem, as he terms it, they arrived in seven days at Cashan, where the imprudence of Maani nearly involved him in a very serious affair. Being insulted on her way to the bezestein by an officer, she gave the signal to her attendants to chastise the drunkard, and, a battle ensuing, the unhappy man lost his life. When the news was brought to Pietro he was considerably alarmed; but on proceeding to the house of the principal magistrate, he very fortunately found that the affair had been properly represented to him, and that his people were not considered to have exceeded their duty. His wife, not reflecting that her masculine habits and fiery temperament were quite sufficient to account for the circumstance, now began to torment both herself and her husband because she had not yet become a mother; and supposing that in such cases wine was a sovereign remedy, she endeavoured to prevail upon Pietro, who was a water-drinker, to have recourse to a more generous beverage, offering to join with him, if he would comply, in the worship of Bacchus. Our traveller, who had already, as he candidly informs us, a small family in Italy, could not be brought to believe that the fault lay in his sober potations, and firmly resisted the temptations of his wife. With friendly arguments upon this and other topics they beguiled the length of the way, and at length arrived at Mazenderan, though Maani's passion for horsemanship more than once put her neck in jeopardy on the road. The scene which now presented itself was extremely different from that through which they had hitherto generally passed. Instead of the treeless plains or unfertile deserts which they had traversed in the northern parts of Irak, they saw before them a country strongly resembling Europe; mountains, deep well-wooded valleys, or rich green plains rapidly alternating with each other, and the whole, watered by abundant streams and fountains, refreshed and delighted the eye; and he was as yet unconscious of the insalubrity of the atmosphere.

Pietro greatly admired the beauty and graceful figures of the women of this province,—a fact which makes strongly against the idea of its being unhealthy; for it may generally be inferred, that wherever the women are handsome the air is good. Here and there they observed, as they moved along, the ruins of castles and fortresses on the acclivities and projections of the mountains, which had formerly served as retreats to numerous chiefs who had there aimed at independence. A grotto, which they discovered in a nearly inaccessible position in the face of a mountain, was pointed out to them as the residence of a virgin of gigantic stature, who, without associates or followers, like the virago who obstructed the passage of

Theseus from Trœzene to Athens, formerly ravaged and depopulated that part of the country. This and similar legends of giants, which resemble those which prevail among all rude nations, were related to our traveller, who rejected them with disdain as utterly fabulous and contemptible, though not much more so, perhaps, than some which, as a true son of the Roman church, he no doubt held in reverence.

At length, after considerable fatigue, they arrived at Ferhabad, a small port built by the Shah Abbas on the Caspian Sea. Here the governor of the city, when informed of his arrival, assigned him a house in the eastern quarter of the city, the rooms of which, says Pietro, were so low, that although by no means a tall man, he could touch the ceiling with his hand. If the house, however, reminded him of the huts erected by Romulus on the Capitoline, the garden, on the other hand, was delightful, being a large space of ground thickly planted with white mulberry-trees, and lying close upon the bank of the river. Here he passed the greater portion of his time with Actius Sincerus, or Marcus Aurelius, or Ferrari's Geographical Epitome in his hand, now offering sacrifices to the Muses, and now running over with his eye the various countries and provinces which he was proud to have travelled over. One of his favourite occupations was the putting of his own adventures into verse, under a feigned name. This he did in that kind of rhyme which Dante's example had made respectable, but not popular, in Italy; and as he was not of the humour to hide his talent under a bushel, his brain was no sooner delivered of this conceit than he despatched it to Rome for the amusement of his friends.

Being now placed upon the margin of the Caspian, he very naturally desired to examine the appearance of its shores and waters; but embarking for this purpose in a fishing-boat with Maani, who, having passed her life in Mesopotamia, had never before seen the sea, her sickness and the fears produced in her mind by the tossing and rolling of the bark among the waves quickly put an end to the voyage. He ascertained, however, from the pilots of the coast, that the waters of this sea were not deep; immense banks of sand and mud, borne down into this vast basin by the numerous rivers which discharge themselves into it, being met with on all sides; though it is probable, that had they ventured far from shore they would have found the case different. Fish of many kinds were plentiful; but owing, perhaps, to the fat and slimy nature of the bottom, they were all large, gross, and insipid.

The shah was just then at Asshraff, a new city which he had caused to be erected, and was then enlarging, about six



parasangs, or leagues, to the east of Ferhabad. Pietro, anxious to be introduced to the monarch, soon after his arrival wrote letters to the principal minister, which, together with others from the vicar-general of the Carmelite monks at Ispahan, he despatched by two of his domestics; and the ministers, according to his desire, informed the shah of his presence at Ferhabad. Abbas, who apparently had no desire that he should witness the state of things at Asshraff, not as yet comprehending either his character or his motives, observed, that the roads being extremely bad, the traveller had better remain at Ferhabad, whither he himself was about to proceed on horseback in a day or two. Pietro, whose vanity prevented his perceiving the shah's motives, supposed in good earnest that Abbas was chary of his guest's éase; and, to crown the absurdity, swallowed another monstrous fiction invented by the courtiers, who, as Hajji Baba would say, were all the while laughing at his beard,—namely, that the monarch was so overjoyed at his arrival, that, had he not been annoyed by the number of soldiers who followed him against his will, he would next morning have ridden to Ferhabad to bid him welcome!

However, when he actually arrived in that city, he did not, as our worthy pilgrim expected, immediately admit him to an audience. In the mean while an agent from the Cossacks inhabiting the north-eastern shores of the Black Sea arrived, and Della Valle who neglected no occasion of forwarding his own views, in the shaping of which he exhibited remarkable skill, at once connected himself with this stranger, whom he engaged to aid and assist by every means in his power, receiving from the barbarian the same assurances in return. The Cossack had come to tender the shah his nation's services against the Turks; notwithstanding which, the business of his presentation had been negligently or purposely delayed, probably that he might understand, when his proposal should be afterward received, that, although the aid he promised was acceptable, it was by no means necessary, nor so considered.

At length the long-anticipated audience arrived, and Della Valle, when presented, was well received by the shah; who, not being accustomed, however, to the crusading spirit or the romance of chivalry, could not very readily believe that the real motives which urged him to join the Persian armies were precisely those which he professed. Nevertheless, his offers of service were accepted, and the provisions which he had already received rendered permanent. He was, moreover, sumptuously entertained at the royal table, and had frequently the honour of being consulted upon affairs of importance by the shah.

Abbas soon afterward removing with his court into Ghilan, without inviting Della Valle to accompany him, the latter departed for Casbin, there to await the marching of the army against the Turks, in which enterprise he was still mad enough to desire to engage. On reaching this city he found that Abbas had been more expeditious than he, and was already there, actively preparing for the war. All the military officers of the kingdom now received orders to repair with all possible despatch to Sultanieh, a city three days' journey west of Casbin; and Pietro, who had voluntarily become a member of this martial class, hurried on among the foremost, in the hope of acquiring glory of a new kind.

The shah and his army had not been many days encamped in the plains of Sultanieh, when a courier from the general, who had already proceeded towards the frontiers, arrived with the news that the Turkish army was advancing, although slowly. This news allowed the troops, who had been fatigued with forced marches, a short repose; after which they pushed on vigorously towards Ardebil and Tabriz, Pietro and his heroic wife keeping pace with the foremost. In this critical juncture, Abbas, though in some respects a man of strong mind, did not consider it prudent to trust altogether to corporeal armies; but, having in his dominions certain individuals who pretended to have some influence over the infernal powers, sought to interest hell also in his favour; and for this purpose carried a renowned sorceress from Zunjan along with him to the wars, in the same spirit as Charles the First, and the Parliament shortly afterward, employed Lily to prophesy for them. Their route now lay through the ancient Media, over narrow plains or hills covered with verdure but bare of trees, sometimes traversing tremendous chasms, spanned by bridges of fearful height, at others winding along the acclivities of mountains, or upon the edge of precipices.

Notwithstanding his seeming ardour to engage with the Turks, Pietro, for some cause or another, did not join the fighting part of the army, but remained with the shah's suite at Ardebil. This circumstance seems to have lowered him considerably in the estimation of the court. A battle, however, was fought, in which the Persians were victorious; but the Turkish sultan dying at this juncture, his successor commanded his general to negotiate for peace, which, after the usual intrigues and delays, was at length concluded. Abbas now returned to Casbin, where the victory and the peace was celebrated with great rejoicings; and here Della Valle, who seems to have begun to perceive that he was not likely to make any great figure in war, took his leave of the court

in extremely bad health and low spirits, and returned to Ispahan.

Here repose, and the conversation of the friends he had made in this city, once more put him in good humour with himself and with Persia; and being of an exceedingly hasty and inconsiderate disposition, he no sooner began to experience a little tranquillity, than he exerted the influence he had acquired over the parents of his wife to induce them, right or wrong, to leave Bagdad, where they lived contentedly and in comfort, and to settle at Ispahan, where they were in a great measure strangers, notwithstanding that one of their younger daughters was married to an Armenian of that city. The principal members of the family, no less imprudent than their adviser, accordingly quitted Mesopotamia with their treasures and effects, and established themselves in the capital of Persia.

This measure was productive of nothing but disappointment and vexation. One of Maani's sisters, who had remained with her mother at Bagdad, while the father and brothers were at Ispahan, died suddenly; and the mother, inconsolable for her loss, entreated her husband to return to her with her other children. Then followed the pangs of parting, rendered doubly bitter by the reflection that it was for ever. Pietro became ill and melancholy, having now turned his thoughts, like the prodigal in the parable, towards his country and his father's house, and determined shortly to commence his journey homeward. Obtaining without difficulty his dismissal from the shah, and winding up his affairs, which were neither intricate nor embarrassed, at Ispahan, he set out on a visit to Shiraz, intending, when he should have examined Persepolis and its environs, to bid an eternal adieu to Persia.

With this view, having remained some time at Shiraz, admiring but not enjoying the pure stream of the Rocnabad, the bowers of Mesellay, and the bright atmosphere which shed glory on all around, he proceeded to Mineb, a small town on the river Ibrahim, a little to the south of Gombroon and Ormus, on the shore of the Persian Gulf. Maani, whose desire to become a mother had been an unceasing source of unhappiness to her ever since her marriage, being now pregnant, nothing could have been more ill-judged in her husband than to approach those pestilential coasts; especially at such a season of the year. He quickly discovered his error, but it was too late. The fever which rages with unremitting violence throughout all that part of the country during six months in the year had now seized not only upon Maani, but on himself likewise, and upon every other member of his

family. Instant flight might, perhaps, have rescued them from danger, as it afterward did Chardin, but a fatal lethargy seems to have seized upon the mind of Pietro. He trembled at the destiny which menaced him, he saw death, as it were, entering his house, and approach gradually the individual whom he cherished beyond all others; time was allowed him by Providence for escape, yet he stood still, as if spellbound, and suffered the victim to be seized without a struggle. His wife, whose condition I have alluded to above, affected at once by the fever, and apprehensive of its consequences, was terrified into premature labour, and a son dead-born considerably before its time put the finishing stroke, as it were, to the affliction of her mind. Her fever increased in violence—medical aid was vain—death triumphed—and Maani sunk into the grave at the age of twenty-three.

A total change now came over the mind of Della Valle, which not only affected the actions of his life, but communicated itself to his writings, depriving them of that dashing quixotism which up to this point constitutes their greatest charm. A cloud, black as Erebus, descended upon his soul, and nine months elapsed before he could again command sufficient spirits or energy to announce the melancholy event to his friend Schipano. He, however, resolved that the body of his beloved wife should not be consigned to the earth in Persia, where he should never more come to visit or shed a tear over her grave. He therefore contrived to have it embalmed, and then, enclosing it in a coffin adapted to the purpose, placed it in a travelling trunk, in order that, wherever his good or bad fortune should conduct him, the dear remains of his Maani might accompany him to the grave. Certain circumstances attending this transaction strongly serve to illustrate the character of Della Valle, and while they tell in favour of his affection, and paint the melancholy condition to which his bereavement had reduced him, likewise throw some light upon the manners and state of the country. Dead bodies being regarded as unclean by the Mohammedans, as they were in old Greece and Rome, and most other nations of antiquity, no persons could be found to undertake the task of embalming but a few old women, whom the *auri sacra fames* reconciled to the pollution. These, wrapping thick bandages over their mouths and nostrils, to prevent the powerful odour of the gum from penetrating into their lungs and brain, after having disembowelled the corpse, filled its cavities with camphor, and with the same ingredient, which was of the most pungent and desiccating nature, rubbed all its limbs and surface until the perfume had penetrated to the very bones. Pietro, at all

times superstitious, was now rendered doubly so by sorrow. Having somewhere heard or read that the bodies of men will be reanimated at the general resurrection, wherever their heads happen to be deposited, while, according to another theory, it was the resting-place of the heart which was to determine the point, and being desirous, according to either view of the matter, that Maani and himself should rise on that awful day together, he gave orders that the heart of his beloved should be carefully embalmed with the rest of the body. It never once occurred to him that the *pollinctores* (or undertakers) might neglect his commands, and therefore he omitted to overlook this part of the operation; indeed his feelings would not allow him to be present, and while it was going on he sat retired, hushing the tempest of his soul in the best manner he could. While he was in this state of agony, he observed the embalmers approaching him with something in their hands, and on casting his eyes upon it he beheld the heart of Maani in a saucer! An unspeakable horror shot through his whole frame as he gazed upon the heart which, but a few days before, had bounded with delight and joy to meet his own; and he turned away his head with a shudder.

When the operation was completed, the mummy was laid out upon a board, and placed under a tent in the garden, in order to be still further desiccated by the action of the air. Here it remained seven days and nights, and the walls being low, it was necessary to keep a strict and perpetual watch over it, lest the hyenas should enter and devour it. Worn down as he was by fever, by watching, and by sorrow, Pietro would intrust this sacred duty to no vulgar guardian during the night, but, with his loaded musket in his hand, paced to and fro before the tent through the darkness, while the howls of the hyenas, bursting forth suddenly quite near him, as it were, frequently startled his ear and increased his vigilance. By day he took a few hours' repose, while his domestics kept watch.

When this melancholy task had been duly performed, he departed, in sickness and dejection, for the city of Lar, where the air being somewhat cooler and more pure, he entertained some hopes of a recovery. Not many days after his arrival, a Syrian whom he had known at Ispahan brought him news from Bagdad which were any thing but calculated to cheer or console his mind. He learned that another sister of Maani had died on the road in returning from Persia; that the father, stricken to the soul by this new calamity, had likewise died a few days after reaching home; and that the widow, thus bereaved of the better part of her family, and feeling the



DELLA VALLE'S HORROR AT SEEING THE HEART OF HIS WIFE.

decrepitude of old age coming apace, was inconsolable. Our traveller was thunderstruck. Death seemed to have put his mark on all those whom he loved. Persia now became hateful to him. Its very atmosphere appeared to teem with misfortunes as with clouds. Nothing, therefore, seemed left him but to quit it with all possible celerity.

Pietro's desire to return to Italy was now abated, and travelling more desirable than home; motion, the presence of strange objects, the surmounting of difficulties and dangers, being better adapted than ease and leisure for the dissipating of sharp grief. For this reason he returned to the shore of the Persian Gulf, and embarked at Gombroon on board of an English ship for India, taking along with him the body of his wife, and a little orphan Georgian girl whom he and Maani had adopted at Ispahan. As even a father cannot remove his daughter, or a husband his wife, from the shah's dominions without an especial permission, which might not be granted without considerable delay, Pietro determined to elude the laws, and disguising the Georgian in the dress of a boy, contrived to get her on board among the ship's crew in the dusk of the evening, on the 19th of January, 1623.

Traversing the Indian Ocean with favourable winds, he arrived on the 10th of February at Surat, where he was hospitably entertained by the English and Dutch residents. He found Guzerat a pleasant country, consisting, as far as his experience extended, of rich, green plains, well watered, and thickly interspersed with trees. From Surat he proceeded to Cambay, a large city, situated upon the extremity of a fine plain at the bottom of the gulf of the same name. Here he adopted the dress, and as far as possible the manners of the Hindoos, and then, striking off a little from the coast, visited Ahmedabad, travelling thither with a small cafila or caravan, the roads being considered dangerous for solitary individuals. At a small village on the road he observed an immense number of beautiful yellow squirrels, with fine large tails, leaping from tree to tree; and a little farther on met with a great number of beggars armed with bows and arrows, who demanded charity with sound of trumpet. His observations in this country, though sufficiently curious occasionally, were the fruit of a too hasty survey, which could not enable him to pierce deeply below the exterior crust of manners. Indeed, he seems rather to have amused himself with strange sights, than sought to philosophize upon the circumstances of humanity. In a temple of Mahades in this city, where numerous Yoghees, the Gymnosophists of antiquity, were standing like so many statues behind the sacred lamps, he observed an image of the god entirely of crystal.

On the banks of the Sabermati, which ran close beneath the walls of the city, numerous Yoghees, as naked as at the moment of their birth, were seated, with matted hair, and wild looks, and powdered all over with the ashes of the dead bodies which they had aided in burning.

Returning to Cambay, he embarked in a Portuguese ship for Goa, a city chiefly remarkable for the number of monks that flocked thither, and for the atrocities which they there perpetrated in the name of the Church of Rome. Della Valle soon found that there was more security and pleasure in living among pagans "suckled in a creed outworn," or even among heretics, than in this Portuguese city, where all strangers were regarded with horror, and met with nothing but baseness and treachery. Leaving this den of monks and traitors, he proceeded southward along the coast, and in a few days arrived at Onore, where he went to pay a visit to a native of distinction, whom they found upon the shore, seated beneath the shade of some fine trees, flanked and overshadowed, as it were, by a range of small hills. Being in the company of a Portuguese ambassador from Goa to a rajah of the Sadasiva race, who then held his court at Ikery, he regarded the opportunity of observing something of the interior of the peninsula as too favourable to be rejected, and obtained permission to form a part of the ambassador's suite. They set out from Onore in boats, but the current of the river they were ascending was so rapid and powerful, that with the aid of both sails and oars they were unable to push on that day beyond Garsopa, formerly a large and flourishing city, but now inconsiderable and neglected. Here the scenery, a point which seldom commanded much of Della Valle's attention, however picturesque or beautiful it might be, was of so exquisite a character, so rich, so glowing, so variable, so full of contrasts, that indifferent as he was on that head, his imagination was kindled, and he confessed, that turn which way soever he might, the face of nature was marvellously delightful. A succession of hills of all forms, and of every shade of verdure, between which valleys, now deep and umbrageous, now presenting broad, green, sunny slopes to the eye, branched about in every direction; lofty forests of incomparable beauty, among which the most magnificent fruit-trees, such as the Indian walnut, the fawfel, and the amba, were interspersed; small winding streams, now glancing and quivering and rippling in the sun, and now plunging into the deep shades of the woods; while vast flights of gay tropical birds were perched upon the branches, or skimming over the waters; all these combined certainly formed a glorious picture, and justified the admiration of Pietro when he exclaimed that



nothing to equal it had ever met his eye. On entering the Ghauts he perceived in them some resemblance to the Apennines, though they were more beautiful; and to enjoy so splendid a prospect he travelled part of the way on foot. The Western Ghauts, which divide the vast plateau of Mysore from Malabar, Canasen, and the other maritime provinces of the Deccan, are in most parts covered with forests of prodigious grandeur, and in one of these Pietro and his party were overtaken by the night. Though "overhead the moon hung imminent, and shed her silver light," not a ray could descend to them through the impenetrable canopy of the wood, so that they were compelled to kindle torches, notwithstanding which they failed to find their way, and contented themselves with kindling a fire and passing the night under a tree.

Ikery, the bourn beyond which they were not to proceed towards the interior, was then an extensive but thinly-peopled city, though according to the Hindoos it once contained a hundred thousand inhabitants. Around it extended three lines of fortifications, of which the exterior was a row of bamboos, thickly planted, and of enormous height, whose lifted heads, with the beautiful flowering parasites which crept round their stems to the summit, yielded a grateful shade. Here he beheld a suttee, visited various temples, and saw the celebrated dancing girls of Hindostan perform their graceful but voluptuous postures. He examined likewise the ceremonial of the rajah's court, and instituted numerous inquiries into the religion and manners of the country, upon all which points he obtained information curious enough for that age, but now, from the more extensive and exact researches of later travellers, of little value. Returning to the seacoast, he proceeded southward as far as Calicut, the extreme point of his travels. Here he faced about, as it were, turned his eyes towards home, and began to experience a desire to be at rest. Still, at Cannanou, at Salsette, and the other parts of India at which he touched on his return, he continued assiduously to observe and describe, though rather from habit than any delight which it afforded him.

On the 15th of November, 1624, he embarked at Goa in a ship bound for Muskat, from whence he proceeded up the Persian Gulf to Bassorah. Here he hired mules and camels, and provided all things necessary for crossing the desert; and on the 21st of May, 1625, departed, being accompanied by an Italian friar, Marian, the Georgian girl, and the corpse of Maani. During this journey he observed the sand in many places strewed with seashells, bright and glittering as mother-of-pearl, and in others with bitumen. Occasionally their road

lay over extensive marshes, covered thickly with reeds or brushwood, or white with salt; but at this season of the year every thing was so dry that a spark falling from the pipe of a muleteer upon the parched grass nearly produced a conflagration in the desert. When they had advanced many days' journey into the waste, and beheld on all sides nothing but sand and sky, a troop of Arab robbers, who came scouring along the desert upon their fleet barbs, attacked and rifled their little caravan; and Della Valle saw himself about to be deprived of his wife's body, after having preserved it so long, and conveyed it safely over so many seas and mountains. In this fear he addressed himself to the banditti, describing the contents of the chest, and the motives which urged him so vehemently to desire its preservation. The Arabs were touched with compassion. The sight of the coffin, enforcing the effect of his eloquence, interested their hearts; so that not only did they respect the dead, and praise the affectionate and pious motives of the traveller, but also narrowed their demands, for they pretended to exact dues, not to rob, and allowed the caravan to proceed with the greater part of its wealth.

On arriving at the port of Alexandretta another difficulty arose. The Turks would never have allowed a corpse to pass through the custom-house, nor would the sailors of the ship in which he desired to embark for Cyprus on any account have suffered it to come on board. To overreach both parties, Pietro had the body enveloped in bales of spun cotton, upon which he paid the regular duty, and thus one further step was gained. After visiting Cyprus, Malta, and Sicily, where he remained some short time, he set sail for Naples. Here he found his old friend Schipano still living, and after describing to him the various scenes and dangers through which he had passed, moved forward towards Rome, where he arrived on the 28th of March, 1626, after an absence of more than twelve years.

His return was no sooner made known in the city than numerous friends and relations and the greater number of the nobility crowded to his house, to bid him welcome and congratulate him upon the successful termination of his travels. His presentation to the pope took place a few days afterward, when Urban VIII. was so charmed with his conversation and manners, that, without application or intrigue on the part of the traveller, he was appointed his holiness' honorary chamberlain,—a compliment regarded at Rome as highly flattering. In order to induce the pope to send out missionaries to Georgia, Pietro now presented him with a short account of that

country, which he had formerly written ; and the affair being seriously taken into consideration, it was determined by the society *De Propaganda Fide* that the proposed measure should be carried into effect, and that Pietro should be regularly consulted respecting the business of the Levant missions in general.

Early in the spring of 1627, he caused the funeral obsequies of his wife to be celebrated with extraordinary magnificence in the church of Araceli at Rome. The funeral oration he himself pronounced ; and when, after describing the various circumstances of her life, and the happiness of their union, he came to expatiate upon her beauty, his emotions became so violent that tears and sobs choked his utterance, and he failed to proceed. His auditors, according to some accounts, were likewise affected even unto tears ; while others relate that they burst into a fit of laughter. If they did, the fault was in their own hearts ; for, however extravagant the manner of Della Valle may have been, death is a solemn thing, and can never fail properly to affect all well-constituted minds.

However, though his love for Maani's memory seems never to have abated, the vanity of keeping up the illustrious name of Della Valle, and the consequent wish of leaving a legitimate offspring behind him, reconciled a second marriage to his mind, and Marian Tinatin, the Georgian girl whom he had brought with him from the East, appears to have been the person selected for his second wife. M. Eyries asserts, but I know not upon what authority, that it was a relation of Maani whom he married ; but this seems to be extremely improbable, since, so far as can be discovered from his travels, no relation of hers ever accompanied him, excepting the brother and sister who spent some time with him in Persia.

Though he had exhausted a large portion of his patrimony in his numerous and long-continued journeys, sufficient seems to have remained to enable him to spend the remainder of his life in splendour and affluence. He had established himself in the mansion of his ancestors at Rome, and the locomotive propensity having entirely deserted him, would probably never have quitted the city, but that one day, while the pope was pronouncing his solemn benediction in St. Peter's, he fell into a violent passion, during which he killed his coachman in the area before the church. This obliged him once more to fly to Naples ; but murder not being regarded as a very heinous offence at Rome, and the pope, moreover, entertaining a warm friendship for Pietro, he was soon recalled. After this nothing remarkable occurred to him until his death, which took place on the 20th of April, 1652. Soon after his death, his widow

retired to Urbino; and his children, exhibiting a fierce and turbulent character, were banished the city.

As a traveller, Della Valle possessed very distinguished qualities. He was enthusiastic, romantic, enterprising. He had read, if not studied, the histories of the various countries through which he afterward travelled; and there were few dangers which he was not ready cheerfully to encounter for the gratification of his curiosity. It is impossible to peruse his works without great instruction and delight; for his active, and vigorous, and observant mind continually gives birth to sagacious and profound remarks; and his adventures, though undoubtedly true, are full of interest and the spirit of romance.

## CARSTEN NIEBUHR.

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CARSTEN NIEBUHR was born on the 17th of March, 1733, in the province of Friesland, in the kingdom of Hanover. It would be to mislead the reader to represent him, as some of his biographers have done, as the son of a peasant, in the sense in which that term is applied in England. His father and his ancestors, for several generations, had been small landed proprietors; he himself received an education, and inherited a property, which, however small, served as an incentive to ambition; and though, like many others, he found the entrance of the road to fame rugged and hard to tread, it must not be dissembled that his prudence and perseverance were singularly aided by good fortune.

Having lost his mother before he was six weeks old, the care of his infancy was intrusted to a step-mother; and he was still a lad when his father likewise died. The guardians upon whom the superintendence of his youth at first devolved, entertaining, apparently, but little respect for intellectual pursuits, interrupted his studies; and his maternal uncle, who succeeded them in this important trust, would seem to have wanted the means, if he possessed the will, to direct the course of a young man. Niebuhr was therefore left very much to his own guidance; which, to a man of vigorous intellect, I am far from regarding as a misfortune. The beginnings of life, however, like the beginnings of day, are generally accompanied by mists which obscure the view, and render it absolutely impossible to determine with precision the character of the various paths which present themselves before us; and thus it was that our traveller, who, knowing not that Providence was about to conduct him to a brilliant destiny in the East, at one time studied music, with the intention of becoming an organist, and was afterward led, through accidental circumstances, to apply himself to geometry, for the purpose of practising as a land-surveyor.

With this design he repaired, in his twenty-third year, to Bremen, where he discovered a person from whom he might have derived the necessary instruction; but finding that this individual's domestic economy was under the superintendence of two youthful sisters, whose behaviour towards himself Niebuhr seems to have regarded as forward and indecorous, he immediately quitted this city and proceeded to Hamburgh. It will easily be conceived that the studies of a young man who voluntarily cultivated his intellect as the only means by which he could arrive at distinction, were pursued with ardent enthusiasm. Niebuhr, in fact, considered labour and toil as the only guides to genuine glory, and was content to tolerate on the way the rude fierceness of their manners.

When he had studied the mathematics, during two years, under Busch, he removed to Gottingen, where he continued another year. At this period the Danish ministry, at the suggestion of Michaelis, had projected a scientific expedition into Arabia, which was at first designed, at least by its originator, merely to throw some light upon certain passages of the Old Testament, but which afterward embraced a much wider field. Michaelis, to whom the choice of the individuals who were to form this mission had been intrusted, betrayed the narrowness or malignity of his mind, by neglecting the celebrated Reiske, who was then well known to be struggling with starvation, in order to thrust forward Von Haven, a pupil of his own, who, but for this partial choice, would probably have lived and died in obscurity. Niebuhr himself was recommended to Michaelis by Kastner, whose pupil he had for some time been. The proposal was abruptly made, and as suddenly accepted. "Have you a mind," said Kastner, "to go into Arabia?" "Why not?" replied Niebuhr, "if anybody will pay my expenses." "The King of Denmark," said Kastner, "will pay your expenses." He then entered into the history of the Danish ministry's project, and Niebuhr, whose genuine ambition was most ardent, and who, though in manners modest and unassuming, could not but entertain a favourable opinion of his own capacity, at once engaged to form a member of the mission. It was agreed, on the part of his Danish majesty, that he should be allowed a year and a half for preparation, with a salary sufficient for his maintenance.

Niebuhr had now a definite object. The East, with all its barbaric pomp and historical glory, which in preceding and succeeding days have kindled enthusiasm in so many bosoms, appeared to court his examination; and, like a lover who appreciates at their highest value the accomplishments of his mistress, and is bent on rendering himself worthy of her, he

thenceforward studied, with vehement earnestness, all those branches of knowledge which he regarded as necessary to a traveller in the East; and Latin, Arabic, the mathematics, drawing, practical mechanics, together with the history of the countries he was about to visit, amply occupied his hours. An additional half-year being granted him, it was not until the Michaelmas of 1760 that he quitted Gottingen for Copenhagen.

Here he was received in the most flattering manner by Count Bernstorff, the Danish minister, by whom he was appointed lieutenant of engineers. The rank of captain he modestly refused. Niebuhr was never possessed by an immoderate desire for wealth, and a trait of unpresuming disinterestedness which escaped him during his preparatory studies is at once illustrative of this fact, and of another equally important,—that wealth no less than fame is frequently best won by carefully abstaining from grasping at it too eagerly. The salary granted him by the King of Denmark was probably small, but our traveller, with that repugnance to solicit which is characteristic of superior minds, not only contrived to reduce his wants within the limits of his means, but by rigid economy enabled himself, moreover, to purchase at his own expense whatever instruments he needed. The knowledge of this fact coming to the ears of the minister, he not only reimbursed the young traveller the sum he had expended, but, as a mark of the high satisfaction he derived from so striking an evidence of honest independence, committed to his charge the travelling-chest of the mission.

Niebuhr's companions were four in number: Von Haven, the linguist, a person of mean capacity; Forskaal, the naturalist, distinguished for his numerous and profound acquirements; Cramer, a physician, devoid even of professional knowledge; and Bauranfeind, an artist, not destitute of talent, but ignorant, full of prejudices, and addicted to the vulgar habit of drinking. Von Haven, to whom a long sea-voyage was disagreeable, obtained permission to proceed to Marseilles by land; and the ship in which the other members of the expedition embarked was directed to take him on board at that port. They left the Sound on the 7th of January, 1761, but were three times driven back by contrary winds; so that it was not until the 10th of March that they were enabled fairly to put to sea, and continue their voyage.

Niebuhr describes, among the singular things observed during this voyage, a white rainbow, which only differed from the common rainbow in being destitute of colours. This, I believe, is a phenomenon not often witnessed; but on the 21st

of May, 1830, which succeeded a day and night of tremendous thunder, lightning, and rain, a similar rainbow was seen in Normandy. It was much thicker, but greatly inferior in span, and less sharply defined at the edges than the ordinary bow; and, as the morning mist upon which it was painted grew thinner, the arch decreased in span, until it at length vanished entirely.

Our traveller amused himself while on board in observing the manners of the crew, which he considered manly though unpolished. He likewise exercised himself daily in nautical and astronomical observations; and by his affability and the extent of his knowledge, acquired and preserved the respect of both officers and men. They discovered Cape St. Vincent on the 21st of April, and a few days afterward entered the Mediterranean, where their course was considerably retarded by calms and contrary winds. Meanwhile the weather was beautiful, and their eyes were refreshed with the most lovely prospects, now on the African shores, and now on those of Europe. On the 14th of May they cast anchor in the port of Marseilles, which was at that time crowded by Swedish, Danish, Dutch, Spanish, and French ships, the greater number of which were prevented from putting to sea by fear of the English fleets, which scoured the Mediterranean, diffusing consternation and terror on all sides.

From the agreeable society of Marseilles, rendered doubly charming in their estimation by their previous privation, they were soon compelled to snatch themselves away. On the 6th of June Niebuhr observed at sea the transit of Venus, and on the 14th reached Malta. This little island enjoys, like Ireland, the privilege of being free from serpents, which it is supposed to owe to the interference of St. Paul; though Niebuhr imagines that the dry and rocky nature of the soil is sufficient, without a miracle, to account for the circumstance. The knights observing, perhaps, a peculiar absence of bigotry in our traveller, imagined that this indicated a leaning towards Catholicism, and appear to have been desirous of tempting him by magnificent promises to desert the creed of his forefathers. Though his stay in Malta was very short, Niebuhr was careful to observe whatever curiosities the island afforded: the great church of St. John, enriched, it is said, by sharing the plunder of the knights, with innumerable ornaments, and a prodigious candlestick of gold; the hospital, where the sick, whatever might be their medical treatment, were served with vessels of silver; the immense corn-magazines, hewn out in the rock; the salt-mines; and the catacombs.



In sailing from Malta to Smyrna he was attacked with dysentery, and began to fear that his travels were to terminate there; but the disorder was less serious than he imagined, and having reached Tenedos, he embarked in a Turkish boat, and proceeded up the Dardanelles to Constantinople. Here, though slowly, he recovered his health, and having remained quiet two months, and provided oriental dresses, not choosing to expose himself in the paltry costume of Europe to the laughter of the populace, he set sail with his companions for Egypt.

On the way they landed at Rhodes, where, for the first time they visited a Turkish eating-house. The dinner, though dear, was good, but was served up in common earthen platters, in the open street. They next visited a Jew, who kept wine for the accommodation of Europeans; and had in his house two young women, whom he called his daughters, who were probably designed for the same purpose. Their reception here cost them still dearer than their Turkish dinner; and as Jews, wine, and the drinkers of wine are held in contempt by all sincere and respectable Mohammedans, this must be considered a highly injudicious step in Niebuhr. The ship in which they sailed had on board a number of female slaves, the principal of whom were lodged in a large chamber directly over their cabin, from which we may infer that the Turks do not, like the Burmese, consider it a disgrace to have women walking over their heads. As there were tolerably wide cracks in the ceiling, our travellers frequently enjoyed the pleasure of viewing these ladies, who, though a little terrified at first, soon became accustomed to their faces, and notwithstanding that neither party at all understood the language of the other, many little presents of fruit and other trifles were given and returned. The mode in which this affair was conducted was ingenious. As soon as the Mohammedans collected together for prayer, the girls gently tapped at their windows, and Niebuhr and Forskaal, looking out of the cabin, beheld the handkerchiefs of the fair held out for fruit. When filled, they were drawn up, and the presents they chose to make in return were then lowered down in the same way. During the voyage, six or eight persons having died suddenly, it was suspected that they had the plague on board; but Niebuhr imagined that other causes might have hastened the end of those who died; at all events, none of the members of the expedition were infected, though their physician had often visited the sick.

The land of Egypt at length appeared on the 26th of September, and on the same day, late in the evening, they cast anchor in the port of Alexandria. Norden, a scientific, but an uninteresting traveller, having recently constructed a plan of

the city, Niebuhr judged that he might spare himself the pains of repeating the process, more especially as the Arabs, hovering in troops in the vicinity, rendered him apprehensive that he might be robbed. However, as the eminence on which Pompey's pillar stands overlooks a large portion of the city, he amused himself with taking several angles from thence, intending to follow this up by taking others from some other positions. While he was thus engaged, one of the Turkish merchants, who happened to be present, observing his telescope pointed towards the city, had the curiosity to look through it, and was not a little alarmed at perceiving a tower upside down. "This," says he, "gave occasion to a rumour, that I was come to Alexandria to turn the whole city topsyturvy. The report reached the governor's house. My janizary refused to accompany me when I took out my instrument; and as I then supposed that a European could not venture to appear in an Eastern city without a janizary, I relinquished the idea of making any further geometrical measurements there." "On another occasion," he continues, "when I was making an astronomical observation on the southern point of the Delta, a very civil and sensible peasant, from the village of Daraue, happened to be present. As I wished to show him something he had never seen before, I pointed the telescope of the quadrant towards his village, on which he was extremely terrified at seeing all the houses upside down. He asked my servant what could be the cause of this. The man replied, that the government, being extremely dissatisfied with the inhabitants of that village, had sent me to overthrow it entirely. The poor peasant was greatly afflicted, and entreated me to wait long enough for him to take his wife, his children, and his cow to some place of safety. My servant assured him he had two hours good. He immediately ran home, and as soon as the sun had passed the meridian, I took my quadrant on board again."

Niebuhr found a number of Mohammedans at Alexandria who understood French, Swedish, and Danish as completely as if they had been born in the countries where those languages are spoken. As most European travellers proceed up the Nile from this city to Cairo, the members of the expedition were desirous of performing the journey by land, but were restrained by fear of the Arabs; and M. Forskaal, who afterward ventured upon this hardy enterprise, was actually stripped to the skin, and with great difficulty obtained back his breeches. Niebuhr now hired a small ship, and embarked on the 31st of October, but was detained in the Gulf of Aboukir by contrary winds. Impatient of delay, his companions pro-

ceeded thence to Rosetta by land, with a company of Turks ; but our traveller continued his voyage, and reached the city very shortly after them. Though the inhabitants of Rosetta enjoyed the reputation of being peculiarly polite towards strangers, Niebuhr was too impatient to behold the capital of modern Egypt to linger long in any provincial city ; he therefore hastened to ascend the Nile, and enjoyed the romantic prospect of fertility, villages peeping through groves of date-trees, and here and there vast wrecks of ancient cities, which all travellers in that extraordinary country have admired. They arrived at Cairo on the 10th of November.

The Nile, like the Ganges, has long been renowned for the daring race of pirates who infest it. Bruce, and many other travellers, have celebrated their ingenuity ; but the following anecdote, related by Niebuhr, exhibits their exquisite skill in a still more favourable point of view : A pasha, recently arrived in Egypt, happening to be encamped on the banks of the river, his servants, aware of the dexterity of their countrymen, kept so strict a watch during the night, that they detected one of the pirates, and brought him before the pasha, who threatened to put him to death on the spot. The prisoner, however, entreated permission to show the pasha one of the extraordinary tricks of his art, in the hope of thereby inducing him to spare his life. The permission was granted. The man then took up the pasha's garments, and whatever else he found in the tent, and having tied them up into a packet, as the Egyptians do when they are about to swim across a river, made several turns before the company to amuse them. He then insensibly approached the Nile, and darting into the water like lightning, had already reached the opposite shore, with the pasha's garments upon his head, before the Turks could get ready their muskets to fire at him.

Niebuhr was exceedingly desirous, soon after his arrival at Cairo, of descending the eastern branch of the Nile to Damietta ; but the sky during the whole winter and spring was so overcast with clouds, and the rain fell so frequently, that it was impossible to take astronomical observations. On the 1st of May, however, the weather having cleared up, he left Cairo. The wind blowing from the north, their progress was slow, and he had therefore considerable leisure for observation. The Coptic churches amused him much. In one of these he saw pictures representing Christ, the Virgin, and several saints, on horseback ; intended, perhaps, to insinuate to their Mohammedan masters, that the founder of their religion and his followers had not been compelled, as Christians then were in Egypt, to ride upon asses. These churches, moreover, were

strewed with so many crutches, that a stranger might conclude, upon observing them, that the whole Coptic community had lost the use of their limbs; however, upon inquiry, our traveller discovered that it was the custom among them to stand in church, which many persons found so wearisome that they resolved to aid their piety with crutches. The floors were covered with mats, which, not being changed very frequently, swarmed with fleas, numbers of which did our traveller the honour to prefer him before any of their ancient patrons. In approaching Damietta he saw about twenty large boats loaded with bees: each of these boats carried two hundred hives; the number, therefore, of the hives here assembled in one spot, was four thousand; and when the inhabitants of this floating city issued forth to visit the flowers of the neighbourhood, they must have appeared like a locust cloud.

His stay at Damietta, which is about four miles above the mouth of the Nile, was short. Europeans are nowhere in the East so much detested, on account, chiefly, of the profligate character of the French formerly settled there, who, having debauched several Mohammedan women, were nearly all massacred by the infuriated populace. Niebuhr's fancy that they still remember the crusades, and hate the Franks for the evils those insane expeditions inflicted on their ancestors, is just as rational as if the English people were to be supposed to nourish resentment against all the northern nations, because their barbarous ancestors made piratical descents upon the English coasts.

While at Cairo he could not, of course, resist the desire of visiting the Pyramids. He therefore hired two Bedouin guides, and proceeded with his friend Forskaal towards the desert, where they were encountered by a young sheikh, who, by dint of bravado and insolence, succeeded in extorting from them a small sum of money; but had they, when he first offered his services, bestowed upon him half a crown, he would not only have given them no further molestation, but would have constituted himself their protector against all other importunates. Niebuhr afterward returned under more favourable auspices, and completed the measurement of the two great pyramids, the loftier of which he found to be four hundred and forty-three feet, and the second to be four hundred and three feet high. I shall hereafter, perhaps, have occasion to remark upon the strange discrepancies which are found between the measurements of various travellers, which are, in fact, so great, that we must suspect some of them, at least, of having wanted the knowledge required for such an undertaking. From considering the petrifications and the nature of the rocks in this

neighbourhood, Niebuhr was led to infer the prodigious antiquity of Egypt: "Supposing the whole of the rocks in the northern portions of the country to be composed of petrifications of a certain kind of shell, how many years," says he, "must have elapsed before a sufficient number of little snails to raise mountains to their present height could have been born and died! How many other years before Egypt could have been drained and become solid, supposing that, in those remote ages, the waters retired from the shore as slowly as they have during the last ten centuries! How many years still, before the country was sufficiently peopled to think of erecting the first pyramid! How many more years, before that vast multitude of pyramids which are still found in the country could have been constructed! Considering that at the present day we are ignorant of when, and by whom, even the most modern of them was built."

On the 26th of August, 1762, Niebuhr and his companions set out with the caravan going from Cairo to Suez: the rest of the party, in spite of the Mohammedans, mounted on horseback, and Niebuhr himself on a dromedary. By this means he avoided several evils to which the others were liable. Seated on his mattress he could turn his face now on one side, now on another, to avoid the heat of the sun; and, after having travelled all day, was no more fatigued in the evening than if he had been all the while reposing in a chair; while the horsemen, compelled to remain perpetually in the same posture, were well-nigh exhausted. On the 30th they encamped near a well of good water, mentioned by Belin, Pietro Della Valle, and Pococke, close to which the Turks formerly erected a castle, which was now in ruins, and in three hours more arrived at the wells of Suez, which were surrounded by a strong wall, to keep out the Arabs, and entered by a door fastened with enormous clumps of iron. The water here was drawn up with buckets or sacks of leather.

Suez, from its fortunate position on the Red Sea, carried on a considerable trade. Numbers of ships were built there annually, the materials of which were transported thither on the backs of camels from Cairo. The environs consist of naked rocks, or beds of loose sand, in which nothing but brambles and a few dry stunted plants, among others the rose of Jericho, are found to grow. This rose is employed by the women of the East in various superstitious practices, and is therefore to be found for sale in all cities. When pregnant, they gather one of the buds, and putting its stem in water, foretell whether their pains will be severe or slight from the greater or smaller development of the flower.

Niebuhr's first inquiry on arriving at Suez was concerning the "Mountains of Inscriptions," about which so much had been said in Europe. The individuals to whom his first questions were put had never even heard of it; others, who were exactly in the same predicament, but desired to possess themselves of a little of their European gold, professed a most accurate knowledge of the spot, but upon inquiry were detected. At length, however, an Arab was discovered, from whose replies it was clear, that whether he had seen the real *Gebel el Mokatteb* or not, some mountain or another he had beheld, upon which inscriptions in an unknown language were to be found. Under this man's guidance, therefore, they placed themselves,—That is, Niebuhr and Von Haven, for the rest were, from various causes, detained at Suez; and leaving the Red Sea on their right hand they struck off into the desert.

Niebuhr found that the Arabs, whose profession it is to serve as guides, were distinguished, like all other persons of that class, for their extravagant cupidity. So long as they could live at the expense of strangers, their own provisions and means were assiduously spared; but on other occasions they exhibited various symptoms that the old national virtue of hospitality was not wholly banished from their minds. The women in this part of Arabia are not in the habit of concealing their faces from strangers, as is the fashion in Egypt. Niebuhr, in his solitary rambles through the country, discovered the wife and sister of a sheikh grinding corn beside their tent; who, instead of flying and concealing themselves at his approach, as he seems to have expected, came forward, according to the good old custom of the East, with a present in their hands.

On arriving at what his guides called the "Mountain of Inscriptions," a lofty rugged eminence, which it cost them much time and toil to climb, he found—not what he had expected—but a vast Egyptian cemetery, in which were a great number of sepulchral monuments covered with hieroglyphics. These inscriptions he was not permitted to copy at the time, because the sheikh of the mountain apprehended he might thereby gain possession of the immense treasures concealed beneath; but one of his guides, who probably had little faith in that point of the sheikh's creed, afterward, on his return from Mount Sinai, enabled him to copy whatever he pleased. On his arrival at the convent of St. Catherine the monks politely refused to admit him, alleging, as their excuse, that he had not brought along with him a letter from their bishop. The patriarch's letter, which he presented to them, they returned unopened. He was, in fact, destined to meet with nothing but disappoint-

ment in these celebrated regions; for his Arabs, having conducted him up to a certain height on Mount Sinai, refused to proceed any farther, and he was not possessed of sufficient resolution to ascend the remainder alone.

Niebuhr now hastened back to Suez, and on his return forded the Red Sea on his dromedary, a thing which no European had done before, though the guides, who were on foot, did not find the water above knee deep. Being desirous of surveying the extremity of the Arabian Gulf, he procured a guide soon after his return from Mount Sinai, with whom he set out upon this expedition. They travelled, however, in constant fear; and the sight of a stranger in the distance increased the terrors of the guide to so extraordinary a pitch, that it may be suspected he had blood upon his hands, and dreaded the hour of retribution.

The constant arrival of pilgrims from Egypt had now rendered Suez, in proportion to its extent, more populous than Cairo. These holy men, being on their way to the city of their prophet, regarded Christians with an evil eye, just as a bigoted Franciscan travelling to Jerusalem would regard a heretic or an unbeliever; and on this account Niebuhr greatly dreaded the voyage he was about to perform in their company from Suez to Jidda. To avoid, as far as possible, all causes of dispute with their fellow-passengers, they embarked several days before the rest, paid their passage, stowed away their luggage, and then amused themselves with observing the strange characters by which they were surrounded, not the least extraordinary of which was a rich black eunuch, who in imitation of the great Turkish lords, travelled with his harem.

All the passengers having at length repaired on board, they set sail on the 9th of October, and sailing along coral reefs, which in bad weather are highly dangerous, they arrived next day at Tor. Near this town is a small village inhabited by Christians, to which Forskaal went alone, for the purpose of visiting what is supposed to be the site of ancient Elim. While he was absent, it was rumoured on board that the Arabs had formed the intention of pursuing and arresting the Frank, who had landed with the design of sketching their mountains; upon which a number of janizaries from Cairo, who happened to be on board, immediately set out for the village, and having met with M. Forskaal, conducted him back in safety to the vessel. "Are there many Christians," inquires Niebuhr, "who, under similar circumstances, would do as much for a Jew?"

On the evening of the 16th of October they discovered, about sunset, the Emerald Mountains on the coast of Egypt, called *Gebel Zumrud* by the Arabs. Next day there happened an eclipse of the sun. In Mohammedan countries persons who are able to calculate an eclipse are regarded as consummate physicians. Forskaal had informed the reis, or captain, that an eclipse was about to take place; and to amuse him and keep him from interrupting his astronomical observations, Niebuhr had smoked several glasses, through which he, as well as the principal merchants, might contemplate the phenomenon. They were all greatly amused, and from that moment Forskaal enjoyed the reputation of being a second Avicenna. From a spirit of humane complaisance, which induces us to allow every one an opportunity of exhibiting his peculiar talents, men are exceedingly apt to fall ill when they come in contact with a physician. Our traveller's Mohammedan companions were particularly polite in this way; for, no sooner had they persuaded themselves that there was a physician on board, than they all discovered that they were attacked by diseases which had previously lain dormant, and confidently demanded medicines and advice. Forskaal prescribed for all. To the majority he recommended more or less sleep, and a careful attention to their diet. A pilgrim at length presented himself, who complained that he was unable to see during the night. The physician advised him to light a candle. This was excellent. The Arabs, who are naturally lively, burst into a loud laugh, and all their diseases were forgotten in a moment.

Between Ras Mohammed and Hassani the ship was twice in danger of being set on fire by the negligence of the women; but at length they reached this small island in safety, and the Mohammedans believing the principal danger to be now over, exhibited various tokens of joy, firing muskets and pistols, illuminating the ship with lamps and lanterns, and uttering the triumphant cry of *Be, be, be!* so commonly used by the orientals. The sailors and the pilot petitioned for a present, the former coming round to each passenger with a little boat in their hands, which, when the collection was over, was thrown into the sea. During this passage Niebuhr, who, up to his arrival at Suez, had scarcely seen the face of a Mohammedan woman, had an opportunity of viewing three or four of them naked in a bath; and his indiscreet curiosity very fortunately entailed upon him no evil consequences.

On the 29th of October they arrived at Jidda, where the usual attempts were made to defraud the custom-house. In



this praiseworthy design some succeeded to the extent of their desires; but others, less adroit, or more unfortunate, were detected and compelled to pay the duties, no such atrocity as the confiscation of the whole property being ever practised. A duty of two or two and a half *per cent.* being levied upon all specie, people were most anxious to conceal their wealth: but by endeavouring to effect this, one of Niebuhr's companions suffered severely; for in stepping from the ship into the boat, his purse, which he had tied round his body, opened accidentally, and about a hundred crowns fell into the sea. The common cash of the expedition was conveyed on shore in the bottoms of their boxes of drugs, which were not searched, it being in Arabia a general opinion that physicians, having no need of money, seldom carry any about with them.

Niebuhr had observed in Egypt that the populace looked with inexpressible contempt upon Christians, and thence inferred that in proportion as they approached the Holy City they should find this inhospital bigotry on the increase; but his apprehensions were unfounded, for the people of Jidda, long accustomed to the sight of Europeans, and constantly experiencing the humanizing influence of commerce, were peculiarly refined, allowing strangers to do almost what they pleased. It was merely forbidden them to approach the Mecca gate; which, like the city to which it leads, is reputed holy. Our traveller, during his residence at Cairo, had formed an acquaintance with a poor sheikh, who, for a Mohammedan, might be said to be as highly favoured by science as he was neglected by fortune; and this man, in gratitude for the knowledge he had derived from him, besides furnishing him with letters of recommendation to the Kihaya and Pasha of Jidda, had privately written to those important personages, who had honoured him for his knowledge, earnestly requesting them to show every possible mark of kindness and attention to his European friends. These were the letters from which they had least expectations, and presented last; nevertheless, when the recommendations of all their other friends had failed even to procure them a lodging, those of the poor sheikh introduced them to powerful protectors. Niebuhr was here witness of the curious mode of catching wild ducks noticed by Pockocke in Upper Egypt, and by another English traveller in China. When a number of these birds were observed in the water, the sportsman undressed, covered his head with seaweed, and then crept quietly into the water. By this means the ducks were deceived, so that they allowed the man to come near and catch them by the legs.

They remained at Jidda until the 14th of December, when they embarked in one of the country vessels for Loheia. Niebuhr was not possessed of the art of painting what he saw with the fine colours of language. His narrative is frequently dry even to insipidity. He was observant, he was calm, he was judicious, but he was destitute of eloquence, and this deficiency is nowhere in his works more strongly felt than in his account of his various voyages through the Red Sea. On the 22d they landed on the coast of Yemen, near Fej el Jelbe, inhabited by Bedouins, who are suspected of being pagans. A few tents were discovered on the shore, and as soon as the travellers had landed, which they did unarmed lest they should be taken for enemies, several of the wild natives came down to meet them. Their appearance and dress were extraordinary. Their dark hair descended in profusion to their shoulders; and instead of a turban, several of them had merely a cord tied round the head, intended, I imagine, to keep their tresses in order. Others, more careful and industrious, had woven themselves a kind of bonnet with green palm-leaves. A miserable waist-cloth constituted the whole of their dress. From the eagerness of the sailors to get their lances out of their hands they immediately discovered that they were suspected; upon which they cast the weapons on the ground, assuring the strangers that they had nothing to fear. Notwithstanding that they had landed in search of provisions the Bedouins conducted them to their tents, where two women came out to meet them. Their salutation was curious. The women, who were unveiled, kissed the arm of the sheikh, who, in return, pressed their heads with his lips. The ladies then advanced towards the strangers. Their complexion was sallow brown, they had blackened their eyelids with surme, and died their nails with henne; and, like the lower ranks of women in Egypt, exhibited marks of tattooing on the chin, cheeks and forehead. Cosmetics being rare in those countries, they requested our travellers to favour them with a small quantity of kohol and al henne; but they had injudiciously neglected to provide themselves with any thing of the kind, and consequently saw themselves in the disagreeable predicament of being compelled to refuse.

On their arrival at Loheia they were received with remarkable politeness by the emir and the chief merchants of the city. They had taken the small vessel in which they performed the voyage for a longer passage as far as Hodeida; and the captain, understanding that they had some intention of remaining at Loheia, secretly applied to the emir with a request that he would compel them to complete their engagement, either by

proceeding all the way to Hodeida, or by paying the whole sum agreed upon. With a generosity not often displayed towards utter strangers by men in office, the emir replied, that should the travellers refuse payment of the sum in question, he himself would satisfy his demands; and the principal merchant to whom the suspicious navigator also applied entered into the same engagement. Of course they were not allowed to suffer by their grateful and astonished guests.

The above merchant in his eastern style of hospitality, gave them a house to live in during their stay. In return the travellers amused him and the emir with the effects of their microscopes, telescopes, &c. These things filled them with wonder; crowds of people, curious but well-behaved, thronged their court from morning till night, examining with attention whatever they saw, and expressing their astonishment at every thing. This was too much for Danish politeness. They hired a porter, and stationing him at their door, gave strict orders that none but professional men should be admitted. But the curiosity of the Arabs was not to be subdued so easily; for, when all other excuses failed, they feigned illness, and gained admittance under pretence of coming to consult the physician. Sometimes Dr. Cramer, who appears to have been an uncouth creature, was requested to favour sick persons with a visit at their own houses, and one day received a pressing entreaty to repair without delay to the *emir el bahr*, or captain of the port, who had need of consulting him. Cramer, not attending to this summons immediately, was shortly afterward informed that the *emir el bahr's* saddle-horse was at the door waiting for him. This piece of attention was too flattering to be resisted; he therefore descended immediately, and was about to put his foot into the stirrup, when he was interrupted with the information that the horse was unwell, and had been brought there as a patient! Physicians in Arabia prescribe for horses as well as men; this, therefore was not meant as an insult; but Cramer, who felt all his Danish blood curdle in his veins at the bare idea of prescribing for a Mohammedan horse, and was, moreover, mortified at not being allowed to mount his patient, indignantly refused to exercise the functions of a horse-doctor. Luckily, however, their European servant, who had served in a dragoon regiment, understood something of the veterinary art, and undertook the cure of the emir's horse; which succeeding happily, he also was regarded as an eminent physician, and was allowed to elevate his ambition to the treatment of men.

As our travellers continued, as far as possible, to live after the European fashion, their manners were necessarily as much

an object of curiosity to the Arabs as those of the Arabs were to them. One day two young men came to see them eat. Of these, one was a young nobleman from Sana, whose gentle manners announced a superior education; the other, a young chief from the mountains, whose country was seldom visited by strangers. This the *naivete* and simplicity of his manners soon rendered manifest. Upon being invited to eat, he replied, "God preserve me from eating with infidels, who have no belief in God!" Niebuhr then demanded the name of his country; "What," said he, "can my country concern thee? Hast thou formed the design of going thither to subdue it?" He afterward made several remarks upon their manners, the simplicity of which excited their laughter; at which the Arab felt ashamed, and ran away in confusion. His companion fetched him back, however, and he returned, wondering at the amazing quantity of food which they devoured. Fowl after fowl disappeared before these mighty eaters; the poor Arab, who began to entertain awful ideas of the capacity of a German stomach, and apprehending that they might bring about a famine in the land, for a while looked on in silent amazement; but when they had already eaten as much as would, perhaps, have satisfied a whole tribe of Bedouins, he started up, upon seeing Von Haven preparing to carve yet another fowl, and seizing him by the arm, exclaimed, "How much then, dost thou intend to eat?" This sally produced still louder peals of laughter than ever, and the poor Arab, who probably apprehended that they might finish by eating him, rushed out of the house and disappeared.

Having sufficiently observed whatever was interesting or new at Loheia, they departed thence on the 20th of February, 1763, their servants and baggage mounted on camels, and themselves on asses. Not that Europeans were here, as at Cairo, prohibited from riding on horseback, but that horses were dear and not easily to be hired, while the asses, though comparatively cheap, were large fine animals, of easy gait. Arabia, it is well known, is surrounded by a belt of burning sand, which has in all ages aided in protecting it from invasion. This our travellers had now to traverse, but they suffered no particular inconvenience from the heat, and in four days arrived at *Beit el Fakih*, the greatest coffee emporium in the world.

Niebuhr, being now in a country where travelling was attended with no risk, and desiring, apparently, to escape from the society of his companions, hired an ass, and set out alone on an excursion to several neighbouring towns. This was succeeded by several other excursions, and at length he pro-

ceeded to the Coffee Mountains, a district which offers, perhaps, as many curious particulars to the observation of a traveller as any spot in Asia. These mountains could be ascended only on foot. The road, though rugged and broken, lay through coffee plantations and gardens, and to Niebuhr, who had just quitted the burning plains of the Tehama, afforded the most exquisite gratification. The prospects, moreover, which here meet the eye on all sides are rich and beautiful. They are precisely what the hills of Judea must have been before Sion had been profaned by the heathen, when every man, confident in the protection of the Lord, sat down tranquilly under his vine or under his fig-tree. These mountains are covered with vineyards to the summit, have a woody appearance, and are beautified by numerous mountain streams, which frequently leap in long cascades from the rocks. The coffee-tree, which was at this time in full flower in many places, diffuses around an agreeable odour, and somewhat resembles the Spanish jasmin. The Arabs plant these trees so close that the rays of the sun can scarcely find their way between them, which prevents the necessity of frequent watering; but they have reservoirs on the heights from which they can, when necessary, turn numerous streamlets into the plantations.

From the Coffee Mountains they returned to Beit el Fakih, whence they shortly afterward departed on another short excursion. The natives, who carefully abstained from exposing themselves to the sun during the heat of the day, expressed their well-grounded astonishment that Europeans should be imprudent enough to hazard so dangerous a step; and our travellers were, in reality, at this very time laying the foundation of those fatal diseases which shortly afterward swept them away, Niebuhr only excepted; for I am persuaded that they might have returned, even in spite of their execrable diet and destructive habits of drinking, to brave the climate of Yemen, had they timed their journeys more judiciously.

By this time their appearance was tolerably oriental; the sun had bronzed their countenances, their beards had acquired a respectable length, their dress was exactly that of the country, and they had, moreover, adopted Arabic names. Even their guides no longer took them for Europeans, but supposed them to be members of the eastern church, who by forbidden studies had succeeded in discovering the art of making gold, and were searching among the lonely recesses of their mountains for some rare plant whose juices were requisite in their alchymical processes. Niebuhr's assiduous observation of the stars considerably aided in strengthening

this delusion, which upon the whole, perhaps, was rather beneficial to them than otherwise.

In the hilly districts of Yemen our traveller observed among the Arabs a peculiar mode of passing the night. Instead of making use of a bed, each individual crept entirely naked into a sack, where, without closing the mouth of it, the breath and transpiration kept him sufficiently warm. Niebuhr himself never tried the sack, but very soon acquired the habit, which is universal among the Arabs of Yemen, of sleeping with the face covered, to guard against the malignant effects of the dews and poisonous winds. Here, M. Forskaal discovered the small tree that produces the balm of Mecca, which happening to be in flower at the time enabled him to write a complete description of it, which he did seated under its branches. The inhabitants, who knew nothing of its value, merely made use of it as firewood, on account of its agreeable odour.

Upon descending from these mountainous countries, where the climate is as cool and salubrious as in most parts of Europe, Niebuhr found the heat of the Tehama almost insupportable, and entering a little coffee-house, overwhelmed with fatigue, threw himself on his mat in a current of air, and fell asleep. This heedless action nearly cost him his life. He awoke in a violent fever, which hung about him for a considerable time, and reduced his frame to such an extreme state of weakness that the slightest exertion became painful. Von Haven, too, whose supreme delight consisted in brandy, wine, and good eating, and who seldom quitted his sofa, except for the purpose of placing himself before his gods at the dinner-table, now began to experience the impolicy of feeding like an ogre in the deserts of the Tehama, and very quickly fell a victim to his imprudence.

From Beit el Fakih they proceeded to Mokha, where, as at Cairo, Europeans were compelled to enter the city by a particular gate, on foot, as a mark of humiliation. Niebuhr found that he and his companions were here taken for Turks, and they were accordingly directed to the khan, or inn, where the Osmanlis usually took up their abode. Though they understood that there was an English merchant at Mokha, they judged it unnecessary, in the first instance, to make application to him, as they had everywhere else in Yemen been received with politeness and hospitality; and besides, they were somewhat apprehensive that, from their dress and appearance, he might be led to regard them as vagabonds or renegades. They therefore addressed themselves to an Arab merchant, by whom they were well received.

The people of Mokha made some pretensions to civilization, which is unfortunate, as the term, at least in the East, means custom-house officers, and insolence towards strangers. Our travellers, though no merchants, had large quantities of baggage, which, of course, was taken to the custom-house, before they could be allowed to enjoy the use of it. I have already observed, that although Niebuhr himself was a temperate, perhaps even an abstemious man, his companions set a high value on the gratification of their senses. Von Haven himself, who, as I have already observed, shortly afterward fell a victim to his indiscretion, was still among them, and it may therefore be easily imagined that the first articles they were desirous of obtaining from the custom-house were their cooking utensils and their beds. The Arabs, however, were differently minded. They allowed their curiosity to fasten upon the cases in which the natural history specimens were packed, and resolved to begin with them. Among these, unfortunately, there was a small barrel containing various fish of the Red Sea, preserved in spirits of wine. This M. Forskaal, who had collected these fishes himself, injudiciously requested the officers to allow to pass unopened. The request immediately roused all their suspicions. He might, for aught they knew, be a magician, who had confined the Red Sea itself in that barrel, for the purpose of carrying it off, with all its fishes, into Europe. It behooved them, therefore, to bestir themselves. Accordingly the barrel was the first thing opened; but when the operation had been performed, the result anticipated by the naturalist was produced, for so pungent, so atrocious a stink was emitted from the half-putrefied fish, that the authorities very probably apprehended them to be a troop of assassins, commissioned by the devil to administer perdition through the nostrils to all true believers. The custom-house officer, however, confiding in the protection of the Prophet, determined to brave the infernal odour, and in order to explore the abomination to the bottom, took out the horrid remains of the fish, and stirred up the liquor with a piece of iron. The entreaties of the travellers to have it put on one side probably caused them to be regarded as ghouls, who made their odious repasts upon such foul preparations. The Arab still stirred and stirred, and at length in an inauspicious moment upset the cask, and deluged the whole custom-house with its contents. Had Mohammed himself been boiled in this liquid, it could not have smelt more execrably; we may therefore easily imagine the disgust with which the grave assembly beheld it flowing under their beards, infecting them with a scent which it would take several dirrhems' worth of perfume to remove. Their ill-

humour was increased when, on opening another cask, containing insects, their nostrils were again saluted with a fresh variety of stink, which they inferred must possess peculiar charms for the nose of a Frank, since he would travel so far to procure himself the enjoyment of its savour. An idea now began to suggest itself to the Arabs, which still further irritated them, which was, that the insolent Franks had packed up these odious things in order to insult the governor of the city, at the expense of whose beard, it was not doubted, they intended to amuse themselves. This persuasion was fatal to many a cockleshell. They mercilessly thrust down a pointed iron bar through the collections, crushing shells, and beetles, and spiders. The worst stroke of all, however, was yet to come. This was the opening of a small cask, in which several kinds of serpents were preserved in spirits. Everybody was now terrified. It was suggested that the Franks had no doubt come to the city for the purpose of poisoning the inhabitants, and had represented themselves as physicians in order to commit their horrid crimes the more effectually. Even the governor was now moved. In fact, his anger was roused to such a pitch, that, though a grave and pious man, he exclaimed, "By God, these people shall not pass the night in our city!" The custom-house was then closed.

While they were in this perplexity, one of their servants arrived in great hurry and confusion, with the news that their books and clothes had been thrown out through the window at their lodgings, and the door shut against them. They moreover found, upon inquiry, that it would be difficult to discover any person who would receive into his house individuals suspected of meditating the poisoning of the city; but at length a man bold enough to undertake this was found. Such was their position when they received from the English merchant above alluded to an invitation to dinner. "Never," says Niebuhr, "was an invitation more gladly accepted; for we not only found at his house a dinner such as we had never seen since our departure from Cairo, but had at the same time the good fortune to meet with a man who became our sincere and faithful friend. The affair of the custom-house was long and tedious; but at length, by dint of bribery and perseverance, their baggage, snakes and all, was delivered to them, and they even rose, in consequence of a cure attempted by M. Cramer on the governor's leg, into high consideration and favour.

Niebuhr was here again attacked by dysentery, and Von Haven died. This event inspired the whole party with terror, and having with much difficulty obtained the governor's permission, they shortly afterward departed for the interior.



They travelled by night, to escape the extreme heat of the sun, but soon found the roads so bad as to render this mode of journeying impracticable. The country during the early part of their route was barren, and but thinly inhabited; but in proportion as they departed from the shore the landscape improved in beauty and fertility. At the small city of Jerim, on the road to Sana, Niebuhr had the misfortune to lose his friend Forskaal, the best Arabic scholar of the whole party, and a man who looked forward with enthusiasm to the glory to be derived from the successful termination of their travels. The bigotry of the Mohammedans rendered it difficult to obtain a place of burial for the dead, who was interred in the European fashion; which, immediately after their departure, caused the Arabs, who imagine that the Europeans bury treasures with their dead, to exhume the body. Finding nothing to reward their pains, they compelled the Jews to reinter him; and as these honest people complained that they were likely to have no remuneration for their labour, the governor allowed them to take the coffin in payment, and restore the body naked to the earth.

On the 17th of July, 1763, they arrived in the environs of Sana, and sent forward a servant with a letter, announcing their arrival to the chief minister of the imam. This statesman, however, who had previously received tidings of their approach, and was desirous of receiving them with true Arab politeness, had already despatched one of his secretaries to meet them at the distance of half a league from the city. This gentleman informed them that they had been long expected at Sana, and that, in order to render their stay agreeable, the imam had assigned them a country-house at *Bir el Assab*. While they were conversing with the secretary, and secretly congratulating themselves on their good fortune, they arrived at the entrance into their garden, where the Arab desired them to alight. They of course obeyed, but soon discovered that their guide had played them a trick in the manner of the people of Cairo, for he remained on his ass during the rest of the way, which was considerable, enjoying the pleasure of beholding a number of Franks toiling along on foot beside his beast. This put them out of humour, and their spleen was increased when, on arriving at their villa, they found that, however elegant or agreeable it might be, it did not contain a single article of furniture, or a person who would provide them even with bread and water.

Next day, however, they received from the imam a present of five sheep, three camel-loads of wood, a large quantity of wax-tapers, rice, and spices. At the same time they were in-

formed that two days at least would elapse before they could obtain an audience, a matter about which they were indifferent; but that they could not in the mean time quit their house. Though considerably chagrined at the latter circumstance, they hoped in some measure to neutralize its effects, by receiving the visits of such natives as curiosity, or any other motive, might allure to the house; and accordingly were very much gratified at the appearance of a Jew, who had performed in their company the journey from Cairo to Loheia. This young Israelite, delighted to spend a few moments in the company of persons who received him without any demonstrations of contempt, appeared to experience a gratification in obliging them; and came on the second day accompanied by one of the most celebrated astrologers of his sect, from whom Niebuhr learned the Hebrew appellations of several stars. While he was yet conversing with this learned descendant of Abraham, the secretary of the imam arrived. They were ignorant of the etiquette of the court of Sana, according to which they should have abstained from receiving as well as from paying visits; but the secretary, whose business it was to have instructed them on these points, doubly enraged by their infraction of the rules of decorum, and by a sense of his own negligence, directed all the violence of his fury against the unfortunate Jews, whose society he imagined must have been equally disagreeable to the travellers as it would have been to him. He therefore not only expelled them from the house, but, in order to protect the imam's guests from a repetition of the same intrusion, gave peremptory orders to their Mohammedan attendant to admit no person whatever until they should have obtained their audience.

Two days after their arrival they were admitted into the presence of the imam. It is probable that, having previously formed an exalted idea of the splendour of oriental princes, the reader will be liable to disappointment on the present occasion. The riches and magnificence of the califs, however, of which we find so many glowing descriptions in the *Thousand and One Nights*, in *D'Herbelot*, and many other writers, have long passed away, leaving to the successors of those religious monarchs nothing but remembrance of ancient glory, which gleams like a meteoric light about their throne and diadem. Niebuhr, arriving at Sana from the sandy deserts of the Tehama, where poverty reigns paramount over every thing, enjoyed the advantage of possessing an imagination sobered by stern realities. His fancy depicted the court of the imam in the livery of the desert. He expected little. If he was disappointed, therefore, it was not disagreeably.

The imam, with a vanity pardonable enough in a prince who learns from his cradle to estimate his own greatness by the pomp and glitter which surround him, had in fact employed the two days elapsed since the arrival of his guests in active preparations for their reception; and the rules of etiquette forbidding strangers to pay or receive visits during the interval, were originally intended to conceal this circumstance, and create the belief that the holyday appearance of the court was its ordinary costume. Our travellers were conducted to the palace by the minister's secretary, who here performed what is called the mehmaudar's office in Persia. They found the great court of the edifice thronged with horses, officers, and other Arabs of various grades; so that it required the ministry of the imam's grand equerry to open them a way through the crowd. The hall of audience was a spacious square apartment, vaulted above, and having on its centre several fountains of water, which, gushing aloft to a considerable height, and falling again incessantly, maintained a refreshing coolness in the air. A broad divan, adorned with fine Persian carpets, occupied the extremity of the hall, and flanked the throne, which was merely covered with silken stuffs, and rich cushions. Here the imam sat cross-legged, according to the custom of the East. He received the travellers graciously, allowed them to kiss the hem of his garment, and the back and palm of his hand—an honour which is but sparingly granted to strangers. At the conclusion of this ceremony a herald cried aloud, "God save the imam!" and all the people repeated the same words. As their knowledge of Arabic was still very limited, they conversed with the imam by means of an interpreter, a contrivance admirably adapted for shortening public conferences, since there are few persons who, under such circumstances, would be disposed to indulge in useless circumlocution.

The result of this audience was, that they obtained the prince's permission to remain in the country as long as they desired; and on their retiring, a small present in money was sent them, which they judiciously determined to accept. In the afternoon of the same day they were invited to the minister's villa, where Niebuhr exhibited his mathematical instruments, his microscopes, books, engravings, &c.; at the sight of which Fakih Achmed expressed the highest satisfaction. From the various questions which he put to them, they discovered, moreover, that he himself was a man of very considerable knowledge, particularly in geography; while from his constant intercourse with foreigners his manners had acquired an ease and gracefulness which rendered his company

highly pleasing. Nevertheless, Niebuhr, who feared that the cupidity of this minister, or of some other courtier, might be excited by the sight of his instruments, regretted to perceive these tokens of curiosity, and the necessity he was under of satisfying it; but his suspicions, which appear to have been as unfounded as they were illiberal, were not of long duration, for no man demanded of him any part of his property, or seemed to regard it with covetousness. He, in fact, learned shortly afterward that even the presents which it was judged necessary to make both to the imam and his minister were altogether unexpected, since they were not merchants, and demanded no favours of prince or courtiers.

Niebuhr confesses that the reception which he and his companions met with at Sana was marked by a degree of civility and friendship that far surpassed their expectations. The Arabs would seem, indeed, to have derived so much gratification from their society, that it is more than probable they would willingly have made some sacrifice to retain them; but the death of Von Haven and Forskaal had cast a damp over their imaginations; they apprehended that disease might even then be undermining their constitutions, and were therefore more desirous of flying from the country than of studying its productions or its inhabitants. When they departed from Mokha several English ships were lying there, taking in cargoes of coffee for India; and this circumstance, by promising to facilitate their progress farther towards the east, operated strongly upon their determination to quit Arabia, the original object of their mission, for other regions which appeared more agreeable. One of Niebuhr's biographers appears to think that it was mere solicitude to transmit to Europe an account of what had been performed by the expedition, and not any apprehension of danger, which rendered him so exceedingly desirous of quitting Yemen, for that he never clung to life with any great eagerness. I have by no means an unfavourable opinion of Niebuhr's courage, which, on the contrary, I consider to have been in general equal to the dangers to which he was exposed; but I nowhere find any traces of that stoical indifference about life and death which his biographer seems to attribute to him; and am persuaded, that on the occasion of his departure from Sana, it was the apprehension of death, united, perhaps, with a longing for European society, which actuated his movements. At the same time I acknowledge that his fears were natural, and that most travellers under similar circumstances would have acted much the same way. We miss, however, in Niebuhr, both on this and on all other occasions, the chivalrous spirit of Marco Polo, Pietro della Valle, Chardin, and

Bruce, as we miss in his writings the enthusiasm which casts so powerful a charm over the records of their adventures.

The same reasons which induce me to acknowledge the rational nature of Niebuhr's apology for suddenly quitting Yemen long before he had completed his examination and description of it, incline me likewise to accept his reasons for avoiding the road by Jerim and Taas, which would have led him by Had-dafa and Dhafar, where Hamyaric inscriptions were said to exist. He had already been frequently deceived by the misrepresentations of Arabic ignorance, and therefore doubted the accuracy of his informants. The three remaining members of the mission set out from Sana on the 26th of July, and arriving at Mokha on the 5th of August, found that their apprehensions of danger at Sana, which, though excusable, were not well founded, had precipitated them into real peril; for the English ship in which they intended to embark was by no means ready to sail, so that they had to remain in that burning climate nearly a whole month, during which almost every individual of the party, servants and all, fell sick.

The ship in which Niebuhr at length set sail for India belonged to Mr. Francis Scott, a younger son of the Scotts of Harden, a jacobite family of Roxburgshire. With this gentleman Niebuhr ever after lived on terms of intimate friendship; and "five-and-thirty years afterward," says our traveller's son, the historian of the Roman republic, "when I studied in Edinburgh, I was received in all respects as one of the family in the house of this venerable man, who then lived at his ease in the Scottish capital on the fortune he had acquired by honorable industry."

On his arrival at Bombay he met with the most cordial reception from the English, in whose society he had first learned to delight while in Egypt. Here he spent a considerable time in studying the manners and customs of the Hindoos, and his observations though now destitute of value, must at that time have possessed considerable interest, above all on the Continent. He here lost Cramer, the last of his companions; Baurenfeind, the artist, having died on the voyage. During his stay at Bombay he made a voyage to Surat, famous in the history of oriental commerce and in the Arabian Nights; but his stay was short, and he returned to Bombay without pushing his researches any farther into the interior. The passion for travelling was certainly never very powerful in Niebuhr; but he was possessed by considerable curiosity, and this passion induced him to form the design of proceeding in an English ship to China; but being unwell at the time of the ship's

departure, he relinquished the design, which he never afterwards resumed.

His residence at Bombay, a much less healthy place than Sana, was continued so long, that I am strongly inclined to suspect the want of European society may, after all, have numbered among his most powerful reasons for hurrying from Yemen. From this city he forwarded the manuscripts of his deceased companions as well as his own papers, by way of London, to Copenhagen; and at length, on the 8th of December, 1764, set sail in one of the company's ships of war, bound for Muskat and the Persian Gulf. During this voyage he beheld the surface of the sea for half a German mile in extent covered at night with that luminous appearance which we denominate "phosphoric fires;" and which, according to his opinion, arises entirely from shoals of medusas, which by the English sailors are called "blubbers." A few days afterward, as they approached the shore of Oman, they were accompanied for a considerable distance by a troop of dolphins, which, by the persevering manner in which they followed the ship, seemed, as Lucian jocularly observes, to be animated by a kind of philanthropy, as when they bore Melicerta and Arion to the shore on their backs.

They arrived at Muskat on the 3d of January, 1765; and here Niebuhr, had the interior of Arabia possessed any attractions for him, had once more an opportunity of indulging his curiosity, and fulfilling the original design of the expedition; for, from the humane and polished manners of the people of Oman, travelling was here, he says, attended with no more danger than in Yemen. He preferred, however, ascending the Persian Gulf in an English ship; and therefore, after a stay of a few days, set sail for Abusheher, where he arrived on the 4th of February.

Here Niebuhr, who had learned the English language at Bombay, found himself still in the company of an Englishman, from whom he obtained a plan of the city, together with much curious and valuable information respecting the country and its inhabitants. This Englishman, whose name was Jervis, spoke, read, and wrote the Persian with fluency, and amused himself with making a collection of manuscripts in that language; among which was the "Life of Nadir Shah," by his own private secretary, Mohammed Mahadi Khan. The authenticity of this work was so highly spoken of in Persia, that Niebuhr was at some pains to procure a copy of it for the King of Denmark's library; and it was from this copy that Sir William Jones afterwards compiled his "History of Nadir

Shah," once celebrated but now sunk into oblivion. At Abusheher our traveller saw several of that species of cat, numbers of which are now brought into Europe from Angola. They were procured from Kerman, and it was said that they would nowhere breed except in those countries in which the shawl goat was found—an opinion which has long been proved to have been erroneous.

Shortly after Niebuhr's arrival at Abusheher, Mr. Jervis determined upon sending a quantity of merchandise to Shiraz; and his intention was no sooner made public, than a number of petty merchants, together with several families from the interior, who had been expelled from their homes by the troubles consequent upon the death of Nadir Shah, desired to unite themselves to his party; and thus a small kafilah was at once formed. So excellent an opportunity of visiting the most beautiful city of Persia, as well as the famous ruins of Persepolis, was not to be overlooked. Our traveller therefore joined the trading caravan, and on the 15th of February set out for the interior.

For this journey, however, he was but badly prepared. He was wholly ignorant of the Persian language, and therefore, had he not by great good fortune, found some persons among the party who spoke Arabic, as well as an Armenian who was a tolerable master of the Italian, he must have been reduced to depend upon the universal but scanty language of signs. Strange to say, likewise, he had abandoned the oriental costume, though fully aware, by his own account, of the advantages to be derived from it by a traveller. In other respects he conducted himself judiciously; for, understanding that the English, notwithstanding the troubled state of Persia, had nowhere any thing to fear, he represented himself as an Englishman; and thus, without passport or formal permission, he travelled with perfect freedom and safety. He observed during this journey a curious superstition among the Armenians, of which he had nowhere else discovered any traces: having despatched his servant upon some business at a distance from the encampment, he was one day compelled to act as his own cook, and was about to cut off the head of a fowl. His face at that moment happening to be turned towards the west, an Armenian who was present informed him that a Christian should turn his face to the east when he killed a fowl, no less than when he prayed. Others (as the affair was a serious business) conjectured that he turned towards Mecca, either that his servant, who was a Mohammedan, might conscientiously partake of the food, or because that in reality was his *kebleh*. Seeing, however, that people endeavoured to decide

respecting his religion by the mode in which he slaughtered a hen, he for the future relinquished to his servant the art and mystery of cookery.

Our traveller had an opportunity, near Firashbend, of visiting a Turkoman camp. He found them rich in camels, horses, asses, cows, and sheep. Their women, like those of the Bedouins, enjoyed the most perfect liberty, and wore no veils. These Turkoman women were said to be exceedingly laborious, and the small carpets so universal in Persia were of their workmanship. He likewise beheld a Kurdish family. Farther on he had a very laughable adventure with a troop of Armenian women, which, as characteristic at once of the Armenians and of himself, merits some attention. Having travelled for some time through rain and hail, the kafilah at length halted, near the village of *Romshun*, in which Niebuhr hired a house for a day, and purchased a quantity of wood, in the hope of enjoying a good fire until bedtime. Not desiring, however, to taste of these blessings alone, he invited several Armenians to share the advantage of his apartments, which they most readily accepted. Presently, however a number of women and children presented themselves for admission, and appeared extremely well satisfied when he granted them permission to place themselves inside of the door. He had shortly afterward occasion to leave the house for a moment. Upon his return, he found the husbands of the women seated near the entrance of the house, while the whole harem had established itself round the fire! and conceiving that it might be imprudent to sit down by the fire among the women, or to drive them away from it, he allowed them, though certainly not from politeness, to dry themselves first. Here he was detained for twenty four hours by bad weather. The apartments which he occupied were on the second story, and his horse, which had its quarters in the adjoining chamber, being somewhat restless in the night, broke through the floor, and fell down into the landlord's apartment below!

The kafilah reached Shirez on the 4th of March. Here he was hospitably received and entertained by the only European in the city, a young English merchant, whose name he should have been at the pains to learn, for assuredly it was not, as he imagined, *Mr. Hercules*. His stay at Shirez was rendered agreeable by the politeness of the governor, who, at his first audience, informed him that he would decapitate the first person who should offer him any injury in his territories. The audience being over one of the governor's friends undertook to show them the palace. Several of the apartments were coated with beautiful Tabriz marble, and covered with magnificent



carpets; and among the ornaments of the palace were numerous European mirrors, and pictures of Persian workmanship, among which was one representing a woman bathing, almost wholly naked. Niebuhr was greatly surprised to find pictures of this kind in the house of a Mohammedan; but, in fact, the *Shiahs* are far less rigid on this point than the *Soannees*; and we learn from the Arabian Nights, that even so early as the time of Haroon al Rashid, painting was encouraged in Persia and Mesopotamia, since that celebrated prince is said to have adorned his palace with the performances of the principal Persian artists.

From Shiraz he proceeded to the ruins of Persepolis, the site and nature of which is described in the life of Chardin. His head-quarters during his stay was at the small village of Merdast. From thence, as well as from the other villages, the peasants frequently came to observe him during his examination of the ruins, in which he constantly employed the whole day, from eight o'clock in the morning until five in the afternoon. The majority of these visitors were women and young girls, who were curious to see a European; and the whole of the population were so entirely harmless, that the traveller felt himself as safe in their company as he could have been in any village in Europe. He here received a visit from an Arab sheikh, a learned, polished, and agreeable man, who had passed thirty years in Persia, during which time he had amassed considerable wealth, and now lived in independence and ease.

From Persepolis he returned by the way of Shiraz to Abusheher, where he embarked in one of the country vessels for the island of Karak, where he was hospitably received and entertained by the Dutch merchants settled there; and after a short stay, proceeded to Bassorah. Here he embarked in a small vessel which was about to sail up the Euphrates to Hillah. His companion, during this voyage, was an officer of the janizary corps, who lay in a small chamber close to Niebuhr's cabin, and appeared to be at the point of death. In other respects, this little voyage, which occupied twenty-one days, was sufficiently agreeable. The passengers were remarkable for their good-humour and obliging disposition; and often, when our traveller set up his quadrant on the banks of the stream, they stood around him in a circle, while he was making his observations, to screen him from the wind with their long flowing dresses.

At Rumahia, a small village on the Euphrates, he lodged with two of his Mohammedan companions at the house of a Soonnee, who happened to be the *moollah* of a mosque. Soon

after their arrival, our traveller entered into conversation with his host; and their discourse turning on the subject of marriage, he observed, among other things, that in Europe, a man, when he gives his daughter to any one in wedlock, is generally accustomed to add a considerable sum of money. This custom greatly delighted the moollah. "Do you hear," says he to his mother-in-law, who was sitting near him, while the daughter was preparing their *pilau*,—"do you hear what the stranger is saying? It was not thus that you acted towards me, my mother; I was compelled to pay you a sum of money before you would give me your daughter!" The mother-in-law, after patiently hearing him to the end, replied, "Ah! my son, upon what should I and my daughter have subsisted, had I given thee my field and my date trees?" This slight interruption in the conversation having ceased, Niebuhr, resuming the thread of the discourse, remarked, that in Europe no man could possess more than one wife, under pain of death; that married persons enjoyed every thing in common; and that their property descended to their children. It was now the old lady's turn to be eloquent. "Well, my son," says she, have you marked what the gentleman has just related? Ah! what justice prevails in those countries! Ah! had you no other wife than my daughter, and could I be sure you would never divorce her, how willingly would I relinquish to you my house, and all I possess!" The young woman, who had hitherto seemed to pay no attention to what was said, now likewise joined in the discussion. "Alas! my husband!" said she, "how can you desire that my mother should give you her house? You would soon bestow it upon your other wives. You love them better than me. I see you so seldom!"

The mother and daughter proceeded in this way for some time, and at length Niebuhr, turning to the moollah, demanded how many wives he had. "Four," replied the man. This was the highest number permitted by the law. He had, therefore, indulged his affections to the utmost; and as each of his spouses had a separate house and garden, he flitted at pleasure from wife to wife, and was everywhere received as a man returning home from a long journey. Our traveller inquired of this zealous polygamist whether his private happiness had been increased or diminished by his having availed himself of the privilege of a Mohammedan; but, because his reply was contrary to his own European views, as that of every other Musulman, whom he had questioned on the subject, had been, he absurdly accused him of insincerity.

From this place he proceeded to *Meshed Ali*, where he was deterred from entering the mosque, by the fear that he might,

as a punishment for his presumption, be compelled to profess Mohammedanism; but he admired the exterior of its gilded dome, which glittered like a globe of flame in the sun. The riches of this mosque, allowing much for the exaggeration of the *Shiahs*, must still be immense. The interior of the dome is no less superbly gilt than the exterior, and is adorned with Arabic inscriptions in rich enamel; other inscriptions, in letters of gold, glitter along the walls; while enormous candelabra, in silver and fine gold, set with jewels, support the tapers which afford light to the pious during the darkness of the night. This accumulation of gorgeous ornaments, though supplied from a commendable motive, affects the worshippers injuriously, and once occasioned a pious Arab to exclaim, "Verily, the treasures lavished upon this tomb have made me forget God!"

Niebuhr next visited the ruins of Kufa, and Meshed Hussein, and then returned to Hillah, near which are found the misshapen ruins of Babylon. We must not, as he justly observes, expect to find among the remains of this city any thing resembling the sublime magnificence which cast a halo over the ruins of Persian and Egyptian cities. Babylon, like modern London, was a city of bricks, prodigious in extent, mighty in appearance, but calculated, from the nature of its materials, to give way, when war or time laid its giant hands upon its towers. Its very site is now become an enigma, "a place for the bittern, and pools of water." Modern travellers, however, have since visited this celebrated spot, and described it so frequently, that it is unnecessary to pause and repeat what they have written, particularly as no two agree upon any one point.

His stay at Babylon was brief, and on the 5th of January, 1766, he left it to proceed towards Bagdad, where he remained until the 3d of March, awaiting the departure of a caravan for Syria. At length, finding no better companions, he departed with a *kafilah* composed wholly of Jews, from one of whom who had travelled much in the country, he expected to derive considerable information. He still possessed the sultan's firman, which he had procured at Constantinople, and had likewise provided himself with a passport from the Pasha of Bagdad. He therefore anticipated no interruption on the way. In proceeding from Bagdad to Mousul, he traversed the plain on which the great battle of Arbela, which reduced Persia to a Macedonian province, was gained by Alexander. Ruin and desolation have since that day been busily at work in these countries. Among the vagabonds who now roam over or vegetate upon these renowned scenes, are a strange

people, accused by many writers of worshipping the devil ; I mean the *Yezzedis*, who, though suspected by Niebuhr of being an offshoot from the Beyazi sect of Oman, appear to be rather the descendants of the ancient Manichæans, or a remnant of the Hindoo population, worshippers of *Siva*, hurled into this obscure haunt by the storms of war.

At Mousul, where he found numerous Catholic and Nestorian Christians, he was received with extreme scorn, because his worthy coreligionists learned that he did not fast during Lent. However, by allowing himself to be defrauded a little by a Dominican father, a dealer in coins and physic, he quickly regained his character, and, during the remainder of his stay, was reputed a very good Christian. From this city he departed with a numerous caravan, bound partly for Aleppo, partly for Mardin, Orfah, or Armenia. The whole number of the travellers, including a guard of fifty soldiers, and about three or four hundred Arabs, amounted to little less than a thousand men. Yet, notwithstanding their numbers, the slightest report of there being a horde of Kurds in their neighbourhood threw these gallant warriors into consternation, and, upon one particular occasion, their confusion was so extreme that, like the honest knight of *La Mancha*, they mistook a flock of sheep for an army. The robbers on this road are exceedingly expert in their vocation ; and one of the merchants of the caravan, who had often travelled by this route, amused Niebuhr with an anecdote illustrative of their skill, which deserves to be repeated :—He was one night encamped, he said, on the summit of a steep hill, and for the greater security had pitched his tent on the edge of the precipice. He himself kept watch until midnight, at which time he was relieved by his servant, who, as it would appear, soon fell asleep. On awaking about daybreak, he observed a robber in the tent. He had already fastened the hook, with which he meant to perform his feat, in a bale of merchandise ; but sprang out of the tent, upon perceiving he was discovered, still holding fast the cord of his hook. The merchant, however, immediately detached the hook from the bale, and fastened it in the clothes of his slumbering domestic, who, as the robber continued tugging violently at the cord, was soon roused. The robber pulled, the servant rolled along like a woosack, and the master had the satisfaction of seeing him tumble down to the bottom of the hill, that he might in future be somewhat more careful of his master's property.

Niebuhr himself, whose cautious temper generally defended him from danger, had on this journey a trifling adventure with an Arab sheikh. It entered into the head of this fiery young

Islamite that it would be amusing to have a frolic with a Giaour, and for this purpose he deprived our traveller of his bed and counterpanes. Niebuhr complained to the caravan bashi, but could only get a portion of his property restored. Next day, therefore he applied to the sheikh himself, who, instead of returning the articles, only jested with him upon his uncharitable disposition, which would not allow him to share his luxuries, even for a few days, with a true believer, who was willing to be condescending enough to sleep on the bed of an infidel. Our traveller, hoping to terrify the Arab, now produced the sultan's firman, and the Pasha of Bagdad's passport; but this only rendered matters worse. "Here in the desert," said the sheikh, "*I am thy sultan and thy pasha. Thy papers have no authority with me!*" Some days afterward, however, the Arab returned him his effects, from fear, according to Niebuhr, of the Governor of Mardin; but more probably because he had never intended to retain them.

From this point of his travels he proceeded by way of Mardin, Diarbekr, and Orfah, to Aleppo, where he arrived on the 6th of June. Here he remained some time, during which he acquired the friendship of the celebrated Dr. Patrick Russel, from whom he received much information respecting the Kurds and Turkomans, whose principal chiefs frequently visited Russel at his house. His inquiries likewise extended to the Nassaireah and Ismaeleah, who, from the accounts of the Mohammedans and oriental Christians, would appear to have preserved among them the rites and ceremonies of the ancient worshippers of Venus. Nocturnal orgies, in which every man chose his mistress in the dark, and the adoration of the Yoni, in a young woman who exposed herself naked for the purpose of receiving this extravagant reverence, were likewise attributed to them; but, as Niebuhr observes, there is nothing too absurd or abominable to be related by the orthodox and dominant party of a persecuted and heretical sect. He, in fact, found that the Roman Catholics everywhere in the East represented their Protestant brethren as persons who lived without hope and without God in the world; while we, on the other hand, look upon them as idolaters, as far removed as the pagans of old from the pure religion of Christ.

After the death of his companions, Niebuhr had applied to the Danish government for permission to extend his journey in the East, and, through the benevolence of Count Bernstorff, his wishes had been readily complied with. He therefore passed from Syria into Cyprus, for the purpose of copying certain Phenician inscriptions at Cittium, the birth-place of Zeno, which had, it was suspected, been incorrectly copied by Po-

cocke. Finding no inscriptions of the kind on the spot to which he had been directed, he, with an illiberality which was not common with him, imputed to Pococke the gross absurdity of having confounded Armenian with Phenician characters; but, as his recent biographer remarks, it is more probable that the stones had, in the interval, been removed.

From Cyprus he passed over into Palestine, visited Jerusalem, Sidon, Mount Lebanon, and Damascus, and then returned to Aleppo. Here he continued until the 20th of November, 1766, when he set out with a caravan for Brusa, in Asia Minor; and in traversing the table-land of Mount Taurus, suffered, says one of his biographers, as much from frosts, piercing winds, and snow-drifts, as he could have done in a winter journey in northern regions. Lofty mountains are everywhere cold. Chardin nearly perished among the snows of Mount Caucasus; Don Ulloa suffered severely from the same cause in the Andes, almost directly under the equator; and the lofty range of the Himmalaya, which divides Hindostan from Tibet, is so excessively cold, that Baber Khan, though a soldier and a Tartar, beheld with terror the obstacle which these mountains presented to his ambition; and their summits have hitherto been protected by cold from human intrusion. Upon reaching Brusa, however, he reposed himself for some time, and then set out for Constantinople, where he arrived on the 20th of February, 1767.

Here he remained three or four months, studying the institutions of the empire, civil and military. He then directed his course through Roumelia, Bulgaria, Wallachia, and Moldavia, towards Poland, and on arriving at Warsaw was received with extraordinary politeness by King Stanislaus Poniatowsky, with whom he afterward corresponded for many years. From Warsaw he continued his journey towards Copenhagen, and visited on the way Gottingen and his beloved native place, when the death of his mother's brother, during his absence, had left him in possession of a considerable marsh-farm. He arrived at Copenhagen in November, and was received in the most flattering manner by the court, the ministers, and men of science.

Niebuhr now employed himself in preparing his various works for publication. The "Description of Arabia" was published in 1772, and although it must unquestionably be regarded as one of the most exact and copious works of the kind ever composed on any Asiatic country, it met with but a cold reception from the public. This, however, is not at all surprising. Written in the old style of books of travels, which appear to have aimed at imparting instruction without at all in-

teresting the imagination, it can never be relished by the generality of readers, who at all times, and especially in these latter ages, have required to be cheated into knowledge by the secret but irresistible charms of composition. Niebuhr, unfortunately, possessed in a very limited degree the art of an author. His style has nothing of that life and vivacity which compensates, in many writers, for the want of method. But those who neglect his works on these accounts are to be pitied ; for they abound with information, and everywhere exhibit marks of a remarkable power of penetrating into the character and motives of men, and a noble, manly benevolence, which generally inclines to a favourable, but just interpretation. He understood the Arabs better than almost any other traveller, and his opinion of them upon the whole was remarkably favourable. It is to him, therefore, that in an attempt to appreciate the character of this extraordinary people, I would resort, in preference even to Volney, who, whatever might be the perspicuity of his mind, had far fewer data whereon to found his conclusions.

In 1773 he married, and his wife bore him two children, a daughter and B. G. Niebuhr, the author of the "Roman History." Next year the first volume of his "Travels" appeared, and was received by the public no less coldly than the "Description of Arabia ;" which was, perhaps, the cause why the second volume was not published until 1778 ; and why the third, which would have completed his "Travels'" history, was never laid before the world, or even prepared for publication. This is exceedingly to be regretted, as, whatever may be the defects of Niebuhr as an author, he was, as an observer, highly distinguished for sagacity ; and his account of Asia Minor would have been still valuable, notwithstanding all that has since been written on that country.

He continued to live at Copenhagen for ten years ; but at length the retirement of Count Bernstorff from the ministry, and a report that General Huth designed to despatch him into Norway for the purpose of making a geographical survey of that country, disgusted him with the capital. He therefore demanded of the government permission to exchange his military for a civil appointment, and accordingly obtained the situation of secretary of the district of Meldorf, whither he removed his family in the year 1778. This town afforded Niebuhr few opportunities of entering into society. He consequently endeavoured to extract from solitude and from study the pleasures which he could not take in the company of mankind, and addicted himself to gardening and books. When his children had reached an age to require instruction, he undertook to conduct their education himself. "He instructed

us," says his son, "in geography, and related to us many passages of history. He taught me English and French—better, at any rate, than they would have been taught by anybody else in such a place; and something of mathematics, in which he would have proceeded much further, had not want of zeal and desire in me unfortunately destroyed all his pleasure in the occupation. One thing, indeed, was characteristic of his whole system of teaching: as he had no idea how anybody could have knowledge of any kind placed before him, and not seize it with the greatest avidity, and hold to it with the steadiest perseverance, he became disinclined to teach whenever we appeared inattentive or reluctant to learn. As the first instruction I received in Latin, before I had the good fortune to become a scholar of the learned and excellent Jager, was very defective, he helped me, and read with me "Caesar's Commentaries." Here again, the peculiar bent of his mind showed itself: he always called my attention much more strongly to the geography than the history. The map of Ancient Gaul by D'Anville, for whom he had the greatest reverence, always lay before us. I was obliged to look out every place as it occurred, and to tell its exact situation. His instruction had no pretensions to be grammatical; his knowledge of the language, so far as it went, was gained entirely by reading, and by looking at it as a whole. He was of opinion that a man did not deserve to learn what he had not principally worked out for himself; and that a teacher should be only a helper to assist the pupil out of otherwise inexplicable difficulties. From these causes his attempts to teach me Arabic, when he had already lost that facility in speaking it without which it is impossible to dispense with grammatical instruction, to his disappointment and my shame, did not succeed. When I afterward taught it myself, and sent him translations from it, he was greatly delighted.

"I have the most lively recollection of many descriptions of the structure of the universe, and accounts of eastern countries, which he used to tell me instead of fairy tales, when he took me on his knee before I went to bed. The history of Mohammed; of the first califs, particularly of Omar and Ali, for whom he had the deepest veneration; of the conquests and spread of Islamism; of the virtues of the heroes of the new faith, and of the Turkish converts, were imprinted on my childish imagination in the liveliest colours. Historical works on these same subjects were nearly the first books that fell into my hands.

"I recollect, too, that on the Christmas-eve of my tenth year, by way of making the day one of peculiar solemnity and re-



joining to me, he went to a beautiful chest containing his manuscripts, which was regarded by us children, and indeed by the whole household, as a kind of ark of the covenant; took out the papers relating to Africa, and read to me from them. He had taught me to draw maps, and with his encouragement and assistance I soon produced maps of Habbesh and Soudan.

"I could not make him a more welcome birthday present than a sketch of the geography of eastern countries, or translations from voyages and travels, executed as might be expected from a child. He had originally no stronger desire than that I might be his successor as a traveller in the East. But the influence of a very tender and anxious mother upon my physical training and constitution, thwarted his plan, almost as soon as it was formed. In consequence of her opposition, my father afterward gave up all thoughts of it.

"The distinguished kindness he had experienced from the English, and the services which he had been able to render to the East India Company, by throwing light upon the higher part of the Red Sea, led him to entertain the idea of sending me, as soon as I was old enough, to India. With this scheme, which, plausible as it was, he was afterward as glad to see frustrated as I was myself, many things, in the education he gave me, were intimately connected. He taught me, by preference, out of English books, and put English works, of all sorts, into my hands. At a very early age he gave me a regular supply of English newspapers: circumstances which I record here, not on account of the powerful influence they have had on my maturer life, but as indications of his character."

In the winter of 1788 he received from Herder a copy of his "Persepolis," which afforded him one proof that he was not forgotten by his countrymen. He took a deep interest in the war which was then raging against Turkey; for, in proportion to his love for the Arabs, was his hatred of the Turks, whom he cordially desired to see expelled from Europe. The French expedition to Egypt, however, was no object of gratification to him; for his dislike of the French was as strong as his dislike of the Turks, convinced that their absurd vanity and want of faith would infallibly neutralize the good effects even of the revolution itself.

The account given by his distinguished son of the latter days of this meritorious traveller is worthy of finding a place here. "His appearance," says he, "was calculated to leave a delightful picture in the mind. All his features, as well as his extinguished eyes, wore the expression of the extreme and the exhausted old age of an extraordinarily robust nature. It was impossible to behold a more venerable sight. So venera-

ble was it, that a Cossack who entered an unbidden guest into the chamber where he sat with his silver locks uncovered, was so struck with it, that he manifested the greatest reverence for him, and a sincere and cordial interest for the whole household. His sweetness of temper was unalterable, though he often expressed his desire to go to his final home, since all which he had desired to live for had been accomplished.

"A numerous, and as yet unbroken, family circle was assembled around him; and every day in which he was not assailed by some peculiar indisposition he conversed with cheerfulness and cordial enjoyment on the happy change which had taken place in public affairs. We found it very delightful to engage in continued recitals of his travels, which he now related with peculiar fulness and vivacity. In this manner he once spoke much and in great detail of Persepolis, and described the walls on which he had found the inscriptions and bas-reliefs, exactly as one would describe those of a building visited within a few days and familiarly known. We could not conceal our astonishment. He replied, that as he lay in bed, all visible objects shut out, the pictures of what he had beheld in the East continually floated before his mind's eye, so that it was no wonder he could speak of them as if he had seen them yesterday. With like vividness was the deep intense sky of Asia, with its brilliant and twinkling host of stars, which he had so often gazed at by night, or its lofty vault of blue by day, reflected in the hours of stillness and darkness on his inmost soul; and this was his greatest enjoyment. In the beginning of winter he had another bleeding at the nose, so violent that the bystanders expected his death; but this also he withstood.

"About the end of April, 1815, the long obstruction in his chest grew much worse; but his friendly physician alleviated the symptoms, which to those around him appeared rather painful than dangerous. Towards evening on the 26th of April, 1815, he was read to as usual, and asked questions which showed perfect apprehension and intelligence; he then sunk into a slumber, and departed without a struggle."

Niebuhr had attained his eighty-second year. He was a man rather below than above the middle size, but robust in make, and exceedingly oriental in air and gestures. As might be clearly enough inferred from his works, he was no lover of poetry; for, though he is said to have admired Homer in the German translation of Voss, together with the Herman and Dorothea of Goethe, this might be accounted for upon a different principle. His imagination, however, was liable to be sometimes excited in a very peculiar way. "It is extraordina-

ry," says his son, "that this man, so remarkably devoid of imagination, so exempt from illusion, waked us on the night in which his brother died, though he was at such a distance that he knew not even of his illness, and told us that his brother was dead. What had appeared to him, waking or dreaming, he never told us."

## JOHN BELL.

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BELL seems to have been born about the year 1690, at Antermoney, in Scotland. He was possessed, even from his earliest years, by a strong passion for travel; but his passion, together with a large portion of shrewdness and sagacity, constituting the better part of his inheritance, he judiciously applied himself to the study of medicine and surgery, a knowledge of which, in all semi-barbarous countries, is frequently of more avail to the traveller even than wealth. It does not appear whether Bell was directed in the choice of his scene by preference or by chance. However, as all Europe was at that period filled with admiration of the projects of Peter the First, whose reputation for munificence drew crowds of adventurers by a species of magnetic attraction towards the north, it is probable that a desire of personal aggrandizement united with a thirst of knowledge in urging our traveller in the direction of Petersburg. But be this as it may, having obtained from several respectable persons recommendatory letters to Dr. Areskine, chief physician and privy counsellor to the czar Peter the First, he embarked at London in July, 1714, for St. Petersburg. On his arrival he was received in a very friendly manner by Dr. Areskine, to whom he communicated his intentions of availing himself of the first opportunity which should offer of visiting some portions of Asia. The desired occasion soon presented itself. The czar, preparing at this period to send an embassy into Persia, appointed Aremy Petrovich Valensky, a captain of the guards, to conduct the mission; and this gentleman applying to Dr. Areskine to recommend him a medical attendant, Bell was immediately brought forward by his countryman, and received, on his favourable testimony, into the ambassador's suite. Through the same interest, he was likewise at once formally introduced into the service of the czar.

Bell set out from Petersburg on the 15th of July, 1715, accompanied by a part of the ambassador's suite, and for some time directing his course along the western bank of the Neva, encamped in the evening on a small stream which falls into that river, and passed the night in a wagon. Next day they embarked on the Volchovu, the banks of which were covered with villages and fruitful cornfields, interspersed with woods, and continued their journey by water until they approached Novogorod, where they quitted their "moving road," as Pascal terms a river, and proceeded on horseback. At Iver, Bell beheld the mighty stream of the Volga, the navigation of which from this town to the Caspian Sea is interrupted by no cataract, and whose waters abound with an extraordinary variety of the finest fish in the world.

From this place they proceeded towards the ancient capital of the empire, through a plain but agreeable country, covered with rich harvests, which infallibly produce a pleasing effect upon the mind, and dotted with small tufted groves, the verdure of which contrasted admirably with the yellow grain waving at their feet. On reaching the village from which the first view of Moscow was obtained, Bell observes, that "at this distance few cities in the world make a finer appearance, for it stands on a rising ground, and contains many stately churches and monasteries, whose steeples and cupolas are generally covered either with copper gilt or tin plates, which shine like gold and silver in the sun."

The Kremlin, to which Bishop Heber was fond of comparing some of the old Mohammedan edifices of Hindostan, appears to have excited no very particular admiration in Bell, who merely observes that it was compounded of a number of buildings added to one another at different times, and that some of the apartments were remarkably spacious. Here they embarked on the Moskwa, and dropping slowly down the stream, entered the Volga a little below Nishna. The river at this place is of very great breadth, and, the wind blowing from the north, they were driven along with prodigious velocity. Signs of the approach of winter now began to appear, for it was the latter end of October; the Volga was suddenly filled with floating ice, which, united with its powerful current, and the force of the wind, rendered their position exceedingly dangerous. They, however, continued their voyage, and arrived on the 3d of November at Zabackzar, a considerable town on the right bank of the river, a little above Kazen.

In this part of Russia, according to Bell, the best and largest falcons in the world are caught, which being highly valued for their strength and beauty, particularly by the Turks and Per-

sians, are sold to those nations at extravagant prices. They are not, as might have been expected, taken from the nest; but after they are full grown, when their natural instincts have been developed by exercise, and their physical powers have acquired, by struggling with storms and tempests, their utmost maturity and vigour. They are then taught to fly at swans, geese, herons, hares, and even antelopes; and our traveller saw one of them take a wild duck out of the water when nothing but her bill, which she had put up for air, could be perceived. Many of these falcons are as white as doves. Bell afterward saw in Kudistan the beautiful species of hawk called *cherkh*, which the Persians and Arabs train for antelope hunting. This is done by stuffing the skin of one of these animals, and placing the food of the hawk between its horns, which afterward, when the bird comes to be employed in the chase, induces it to pounce upon the head of the antelope, and either strike it to the ground, or retard its movements until the greyhounds come up. Sir John Malcolm, who witnessed this singular sport at Abusheher, observes that "the huntsmen proceed to a large plain, or rather desert, near the seaside; they have hawks and greyhounds, the former carried in the usual manner on the hand of the huntsman, the latter led in a leash by a horseman, generally the same who carries the hawk. When the antelope is seen they endeavour to get as near as possible; but the animal, the moment it observes them, goes off at a rate that seems swifter than the wind; the horses are instantly at full speed, having slipped the dogs. If it is a single deer they at the same time fly the hawks; but if a herd, they wait till the dogs have fixed upon a particular antelope. The hawks, skimming along near the ground, soon reach the deer, at whose head they pounce in succession, and sometimes with a violence that knocks it over."

The Persian style of hare hunting, which few travellers have noticed, is scarcely less interesting, and is thus described by Sir John Malcolm. "When at Shirez the elchee (ambassador) had received a present of a very fine shah-baz, or royal falcon. Before going out I had been amused at seeing Nuttee Beg, our head falconer, a man of great experience in his department, put upon this bird a pair of leathers, which he fitted to its thighs with as much care as if he had been the tailor of a fashionable horseman. I inquired the reason of so unusual a proceeding. 'You will learn that,' said the consequential master of the hawks, 'when you see our sport;' and I was convinced, at the period he predicted, of the old fellow's knowledge of his business. The first hare seized by the falcon was very strong, and the ground rough. While the bird kept the

claws of one foot fastened in the back of its prey, the other was dragged along the ground, till it had an opportunity to lay hold of a tuft of grass, by which it was enabled to stop the course of the hare, whose efforts to escape, I do think, would have torn the hawk asunder, if it had not been provided with the leathern defences which have been mentioned. The next time the falcon was flown gave us proof of that extraordinary courage which its whole appearance, and particularly its eye, denoted. It had stopped and quite disabled the second hare by the first pounce, when two greyhounds, which had been slipped by mistake, came up, and endeavoured to seize it. They were, however, repulsed by the falcon, whose boldness and celerity in attacking the dogs, and securing its prey, excited our admiration and astonishment." Bell was informed of a circumstance, while travelling in Kurdistan, which raises still higher our admiration of the falcon's courage; for it is trained by the Tartars to fly at foxes and even wolves.

But to return to the Volga: On arriving on the 5th of November at Kazan, they found that the winter had set in, that the Volga was filled with floating ice, and that, therefore, since the nations inhabiting both banks of the river were hostile to Russia, or extremely barbarous in their manners, it would be necessary to defer the prosecution of their journey until the following spring. This afforded Bell ample leisure for the conducting of his researches into the manners, character, and religion of the neighbouring tribes. Here he found two Swedish generals, Hamilton and Rosen, taken prisoners at the battle of Pultowa, and exiled by the barbarous policy of the czar to these remote regions; but, excepting that they were exiles, they had no great reason to complain of their treatment, for they were allowed to share in whatever amusements and pleasures the place afforded, and were by no means subjected to a rigorous confinement.

It was not until the beginning of June that they were enabled to continue their voyage. They then began once more to descend the stream, which they did with great velocity; and making a short stay at Samara and Astrakhan, proceeded on their voyage, entered the Caspian, and on the 30th of August arrived at Niezabad, where, there being neither harbour nor creek, they hauled up their flat-bottomed vessels on the beach. Here an accident occurred to one of Bell's companions, which strikingly illustrates the facility with which the imagination, when strongly excited, overthrows the other faculties of the mind. The ship in which the secretary of the embassy was embarked did not arrive until several hours after the others had been drawn on shore, by which time the wind had begun

to blow with great violence, while the sea broke tremendously upon the beach. Not being able under such circumstances, to reach the land, they at first cast anchor in the open road ; but the gale increasing, even this position was considered dangerous, so that they quickly slipped their cable and put out to sea. The secretary and the other gentlemen on board, however, not greatly admiring their situation, and willing, from their extreme impatience to be once more on terra firma, to run even a considerable risk in endeavouring to effect their purpose, ordered the master of the ship, a Dutchman in the service of the czar, to run her ashore at all hazards, engaging themselves to be accountable for the consequences. But when the ship had approached within a certain distance of the land, the sea ran so high that no boat could be hoisted out. The secretary's fear of the sea increasing with the obstacles to his landing, he at length prevailed upon a sailor, at the peril of his life, to carry him ashore on his back, which, in spite of all difficulties, the man actually performed ; "but his clothes being drenched with salt-water, and the road lying through deep sands, he was soon fatigued, and therefore retired nearer to the woods, in hopes of finding a more smooth and easy path. He discovered what he sought ; but instead of leading him to the ships, it carried him away from the shore, and the right course, into thick encumbered wood ; and in these circumstances night overtook him, utterly ignorant of the dismal and dangerous wild into which he had wandered. Thus destitute of all assistance, he climbed a tree to save himself from the wild beasts with which these woods abound ; and in this situation continued all the night, and till noon the next day ; for the people in his own ship never doubted of his having safely reached our tents ; while we, on the contrary, had not the least suspicion of his having come on shore. At last, however, about noon, his servant came, inquiring for his master, who, he told us, left the ship the night before. This account filled us all with anxiety and apprehension ; as we certainly concluded he would be torn to pieces by the wild beasts, or murdered by the savages who inhabit this coast. Immediate order was given for all our people to repair to the woods in search of him. He was at last found wandering from path to path, without knowing one direction from another. When he came to the tents he looked ghastly and wild, and related many strange stories of what he had heard in the night. All possible care was taken to alleviate his distress. During his sleep, which was very discomposed, he often started, groaned, and spoke ; and even after he awaked, he persisted in affirming that there were numbers of people round the tree in the night,



talking different languages. The imagination, no doubt, will naturally have a strong effect on any man in such uncommon circumstances ; for, though the secretary was a man of penetration and sound judgment, in vain did we endeavour to undeceive him, by representing that it was nothing but the jackals which made the noise he had 'heard.' In fact, he never recovered his former sagacity and soundness of mind : and the accident may even be supposed to have hastened his death, which took place not long afterward.

From Niezabad they proceeded to Shamakia, where the inhabitants, to whom the Muscovites were novelties at that time, crowded the tops of their houses to behold them. The time of their stay was spent in the way usual with ambassadors ; that is, in attempts of politeness, affecting state, and in disputes with the Khan of Shamakia. At length, however, all these were ended, and they departed. The suite of the ambassador was numerous ; for in the East a man's dignity is estimated by the camel-loads of people at his heels : one hundred and sixty camels, nearly two hundred horses and mules, which, if common sense were constituted judge of the matter, would be thought amply sufficient to bear the czar's compliments and a letter to the shah.

On entering Kurdistan, Bell, from whose mind the "rugged Russian bears," jackals, and other nuisances, had not chased away all classical reminiscences, seems to have experienced some pleasure at the idea of traversing, though in a contrary direction, the same track which was pursued by Xenophon and the Ten Thousand in their retreat from Babylonia. The Kurds, the ancient Karduchi, were still, he says, reckoned a brave people ; and, in fact, would be extremely disposed, if any thing were to be gained by it, to harass any body of men, whether small or great, who passed through their country. On the day before they arrived at Tabriz they crossed a ridge of mountains, from which, as he was informed by an Armenian, the snowy peaks of Ararat, or Agri Dag, might be seen in clear weather.

From Tabriz they set out in the heart of winter, the country being covered with deep snow, and the roads, in consequence, almost impassable. The bright reflection of the sunbeams from the snow produced an extraordinary effect upon the Russians. Their faces swelled, and many of them were afflicted with ophthalmia. But the Persians themselves are liable to the latter inconvenience, and, in order to guard against it, wear a network fillet of black horsehair over the eyes ; which Bell found, upon trial, to be an effectual preventive. This

contrivance, I imagine, might be made use of with equal success in traversing the sands of Egypt or Arabia.

As they proceeded southward they quickly escaped from the regions of snow, and on reaching Sarva, a small town a little to the north of Koom, found the pomegranate-trees already in blossom on the 22d of February. The Persians, at least that part of them who make any claim to civilization, are a pleasant people to travel among. For if, in classic lands,

Not a mountain reared its head unsung,

no mountain, no, nor valley neither, rears or lowers its head without having some particular legend attached to it. Near Koom you are shown a hill from which no one who has been mad enough to reach the top ever descended; and are told a lamentable story of a young page sent up with a lighted torch in his hand by Shah Abbas, who, of course, never returned, but may yet perhaps come down with his torch unconsumed, upon the re-advent of the Twelfth Imam. At Kashan your imagination is excited by being placed in apartments, the floors of which are almost paved with scorpions, the sting of every one of which is more deadly than the sword of Rustam, or the lance of Afrasiab. But these reptiles, like the spear of Achilles, undo, as it were, with one hand what they perform with the other; for when they have darted their poison into the frame, they yield, on being caught and fried, though not alive, I hope, an oil which the Persians reckon an infallible antidote to their venom. The only advantage which seems to be derived from this energetic little reptile is, that it enriches the Persian language with a new variety of that rhetorical figure of speech called commination, or cursing; for when any person is desirous of concentrating his wrath in a single imprecation, instead of having recourse to that convenient but vulgar demon who takes our enemies off our hands in Europe, he arms his wishes with the sting of a Kashan scorpion, and flings that at the head of his adversaries.

The embassy arrived at Ispahan on the 14th of March; and the shah's court immediately put itself in training for a grand theatrical exhibition, in order to impress the barbarians with a favourable idea of the greatness of the Asylum of the Universe. While the stage decorations were preparing, our traveller, who entertained a reasonable respect for royal pomp and magnificence, employed himself in observing the city and its environs; and when the important day came, accompanied the ambassador into the presence of the shah. Every thing passed off in the usual style. Exhibitions of elephants capar-

isoned with gold and silver stuffs; lions led in massive chains of gold; twenty horses superbly caparisoned, having all their saddles and bridles ornamented with gold and silver, and set with sapphires, emeralds, and other precious stones, while the stakes by which they were fastened, and the mallets with which those stakes were driven into the earth, were of solid gold: such were the sights beheld within the precincts of the palace. On the outside, however, poverty, ignorance, and starvation exhibited their gaunt, phantom visages among the crowd, scaring the eyeballs of those who were not too much dazzled by the gorgeous apparatus of tyranny, to discover the real nature of the materials out of which they were forged.

When the ambassador was presented to the shah, he made a speech to him in Russian; the "Asylum of the Universe" replied in Persian; and since neither of them understood one word of what was said to him by the other, their speeches must have been exceedingly interesting. However, a third person, "*doctus utriusque linguæ*," clothed the shah's ideas in Russian for the benefit of the ambassador, while he presented the thoughts of the latter, or at least something like them, to the shah, in the mellifluous language of Persia. All this while music, which the traveller did not find inharmonious, was played in the audience-chamber, and the mufti was reading aloud various portions of the Koran. Whether this was intended to show how indifferent, respecting all secular concerns, the holy men of Persia were, or to throw an air of religion over the transaction, or, finally, to exorcise all such devils as might be supposed to accompany such a rabble of Franks, Bell did not inquire; which, I think, was a great oversight. An entertainment, which all parties thought more agreeable than the speeches, followed next. The shah himself, according to ancient usage, was served before his guests; but the ambassador had the honor of being next attended to. Every article of the feast was served up in large gold or china dishes, but, according to the custom of the East, fingers were substituted for knives and forks, and these, as among the ancient Greeks, were wiped with large thin cakes of bread, instead of napkins.

The dinner to which they were shortly after invited by the keeper of the great seal, was more magnificent than that given them by the shah. "Soon after we entered," says Bell, "there were served up a great variety of sweetmeats, and all kinds of fruit that the climate afforded. Coffee and sherbet were carried about by turns. We were placed cross-legged upon the carpets, except the ambassador, who had a seat. During this part of the feast we were entertained with vocal and in-

strumental music, dancing boys, tumblers, puppets, and jugglers. All the performers executed their parts with great dexterity. Two of them counterfeited a quarrel, one beat off the other's turban with his foot, out of which dropped about fifteen or twenty large serpents, which ran or crawled about the room. One of them came towards me with great speed, which soon obliged me to quit my place. On seeing us alarmed, they told us the creatures were altogether inoffensive, as their teeth had been all drawn out. The fellow went about the room and gathered them again into his turban, like so many eels. The victuals were now served in a neat and elegant manner. Every thing was well dressed in the Persian fashion. Our host was very cheerful, and contributed every thing in his power to please his guests. He excused himself handsomely enough for not having wine, as it was not then used at court.

Two days after this the ambassador received intimation, that the business of the embassy being concluded, he might depart when he pleased; but the Russ, who seems to have relished the pilaus of Ispahan, would have been better pleased to remain where he was the whole year. However, it being clear that the disciples of Ali by no means participated in his feelings, he unwillingly prepared to encounter once more his native fogs and snows. They left Ispahan on the 1st of September, and proceeded through Kasbin and Ghilan towards Shamakia. At Kasbin many of the ambassador's suit, and Bell among the number, were attacked by a pestilential fever, which appears to have been the plague; but they all, excepting one person, recovered. They, however, lost twenty-two of their number before they finally quitted the Persian dominions.

It being the depth of winter when the ambassador arrived at Shamakia, he resolved to remain there until the following summer; time, in his opinion, being of little value. Accordingly, it was not until the 26th of June that they embarked on the Caspian. Their journey homewards was long and tedious; but they at length reached Petersburg on the 30th of December, 1718; having consumed nearly three years and a half in going to and returning from Ispahan.

Bell observes that Peter, who was in the capital when they arrived, was said to be well satisfied with the conduct of his ambassador, whose principal business was to cultivate and cement amity and a good understanding between the two crowns of Russia and Persia. The city, notwithstanding the Swedish war, which had lasted nearly twenty years, had been greatly improved and adorned during his short absence; and its appearance had been so greatly changed, that he could

scarcely imagine himself, he says, in the same place. Other changes had likewise taken place in that short interval. His friend Dr. Areskine was, he found, no more, having died about six weeks previous to his arrival. However, he was kindly received by his other friends, as well Russian as English; and he mentions it as a circumstance worthy of remark, that he met among the former with many persons of much worth and honour.

Captain Valensky, the Persian ambassador, having contracted a friendship for him during their journey, continued to regard him with the same feelings after their return; and when, on hearing that the czar was about to despatch an embassy to China, Bell expressed an ardent desire to accompany it, recommended him in such a manner to the ambassador, Captain Ismailoff, as not only procured his reception into the suite of the mission, but the friendship of that worthy man for the remainder of his life.

Our traveller set out from Petersburg on his way to China on the 14th of July, 1719, and proceeded through Moscow to Kazan, where he awaited the setting in of winter, the journey through Siberia being to be performed in sledges. The poor Swedish generals who had been taken prisoners at Pultowa were still here, regretting, naturally enough, but unavailingly, their long detention from their native land. On the 24th of November, the snow having fallen sufficiently to smooth the roads, Bell and a portion of the ambassador's suit departed from Kazan. Their road lay through a fertile country, producing abundance of cattle, corn, and honey, and covered, in many places, by vast woods of tall oaks, fir, and birch. The beehives used here were of a remarkable form. The inhabitants, says Bell, take the trunk of a lime-tree, aspen, or any soft wood, of about five or six feet long; having scooped it hollow, they make a large aperture in one side, about a foot in length and four inches broad; they then fix cross rods within the trunk for the bees to build upon, and having done this, close up the place carefully with a board, leaving small notches for the bees to go in and out. These hives are planted in proper places at the side of a wood, and tied to a tree with strong withes, to prevent their being destroyed by the bears, who are great devourers of honey. Bell learned, moreover, that the peasantry in these parts had a method of extracting the honey without destroying the bees; but the persons who gave him the information, described the process so indistinctly that he could not understand it.

Their road now lay for many days through dark woods, interspersed at wide intervals with villages and cornfields.

The cold daily became more and more intense; thick fogs hung upon the ground; the frost penetrated everywhere. The fingers and toes of those most exposed were frozen, and could only be restored to animation by being rubbed with snow. At length, on the 9th of December, they arrived at Solehampsky, famous for its great salt-works, which, if necessary, could not only have furnished all Russia, but several other countries also, with salt. Vast strata of salt-rocks seem here to extend on all sides at a certain distance from the surface. Pits are sunk to these rocks, and are quickly filled with water, which, being drawn off and boiled in large caldrons, the salt is deposited at the bottom. The vein of salt-rock sometimes runs under the river Kama, in which case it is reached by sinking wooden towers in the stream, as they do when building the piers of a bridge, and piercing through these to the necessary depth. The salt water then springs up, fills the wooden tower, and is pumped off as before. Prodigious strata of this kind of rock traversing the bed of the ocean, may, perhaps, be the cause of the saltiness of its waters.

There are extensive mines of excellent iron-ore in the same neighbourhood; where is likewise found the asbestos fossil, from which the incombustible linen is manufactured. The value of this laniferous stone is said to have been discovered by a sportsman, who, happening one day to be in want of wadding in the woods, and observing the threadlike fibres of this fossil, plucked some of them off for that use; and finding that the gunpowder had no effect upon them, communicated the fact to others, which led to those inquiries and experiments by which its extraordinary properties were discovered.

From Solekampsky they proceeded to the Oural Mountains, which divide Russia from Siberia. These are covered in all directions by vast forests, excepting in a few valleys where they have been felled by man, where our traveller found the landscape beautiful even in the depth of winter. On descending their eastern slope into the plains, a milder prospect, woods, villages, cornfields, and meadows, met the eye: but winter still reigned over all, binding up the streams, whirling his snow-drifts over the plain, or clothing the forests with frost and icicles. The fogs, however, had disappeared; and as far as the eye could reach, all was snow below and sunshine above. On the 16th of December the gilded crosses and cupolas of Tobolsk were discovered, rising in the distance above the snowy plain; and in the evening of the same day they found themselves agreeably lodged within its walls.

Here, as well as in most of the towns through which they had passed, they found a number of Swedish officers of distinction; among the rest Dittmar, secretary to Charles XII.; and Bell observes that they were permitted to enjoy a considerable share of liberty. They could walk about where they pleased, hunt in the woods, and even make long journeys to visit their countrymen at distant places. He, in fact, so indulgent to tyranny had his residence in Russia rendered him, thought "his majesty" was showing them an especial favour by cantoning them in those parts where they could live well at a small expense, and enjoy all the liberty which persons in their circumstances could expect.

Whatever may be our opinion of the conduct of Peter, whom the childish folly of some writers has denominated *the Great*, it must be confessed, that as far as his own interests were concerned, the exiling of these officers into Siberia was a judicious step, as it tended powerfully to civilize, that is, to render more taxable, the wild and ignorant inhabitants of that vast country. Several of the Swedish exiles were persons who had received a superior education. Not being able quickly to conform to the gross tastes of those who surrounded them, they therefore laboured by every means in their power to diffuse a relish for their own more liberal preferences; and as they very fortunately reckoned painting and music,—arts which, addressing themselves partly to the senses, possess a certain charm even for savages,—among their accomplishments, they succeeded by their pictures and concerts in subduing the ferocity of their masters. Still further to extend their influence, they sometimes amused themselves with teaching a select portion of the youth of both sexes the French and German languages; and as ingenuous youth has all the world over, a reverence for those who introduce it into the paths of knowledge, the purpose of the Swedes was amply accomplished, and they enjoyed the affection of powerful and honorable friends.

To a sportsman the neighbourhood of Tobolsk affords endless amusement. Here are found every species of game compatible with the nature of the climate: the urhan, the heathcock, the partridge, which in winter turns white as a dove, woodcocks, snipes, and a prodigious variety of water-fowl. Vast flights of snowbirds which are about the size of a lark, come to Siberia in autumn, and disappear in spring. In colour many of these birds are as white as snow, while others are speckled or brown. Bears, wolves, lynxes, several kinds of foxes, squirrels, ermines, sables, and martins, abound in the woods. The ermines generally burrow in the open field,

where they are caught in traps baited with a morsel of flesh. These animals are caught only in winter, when their fur is white and most valuable. They turn brown in summer. The hares, likewise, and the foxes of these northern regions, imitate the changes of mother earth; and in winter are clad in furs resembling in colour the snows over which they run.

During his stay at Tobolsk, Bell made numerous inquiries respecting the religion and manners of the Tartars inhabiting the region lying between the Caspian and Mongolia; and learned, among other particulars, that in an ancient palace, the construction of which some attributed to Timour, others to Genghis Khan, there were preserved numerous scrolls of glazed paper, fairly written in many instances in gilt characters. Some of these scrolls were said to be black, though the far greater number were white. They were written in the Kalmuck language. While our traveller was busy in these inquiries, a soldier suddenly presented himself before him in the street with a bundle of these scrolls in his hand; which, as the man offered them for a small sum, he purchased, and brought to England. They were here distributed among our traveller's learned friends; and as Sir Hans Sloane was reckoned among the number, they will eventually find their way to the British Museum. But whether or not any of them have as yet been translated, I have not been able to discover. Two similar scrolls sent by Peter I. to Paris, were immediately turned into French by the *savans* of that capital, to whom no language comes amiss, from that of the ancient Egyptians and Parsees to that of modern sparrows, and were said to be merely a commission to a lama, or priest, and a form of prayer. Whether this interpretation may be depended on, says Bell, I shall not determine.

On the 9th of January, 1720, they set out from Tobolsk. Their road now led them through numerous Tartar villages, where the houses were constructed of wood and moss, with thin pieces of ice fixed in holes in the walls instead of windows. The whole country, as far as the eye could reach, consisted of level marshy grounds, sprinkled with lakes, and overgrown with tall woods of aspen, alder, willows, and other aquatic trees, among which our traveller remarked a species of large birch, with a bark as smooth and white as paper.

Pursuing their journey with the utmost rapidity, they arrived on the 4th of February at Tomsk, where Bell, as usual, immediately set on foot the most active inquiries respecting the neighbouring regions and their inhabitants. From the citadel of Tomsk, which is situated on an eminence, a chain of hills is discovered towards the south, beyond which, our traveller



was informed, in a vast plain, many tombs and burying-places were found. His information throws much interesting light on a passage of Herodotus. This great historian relates, in his fourth book, that when the ancient Scythians interred their king, they were accustomed to strangle upon his body his favourite concubines, his cupbearer, his cook, and other favourite personages; and we learn from other authors, that together with the bones of these, cups, vases, and other vessels of gold were deposited with the royal corpse in the tomb.

The tombs discovered in the great plains south of Tomsk in all probability were those of ancient Scythian chiefs and kings; but if so, the spot must have been regarded as the common cemetery of the race, to which the bodies of all persons above a certain rank were to be borne, for the number of barrows found there was immense. Numerous individuals annually resorted hither from Tomsk and other places to search for treasure among these ancient graves, and they constantly found among the ashes of the dead large quantities of gold, silver, brass, and occasionally precious stones; hilts of swords, armour, saddle-ornaments, bits, and horse-trappings, together with the bones of horses and elephants, were sometimes met with. From which Bell infers, that when any general or person of distinction was interred, it was customary to bury all his arms, his favourite horse, and servant with him in the same grave; and this practice prevails to this day, he adds, among the Kalmucks and other Tartars. He was shown several pieces of armour and other curiosities which were dug out of these tombs, particularly a small equestrian statue of brass or bronze of no mean design or workmanship; together with figures of deer cast in pure gold, which were divided in the middle, and pierced by small holes, as if intended to be used as ornaments to a quiver, or to the furniture of a horse.

In the woods of this part of Siberia there is a species of wild ass, strikingly resembling the African zebra, having their hair waved white and brown, like that of a tiger. Bell saw several of their skins. Numerous wild horses of a fine chesnut colour were likewise found, but could not, he says be tamed, even if taken when foals. The Kalmucks, however, continued to make some use of them; for, not being able to ride, they killed and ate them, and used their skins as couches to sleep upon.

Proceeding eastward from Tomsk they arrived in about a fortnight on the banks of the river Tongusta, where the country on both sides being covered with impenetrable woods, it was necessary to make their way along the frozen stream, while the biting winds continued to whirl and drift about the

snow in their path. Occasionally single houses or small villages were found upon the banks. One day, during their progress along this river, they met a prodigious flock of hares, all as white as the snow on which they walked, slowly descending the stream; and Bell was informed that these animals are frequently seen travelling south in much greater numbers.

They were now in the country of the Tonguses, a people who have no fixed dwellings, but roam at pleasure through the woods, erecting where they make any stay a few spars, inclining to each other above, and covering them with pieces of birchen bark sewed together, with a small hole at the top. The men, however, are brave, and the women virtuous. They practise tattooing. Their religion consists in the worship of the sun and moon. Their dress is of fur. Their arms, the bow and arrow, the lance, and a species of hatchet. In winter they travel over the frozen snow with shoes, the soles of which are of wood, and about five feet in length, and five or six inches broad, inclining to a point before and square behind. The feet are slipped into a thong fastened in the middle; and with these they can move over the deepest snow without sinking. But as these are suited only to the plains, they have a different kind for ascending the hills, with the skins of seals glued to the boards, having the hair inclining backwards, which prevents the sliding of the shoes. With these they climb hills with the greatest facility, and having reached the summit, dart down the opposite slope with astonishing rapidity.

Such are the great sable hunters of Siberia, who feed indifferently on the bear, the fox, and the wolf. The sables, says Bell, are not caught in the same manner as other animals. The fur is so tender, that the least mark of an arrow, or ruffling of the hair, spoils the sale of the skin. In hunting them they only use a little dog and a net. When a hunter discovers the track of a sable upon the snow, he follows it sometimes for several days unintermittingly, until the poor animal, quite tired, takes refuge in some tall tree, for it can climb like a cat. The hunter then spreads his net round the tree, and kindles a fire, when the sable, unable to endure the smoke, immediately descends, and is caught in the net. These hunters, when hard pressed by hunger, have recourse to a practice analogous to that of many South Sea islanders under similar circumstances: taking two thin pieces of board, they place one on the pit of the stomach, the other on the back, and gradually drawing together the extremities, allay in some degree the cravings of appetite. The winters here are long, and the cold so intense, that the earth never thaws, even in summer, beyond two feet

and a half below the surface. When they dig to the depth of three feet for the purpose of burying their dead, they find the earth frozen; and in these graves the bodies remain unconsumed, and will do so, says the traveller, to the day of judgment.

On the 17th of March, the weather, as they began to approach the Baikal lake, changed so suddenly from winter to spring that they almost imagined themselves dropped imperceptibly into another climate. They therefore abandoned their sledges, which, as the snow was gone, were now become useless, and proceeded on horseback. Next day they arrived at Irkutsk on the river Angara. Here they remained until the 15th of May, waiting for the melting of the ice on the lake; and amusing themselves in the meanwhile with hunting, and observing the country and its inhabitants.

When the season was thought to be sufficiently far advanced, they proceeded up the banks of the river, until they discovered the lake bursting out between two high rocks, and tumbling down over enormous stones, which lie quite across the channel of the river, which is here a mile in breadth. The sublimity of the scene, which is magnificent beyond description, is heightened exceedingly by the dashing and roaring of the waters, which impress the beholder with ideas of the irresistible power and grandeur of nature, the privilege to contemplate which elevates and enobles him in his own estimation. And this, in reality, is the principal source of the pleasure we derive from the view of stupendous mountains, the tempestuous ocean, cataracts, volcanoes, or conflagrations.

They now embarked on the Baikal, which, as Gibbon facetiously observes, disdains the modest appellation of a lake, and on receding from the land enjoyed a full prospect of its western shores, rising abruptly into rocky pinnacles capped with snow, and towering far above every thing around them. These stretched away immeasurably towards the north, until they were lost in the distance. On the south the view was bounded by hills of gentler elevation, whose tops, for the most part, were covered with wood. Their passage was tedious, for on approaching the mouth of the Selenga they found the whole shore skirted by long reefs of floating icebergs, between which they forced their way with considerable difficulty. However, they at length entered the Selenga, and ascending partly in their boats and partly on horseback along its banks, arrived safely at Selinguisky on the 29th of May.

At this town, which, like the ancient Chalcedony on the Bosphorus, may be termed the "City of the Blind," being built upon an inconvenient spot in the neighbourhood of an

excellent one, they were to remain until the court of Peking, which had been informed of their approach, should send an officer to conduct them over the frontiers. In the mean time every person amused himself according to his taste. Our honest and intelligent traveller, as he is very properly denominated by Gibbon, whose chief pleasure consisted in observing the manners of mankind, had here an ample field before him, in a variety of characters affording the most striking moral contrasts, from the Hindoo Yoghee, who bought live fishes on the banks of a stream in order to enjoy the pleasure of setting them swimming again, to the fierce, tough-nerved Mongol, who could view death, whether inflicted on man or beast, without exhibiting the least horror or emotion. With one of the chiefs of this warlike nation, who, by temperance and exercise, had contrived to reach his eightieth year with much of the vigour and energy of youth about him, they had a splendid hunting match, which, as conducted by the Tartars, may justly, as our great historian remarks, be considered as the image and the school of war.

The Chinese, who are as dilatory in their movements as the ancient Spartans, allowed them ample time to amuse themselves, for it was not until the 24th of August that their conductor arrived. On the 8th of September they departed, and arriving in a few days on the banks of the Saratzyn, the small rivulet which divides the Russian empire from Chinese Mongolia,

But these between a silver streamlet glides,  
And scarce a name distinguisheth the brook,  
Though rival kingdoms press its verdant sides,

they crossed over, and found themselves in the "Celestial Empire!" Previously, however, a little incident occurred perfectly characteristic of the Chinese. Their conductor, observing some women walking in the fields, and fearing, apparently, that their petticoats would set all Peking on fire, inquired with alarm to whom they belonged, and whither they were travelling. "To China," replied the ambassador. At this the worshipper of Fo's terrors were increased: he replied that they had women enough in Peking already, and that, as there never had been a European woman in China, he would not, without a special order from the emperor, be answerable for introducing the first; but that, if his excellency desired it, he would despatch a courier to learn the emperor's pleasure. As this would have retarded their movements another six weeks, the ambassador, who had not the wit to disguise the ladies in men's apparel, sent them back to Selinguisky, and continued his journey without them.

They now entered upon that vast table-land which was found by the Jesuits to be three thousand geometrical paces above the level of the sea, from which the mountains forming its southern boundary serve but as steps by which the traveller may descend to the low plains of China. The small undulations or eminences which break the uniformity of these vast steppes are covered with the rhubarb plant, which grows there spontaneously, and is propagated more rapidly by the aid of the marmot, which, burrowing in prodigious numbers at its roots, loosens the mould, and prepares it for the reception of the seeds. The roots are dug up for exportation by the Mongols, who carelessly bore holes through them, and hang them about their tents or on the horns of their sheep to dry.

After passing the Tula, no river again occurred north of the Great Wall. The mode of travelling here resembles, in some degree, that which prevails in the deserts of Arabia and Africa, except that the walls are more frequent, and the danger from marauders little or none. Their food, after the first few days, consisted of mutton only; but as this was of an excellent quality, the circumstance was not considered as a great hardship. In the course of their journey they traversed a large plain, thickly strewn with transparent red and yellow pebbles, which glittered beautifully in the sun, and were said to be cornelians and yellow sapphires, being hard, and taking a fine polish. The few Mongols whom they found wandering with their flocks and herds over the waste, appeared more contented and happy than the possessors of the most fertile soil; and this being the primitive, the freest, and perhaps the most natural condition of man, the circumstance ought not to excite our astonishment. The mere art of locomotion is pleasant to man, and in pastoral tribes, accustomed to wandering from their infancy, it becomes a passion, the gratification of which is happiness.

"On the 2d of November, about noon," says Bell, "we could perceive the famous wall, running along the tops of the mountains, towards the north-east. One of our people cried out 'land!' as if we had been all this while at sea. It was now, as nearly as I can compute, about forty English miles from us, and appeared white at this distance." The nearer they approached the mountains, the more were they astonished at the grandeur of this wall, which, as Voltaire very justly observes, makes no inconsiderable figure even upon the map of the world. "The appearance of it," says our traveller, "running from one high rock to another, with square towers at certain intervals, even at this distance, is most magnificent." In two days they arrived at the foot of this mighty barrier, and

entered through a great gate into China. Here a thousand men were perpetually on guard, by the officers commanding whom they were received with much politeness, and invited to tea.

"The long, or endless wall, as it is commonly called," says our traveller, who has given the best account I have yet met with of this prodigious undertaking, "encompasses all the north and west parts of China. It was built about six hundred years ago by one of the emperors, to prevent the frequent incursions of the Mongols, and other western Tartars, who made a practice of assembling numerous troops of horse, and invading the country in different places. The Chinese frontiers were too extensive to be guarded against such bold and numerous enemies, who, after plundering and destroying a wealthy country, returned to their own loaded with spoils.

"The Chinese, finding all precautions ineffectual to put a stop to the inroads of such barbarians, at last resolved to build this famous wall. It begins in the province of Leotong, at the bottom of the bay of Nankin, and proceeds across rivers and over the tops of the highest mountains without interruption, keeping nearly along the circular ridge of barren rocks that surround the country to the north and west; and after running southward about twelve hundred English miles, ends in impassable mountains and sandy deserts.

"The foundation consists of large blocks of square stones laid in mortar; but the rest of the wall is built of brick. The whole is so strong and well built as to need almost no repair, and in such a dry climate may remain in this condition for many ages. Its height and breadth are not equal in every place; nor, indeed, is it necessary they should. When carried over steep rocks, where no horse can pass, it is about fifteen or twenty feet high, and broad in proportion; but when running through a valley, or crossing a river, there you see a strong wall, about thirty feet high, with square towers at the distance of a bowshot from one another, and embrasures at equal distances. The top of the wall is flat, and paved with broad freestones; and where it rises over a rock, or any eminence, you ascend by a fine easy stone stair. The bridges over rivers and torrents are exceedingly neat, being both well contrived and executed. They have two stories of arches, one above another, to afford sufficient passage for the waters on sudden rains and floods."

Bell was, moreover, informed by the Chinese that this wall was completed within the space of five years, every sixth man in the empire having been compelled to work at it or find a substitute. But if the date of its erection is altogether uncer-

tain, we may very well be permitted to indulge our skepticism respecting such circumstances as tend to increase the marvellousness of the undertaking. It is far more probable that it is the work of ages, and that numerous and long interruption occurred in the prosecution of the design. With respect to its utility, I likewise dissent altogether from the opinion of our traveller, who, in comparing it with the pyramids, styles the latter "a work of vanity." Had Bell believed, as I do, that the pyramids were temples, he would, however, have been the last man in the world to have thus characterized them; but with respect to the long wall, it may be proved to have been not only useless, but pernicious, since the imaginary security it afforded encouraged those unwarlike habits to which the Chinese are naturally addicted; and thus, when the Tartars overleaped this contemptible obstacle to valour, and challenged them to defend their empire by arms, they discovered that soldiers are the only wall which a wise people should oppose to its enemies, all other defences being found upon trial to be utterly vain. No country, no, not even Hindostan itself, has been more frequently conquered than China; nor has any region of the earth been more frequently desolated and drenched with blood by civil wars and rebellions; and if ever circumstances should render it necessary for England to extend her conquests in Asia beyond the Burrampooter on the north-east, it would be seen with what ease the Hindoo Sipahs, who subdued Tippoo Sultan, the Rohillas, Rajpoots, Patans, and Burmese, would rout and subdue the feeble and inefficient troops of China.

But to proceed with our traveller. All the way to Peking they observed terrible marks of the destructive power of earthquakes in these countries; many of the towns having been half-destroyed by one which had happened the preceding year, when great numbers of people were buried beneath the ruins. The country appeared to be well cultivated, and the towns and villages numerous, but not in any remarkable degree. They reached Peking on the 18th of November.

Bell had now reached the goal of his wishes, and upon the whole was not disappointed. Long accustomed to the sight of savages immersed in ignorance and barbarism, he found the Chinese, by comparison, highly civilized. They drank tea, cultivated fine fruits; manufactured excellent silks, paper, and porcelain, and accumulated considerable wealth; but, before they were taught by the Jesuits, scarcely understood sufficient astronomy to enable them to calculate an eclipse, were ignorant of the art of founding cannon, of building chimneys, of making clocks and watches; and, what was infinitely worse

than all this, they were under so little moral restraint that men incapable of maintaining a family married several wives with the execrable design of exposing or murdering their offspring. The existence of foundling hospitals in civilized countries proves that there everywhere exist individuals to whom the offshoots of their own being are objects of no solicitude; ancient nations, too, sometimes exposed weak or deformed children; but no people, as far as I have been able to discover, ever arrived at that pitch of depravity which distinguishes the Chinese, "among whom," says Sir George Staunton, "habit seems to have familiarized a notion that life only becomes truly precious, and inattention to it criminal, after it has continued long enough to be endowed with a mind and sentiment; but that mere dawning existence may be suffered to be lost without scruple, though it cannot without reluctance."

In the fine arts the Chinese have made but little progress, having no knowledge of sculpture, and very little of painting. Their literature, it is very clear, contains none of those splendid creations of genius which we might expect to find among a people partly civilized during so many ages, and which actually exist in the languages of Persia and Hindostan. Their popular religion is the grossest and most corrupt form of Buddhism; and even this, as well as their philosophy and arts, such as they are, they originally borrowed from Hindostan, which seems in antiquity to have been the great workshop where all the fantastic systems, religious and philosophical, which were current among the heathen were fabricated.

Captain Ismailoff seems, like Lord Amherst, to have felt a peculiar antipathy to the practice of bowing nine times before the Chinese emperor; but at length, after many struggles with their prejudices, consented to conform to ancient usage. The first audience was granted him at one of the emperor's country palaces, where, when he arrived, though the morning was cold and frosty, he found all the ministers of state and officers belonging to the court seated cross-legged upon their fur cushions in the open air,—an exhibition probably intended to serve as a reproof to the insolent barbarian who could object to bow nine times before a prince at whose door the greatest men in the Celestial Empire were contented to sit cross-legged in the frost! Nothing of that magnificence which Marco Polo found at the court of Kublai Khan was discoverable in that of Kamhi, where, on the contrary, the only circumstances truly remarkable were the extreme plainness of every thing and the affability and calm good sense of the aged monarch, who, in insisting on the observance of ancient forms and ceremonies, was actuated, it was clear, by no motives of paltry vanity.



Though Gibbon, with all his disposition to skepticism, allowed to Peking a population of two millions, it would appear from Bell's account, who says he rode round it at an easy trot in four hours, to be inferior to London in size; and no one who is acquainted with the form of Chinese houses, which are never more than one story high, and who reflects upon the extent of the imperial gardens, together with all the other gardens included within the walls, will doubt for a moment that it is vastly less populous. Upon the accounts of the Chinese themselves no reliance whatever can be placed. They are greater proficient in lying than the ancient Cretans; and on the subject of population have deluded European travellers with fables so monstrous, that there is nothing in Gulliver more repugnant to common sense. To maintain the one-half of the population to which their empire makes pretensions would demand a progress in civilization and the arts of life of which hitherto they have not even dreamed; but a paper population costs nothing. Three hundred and thirty-three millions are as easily written as one hundred and nineteen millions. But if we reflect for a moment on the vast deserts, the barren mountains, the impenetrable woods which the Jesuits, when scattered and terrified into their senses by persecution, found in almost every part of this richly-cultivated country, and were enabled to conceal themselves in for months, we shall perhaps be disposed to conclude, that in proportion to its extent China is less populous than Hindostan, which yet does not, in all probability, contain one-fourth of the population it might be made to support if properly cultivated.

The object of the mission, which indeed seems to have been of little importance, having been accomplished, the ambassador prepared to depart. The aged emperor, however, who appears to have possessed a thoroughly benevolent and polished mind, was desirous of presenting them before they took their leave with the splendid spectacle of a Mongol hunt, of such a one at least as could be represented in a park of two or three days' journey in extent. On the 21st of February, therefore, the day appointed for the hunt, horses were brought them at one o'clock in the morning, the Chinese resolving that no time should be lost. They reached the royal park about daybreak, where, in a summer-house erected in the forest, they found the emperor, who had risen long before their arrival. Here they breakfasted. Before the south front of the summer-house there was a large canal, with several fish-ponds filled with clear water, which greatly beautified the scene; and all around, at convenient distances, stood a thousand tents in which the courtiers had slept.

"The signal was then given," says Bell, "that the emperor was coming ; upon which all the great men drew up in lines, from the bottom of the stairs to the road leading to the forest, all on foot, dressed in their hunting-habits, the same with those used by the officers and cavalry of the army when in the field, and armed with bows and arrows. We had a proper place assigned us, and made our bows to his majesty, who returned a gracious smile, with signs to follow him. He was seated cross-legged in an open machine carried by four men with long poles rested on their shoulders. Before him lay a fowling-piece, a bow, and a sheaf of arrows. This has been his hunting equipage for some years, since he left off riding. . . . As soon as the emperor had passed, the company mounted and followed him at some distance till we came into the open forest, where all formed into a semicircle, in the centre of which was the emperor, having on his left-hand, (the place of honour in China) about eight or ten of his sons and grandsons, and the ambassador on his right, about fifty paces distant. Close by him were the master of the chase with some greyhounds and the grand falconer with his hawks. I could not but admire the beauty of these fine birds. Many of them were as white as doves, having one or two black feathers in their wings or tails. They are brought from Siberia, or places to the north of the river Amoor.

"Our wings being extended, there were many hares started, which the company endeavoured to drive towards the emperor, who killed many of them with arrows as they passed ; those he missed he made a sign to some of the princes to pursue, who also killed several of them with arrows ; but no other person was permitted to draw a bow or stir from the line.

"From the open field we continued our route westward to a place among thickets and tall reeds, where we sprung a number of pheasants, partridges, and quails. His majesty then laid aside his bow and arrows, and carried a hawk on his hand, which he flew as occasion offered. The hawks generally raked in the pheasants while flying ; but if they took to the reeds or bushes they soon caught them.

"After proceeding about two or three miles farther into the forest we came to a tall wood, where we found several sorts of deer. The young men went in and beat the woods, while the rest of the company remained without. We saw much game pass us, but nobody drew a bow until the emperor had killed a stag, which he did very dexterously with a broad-headed arrow ; after which the princes had leave to kill several bucks, among which was one of that species that bears the musk, called *kaberda* in Siberia.

"We had now been six hours on horseback, and I reckon had travelled about fifteen English miles, but no end of the forest yet appeared. We turned short from this wood southward, till coming to some marshes overgrown with tall reeds we roused a great many wild boars; but as it was not the season for killing them they all escaped. The hunting of these fierce animals is reckoned the most dangerous of all kinds of sport except the chase of lions and tigers. Every one endeavoured to avoid them, and several of them ran furiously through the thickest troops of horse. The emperor was so cautious as to have a company of men armed with lances to guard his machine.

"We continued the sport till about four o'clock, when we came to a high artificial mount of a square figure, raised in the middle of a plain, on the top of which were pitched about ten or twelve tents for the imperial family. This mount had several winding paths leading to the top, planted on each side with rows of trees in imitation of nature. To the south was a large basin of water with a boat upon it, from whence, I suppose, the earth has been taken that formed this mount. At some distance from the mount tents were erected for the people of distinction and officers of the court. About two hundred yards from it *we were lodged in some clean huts covered with reeds.*"—[No mark that Kamhi held the czar's ambassador in very high estimation.]—"The emperor, from his situation, had a view of all the tents and a great way farther into the forest. The whole scene made a very pretty appearance."

When they had dined and been interrogated respecting the degree of admiration with which they had beheld the feats of the emperor and his sons, which was of course superlative, the ambassador was informed that he was to be entertained with a tiger-hunt, or rather "baiting," as our traveller terms it; three animals of that species having been kept for some time in a cage for that purpose. "The hill where the emperor's tent stood was surrounded with several ranks of guards armed with long spears. A guard also was placed before the ambassador's and the rest of the tents, to secure the whole encampment from the fury of these fierce animals. The first was let out by a person mounted on a fleet horse, who opened the door of the coop by means of a rope tied to it. The tiger immediately left his cage, and seemed much pleased to find himself at liberty. The horseman rode off at full speed, while the tiger (poor fellow!) was rolling himself upon the grass. At last he rose, growled, and walked about. The emperor fired twice at him with bullets, but the distance being considerable missed him, though the pieces were well pointed. Upon

which his majesty sent to the ambassador to try his piece upon him; which being charged with a single ball, he walked towards the animal, accompanied by ten men armed with spears, in case of accidents, till, being at a convenient distance, he took his aim and killed him on the spot."

The second and third tigers were despatched in a short time; and the sportsmen, pluming themselves upon their magnificent achievements, sat down in great good-humour to supper, as men always do when they have performed any glorious action. The skin of the tiger slain by the ambassador was sent him by the emperor, who observed, that by the laws of hunting he had a right to it. The sport of the next day differed very little from the preceding. They continued, however, advancing through the forest without discovering any end to it, and passed the night in a temple near another imperial summer-house. The extent of this immense park, which was all enclosed by a high wall, may enable us to form some idea of the quantity of useless land in China; for besides the number of similar enclosures belonging to the imperial family, we may be sure that, as far as possible, all the rich and great imitate the example of the sovereign.

The ambassador now received his audience of leave, and, after making several visits of ceremony, and receiving the curious but not valuable presents intended for the czar, departed from Pekin. Their route from the capital to the Great Wall, and thence across the deserts of Mongolia to Selinguiskey, though not precisely the same as that by which they had come, afforded but few new objects, and was rendered interesting by no striking incidents. The Baikal Lake being still frozen when they reached it, they traversed it on light sledges upon the ice. They then embarked upon the Angara, and descended by water to Yeniseisk. Proceeding thence by land, they soon arrived upon the banks of the river Ket, where they again took to their boats; and sailing down this melancholy stream, bordered on both sides by the most gloomy forests, immersed into the mighty stream of the Obe. They now sailed down this river to its confluence with the Irtysh, another noble stream, against the current of which they made their way with much difficulty to Tobolsk. Here they quitted their boats, and continued their journey on sledges. Winter was rapidly invading the country. Snow, cold winds, frost, and short days conspired to render their movements irksome; but they still pushed on rapidly, and on the 5th of January, 1722, arrived at Moscow, where they found the czar and all his court, who had recently removed thither from Petersburg.

Peter, surrounded by his courtiers, the general officers, and the nobility and gentry from all parts of the empire, was making great preparations for the celebration of the festivals appointed to be solemnized in commemoration of the peace concluded at Aland in 1721, between Russia and Sweden, after a war of more than twenty years, when our traveller arrived; and as he appears greatly to have admired the policy of Peter on most occasions, he was particularly gratified at the present exhibition. He observes that Peter, even in his amusements and times of diversion, made use of all possible means of inspiring his people with a love of what was useful; and as the Russians had a peculiar aversion to shipping, his principal aim in the shows exhibited at Moscow was to dispel that prejudice, by impressing upon their minds that it was owing to his naval power that the peace had been obtained.

"The triumphant entry," says Bell, "was made from a village about seven miles from Moscow, called Seswedsky. The first of the cavalcade was a galley finely carved and gilt, in which the rowers plied their oars as on the water. The galley was commanded by the high-admiral of Russia. Then came a frigate of sixteen small brass guns, with three masts, completely rigged, manned with twelve or fourteen youths habited like Dutch skippers, in black velvet, who trimmed the sails, and performed all the manœuvres of a ship at sea. Then came most richly-decorated barges, wherein sat the empress and the ladies of the court. There were also pilot-boats heaving the lead, and above thirty other vessels, pinnaces, wherries, &c., each filled with masqueraders in the dresses of different nations. It was in the month of February, at which time all the ground was covered with snow, and all the rivers frozen. All these machines were placed on sledges, and were drawn by horses through all the principal streets of Moscow. The ship required above forty horses to draw it. In order to its passing under the gates the topmasts were struck, and, when passed, set up again; besides which, the gateway was dug as low as was necessary for admitting it to pass."

As soon as these festivals were concluded, Peter, who had been invited into Persia with an army by the shah, who required his aid against the rebellious Afghans, prepared to march southward; and Bell, who was thought to understand something of Persian manners, having spent some time in the country, was engaged by the czar's chief physician to accompany the expedition. Accordingly, the troops having been embarked on the Moskwa, they descended by water to the Caspian Sea, and made for the shores of Daghestan, where they landed and encamped. They then proceeded along the sea-

shore to Derbend, where the fleet containing the provisions, stores, &c. for the army was wrecked upon the beach. This gave Peter a plausible excuse for returning home without affording the shah the desired aid. Indeed, the whole expedition appears to have been a mere piece of treachery got up for the purpose of obtaining possession of Derbend; for, "the emperor determined," says Bell, "to leave things in the state they were in, and to return again to Astrakhan by the same way we came, *leaving a garrison at Derbend sufficient to secure the advantage he had gained.*"

We now lose sight of our traveller for fifteen years, the whole of which, however, he spent in Russia. In 1737 the war with Turkey, which had begun in 1734, began to grow disagreeable to the Russian court, the Ottomites, in spite of their barbarism, being more obstinate in the field than their polished enemies of the north had anticipated. Under these circumstances, it was thought advisable to negotiate a peace; but as the Turks made no proposals, and as in time of war no subject of Russia, or Germany, the ally of Russia, was admitted into the dominions of the sultan, Bell, who appears to have been greatly respected both for his character and abilities, was prevailed upon, "at the earnest desires of Count Osterman, the chancellor of Russia, and of Mr. Rondeau, his Britanic majesty's minister at the court of Russia," to undertake the journey. He departed from Petersburg on the 6th of December, 1737, and arrived at Constantinople on the 29th of the next month. With respect to his commission, he merely observes that he punctually conformed to the terms of his instructions. His negotiations did not detain him long. He left Constantinople on the 8th of April, and on the 17th of May arrived at Petersburg. Here he concludes his account of himself and his travels. In the decline of his life he returned to Scotland, where he resided at Antermoney, his native place; and it was there that, surrounded apparently by affluence, and enjoying the most ample leisure, he wrote his excellent and interesting account of his travels, the first edition of which appeared in 1762. His death took place in 1780.

## MUNGO PARK.

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THIS enterprising and distinguished traveller was born on the 10th of September, 1771, at Fowlshields, a farm occupied by his father, on the banks of the Yarrow, near Selkirk. In common with the greater number of the sons of Scottish yeomen, Mungo Park, notwithstanding that the number of his brothers and sisters amounted to no less than thirteen, received a respectable education, and at the age of fifteen was bound apprentice to a surgeon at Selkirk. At the close of this apprenticeship, in 1789, Park continued his medical studies at the University of Edinburgh, where, though nothing remarkable is recorded of him, he seems to have applied with great assiduity to his professional studies. His summer vacations, during one of which he made a tour to the highlands, were devoted to botany.

Having completed his education, Park removed to London in search of professional employment. Here, through the kindness of Mr. Dickson, his brother-in-law, he had the good fortune to become known to Sir Joseph Banks, to whom so many other distinguished travellers had been indebted; and through whose recommendation he was appointed surgeon to the Worcester East Indiaman. In this capacity he made a voyage to Bencoolen, in Sumatra, the only fruits of which were a paper containing descriptions of eight new fishes from Sumatra, published in the third volume of the *Linnean Transactions*.

Shortly after his return from this voyage, Park, learning that the African Association, of which his friend Sir Joseph Banks was a very active and zealous member, were desirous of engaging a person to replace Major Houghton, who, it was feared, had fallen a sacrifice to the climate, or perished in some contest with the natives, eagerly offered his services, which after due deliberation were accepted. The association,

he observes, conducted itself with great liberality towards him. He forthwith prepared himself for the voyage, and on the 22d of May, 1795, sailed from Portsmouth in the brig *Endeavour*. His instructions, he says were very plain and concise. He was directed, on his arrival in Africa, "to pass on to the river Niger, either by the way of Bambouk or by such other route as should be found most convenient; that I should ascertain the course, and, if possible, the rise and termination of the river. That I should use my utmost exertions to visit the principal towns or cities in its neighbourhood, particularly Timbuctoo and Houssa; and that I should afterward be at liberty to return to Europe, either by the way of the Gambia, or by such other route as under all the then existing circumstances of my situation and prospects should appear to me to be most advisable."

On the 21st of June, after an agreeable voyage of thirty days, he arrived at Jiliffica, a town on the northern bank of the Gambia, in the kingdom of Barra. From this place after a stay of two days he proceeded up the Gambia, in the waters of which were found prodigious numbers of fish of unknown species, together with alligators and hippopotami, whose teeth furnish excellent ivory. Park, having quitted the *Endeavour* at Jonkakonda, proceeded thence by land; and reaching Pisania, a small British factory in the King of Yam's dominions, on the 5th of July took up his residence at the house of Dr. Laidley, until he should be able to prosecute his journey into the interior.

Our traveller's first care now was to render himself master of the Mandingo language, which in this part of Africa is in general use; and to collect from every source within his power information respecting the countries he was about to visit. In the language his progress depended on his own application; but he soon found that little or no reliance could be placed on the accounts of the interior furnished him by the natives, who on the most material points were frequently in direct contradiction with each other. His anxiety to examine and judge for himself was therefore increased. However, besides that the rainy season, which had now commenced, rendered travelling impracticable, another equally insuperable bar to the speedy prosecution of his journey quickly presented itself. In observing on the 31st of July an eclipse of the moon, he imprudently exposed himself to the night dew, and next day he found himself attacked by fever and delirium, which were the commencement of an illness that with a very trifling intermission confined him during two months within doors. "The care and attention of Dr. Laidley contributed greatly," says



Park, "to alleviate my sufferings; his company and conversation beguiled the tedious hours during that gloomy season when the rain falls in torrents; when suffocating heats oppress by day, and when the night is spent by the terrified traveller in listening to the croaking of frogs, (of which the numbers are beyond imagination,) the shrill cry of the jackal, and the deep howling of the hyena; a dismal concert, interrupted only by the roar of such tremendous thunder as no person can form a conception of but those who have heard it."

Having been disappointed in his expectations of proceeding with a slave caravan towards Bambarra, Park departed from Pisanía on the 2d of December, 1795. He had been provided with a negro servant named Johnson, who had been many years in Great Britain, and understood both the English and Mandingo languages; and with a negro boy, named Demba, the property of Dr. Laidley, who, as the highest inducement of good behaviour, promised him his freedom on his return. Besides these, Park was accompanied by four other persons, who, though independent of his control, were made to understand that their safe return to the countries on the Gambia would depend on our traveller's preservation. His equipment was by no means magnificent: a horse for himself, two asses for his servants, provisions for two days, a small assortment of beads, ambre, and tobacco, a few changes of linen and other apparel, an umbrella, a pocket sextant, a magnetic compass, a thermometer, two fowling-pieces, two pair of pistols, and some other small articles. His friends at Pisanía accompanied him during the first two days, and then, dismissing him on his way, took their leave, secretly persuaded they should never see him more.

He had scarcely lost sight of his European friends, and ridden off musing and somewhat melancholy into the wood, when a body of black people presented themselves in a clamorous manner before him, demanding custom-dues, in default of which they threatened to carry him before their king. To escape from this honour, which might have proved a costly one, Park presented them with a little tobacco, upon which they were of course contented, and he was allowed to proceed. On reaching Medina, the capital of Woolli, he judged it prudent, or perhaps absolutely necessary, to present himself at the king's levee, when the venerable benevolent old chief not only granted him permission to traverse his dominions, but assured him he would offer up prayers for his safety, partly to secure which he furnished him with a trusty guide.

Having safely reached the frontiers of the Woolli dominions, Park dismissed his guide; and being about to enter a country

interspersed with deserts, in which water is frequently not to be procured, he hired three negroes, experienced elephant-hunters, who were at once to serve as guides and water-bearers. While he was preparing to depart, however one of these negroes, who had all received a part of their pay in advance, made his escape; and lest the remaining two should be disposed to follow his example, he immediately gave orders to fill their calabashes, or gourds, with water, and struck off into the wilderness, just as the sun was appearing above the horizon. Through this desert they proceeded until they reached Tallika, the frontier town of Bondou towards Woolli, where Park engaged a kind of custom-house officer to accompany him for a trifling present to Fatteconda, the residence of the king. In his company our traveller accordingly performed the journey to that city. On his arrival at Fatteconda, he was received by the black chief with much apparent kindness, though Major Houghton, he had heard, in his passage through the country, had been both insulted and plundered by this same man. However, he soon discovered that the manifestation of a hospitable disposition observable in the king's manner was not deceptive. It is true he was so completely captivated by our traveller's best blue coat and gilt buttons, that he could not resist the temptation to beg it; but he endeavoured in some measure to remunerate him for the loss by a present of five drachms of gold, and by altogether abstaining from examining his baggage, or exacting any other present than what was voluntarily bestowed.

Mr. Park, desirous of preserving this coat, had deemed it the wisest plan to wear it on his person, fondly hoping that it would not be actually stripped off his back. However, after the introductory ceremonial, the king began a warm panegyric on the wealth and generosity of the whites, whence he proceeded to the praises of the coat and its yellow buttons, concluding with expressing the delight with which he should wear it for the sake of his guest. He did not add, that if these hints were disregarded, it would be seized by force; but our traveller, being thoroughly convinced that such was his intention, pulled off the coat, of which he humbly requested his majesty's acceptance. The king then abstained from farther spoil, and introduced him as a curiosity to his female circle. The ladies, after a careful survey, approved of his external appearance, with the exception of the two deformities of a white skin and a high nose; but for these they made ample allowance, being blemishes produced by the false taste of his mother, who had bathed him in milk when young, and by pinching his nose elevated it into its present absurd height.

Park flattered them on their jet-black skins and beautifully flattened noses; but was modestly warned that flattery, or *honey-mouth*, as they termed it, was not esteemed in Bondou.

The territories of these petty African chiefs, whom we complacently denominate kings, are exceedingly limited in extent. Your road conducts you to-day through one kingdom, to-morrow through another, and the next day through a third; which, of all those circumstances that obstruct the movements of the traveller in Africa, is, perhaps, the most vexatious and the most difficult to overcome; as the rapacity of the first chiefs who lie in his way deprives him of the power of satisfying the equal rapacity of the remainder. This consideration alone would suffice to convince us that if ever Africa is to be properly explored, it must be by an armed force sufficiently powerful to carry terror through the country, and not by a solitary traveller, who, whatever may be his perseverance or courage, must either fall in the attempt, or return with notions hastily formed, picked up at random, or borrowed from the ignorant credulous natives. The perpetual state of captivity in which Park moved is a strong proof of this. He was never, unless when far removed from human society by woods or deserts, completely master of his own actions, or sufficiently respected to render it possible for him to contemplate the superior classes, even of these savages, from a proper level. To judge with impartiality, a man must neither be under the influence of fear nor of contempt, of anger nor of gratitude. He must feel himself perfectly on a level with those about him.

To proceed, however, with Park:—"In the afternoon," says he, "my fellow-travellers informed me, that as this was the boundary between Bondou and Kajaaga, and dangerous for travellers, it would be necessary to continue our journey by night, until we should reach a more hospitable part of the country. I agreed to the proposal, and hired two people for guides through the woods, and as soon as the people of the village were gone to sleep, (the moon shining bright,) we set out. The stillness of the air, the howling of the wild beasts, and the deep solitude of the forest made the scene solemn and impressive. Not a word was uttered by any of us but in a whisper; all were attentive, and every one anxious to show his sagacity by pointing out to me the wolves and hyenas as they glided like shadows from one thicket to another. Towards morning we arrived at a village called Kimmoo, when our guides awakened one of their acquaintance, and we stopped to give our asses some corn, and roast a few ground-nuts for ourselves. At daylight we resumed our journey, and in the afternoon arrived at Joag in the kingdom of Kajaaga."

On arriving at Joag, the frontier town of the kingdom of Kajaaga, our traveller (who had taken up his residence at the house of the dooty, or chief man of the town, a rigid but hospitable Mohammedan) was favoured with an opportunity of observing the genuine character of the negro. "The same evening," says he, "Madiboo, the bushreen who had accompanied me from Pisanja, went to pay a visit to his father and mother, who dwelt at a neighbouring town called Dramanet. He was joined by my other attendant the blacksmith; and as soon as it was dark, I was invited to see the sports of the inhabitants, it being their custom on the arrival of strangers to welcome them by diversions of different kinds. I found a great crowd surrounding a party who were dancing by the light of some large fires to the music of four drums, which were beat with great exactness and uniformity. The dances, however, consisted more in wanton gestures than in muscular exertion or graceful attitudes. The ladies vied with each other in displaying the most voluptuous movements imaginable."

At Joag, while preparing to advance on his journey, he was suddenly honoured with a visit from the king's son, accompanied by a troop of horse, who, pretending that by entering his father's dominions he had forfeited the whole of his property, insisted upon examining his merchandise, of which he seized upon the moiety. Of the remnant that remained, particularly a little amber and a few beads, which he had succeeded in concealing, he was now so fearful of producing any portion, even for the purchase of food, lest he should once more awaken the cupidity of the authorities, that both he and his attendants determined on combating hunger for the day, "and wait some opportunity of purchasing or begging provisions." In this extremity, while he was sitting down chewing straws, a female slave, who observed him in passing by, was moved with compassion, and presented him with a quantity of ground-nuts, which was a very seasonable supply. Scarcely had the old woman left him, before he received information that the nephew of the King of Kasson, who had been sent by his uncle on an embassy to the King of Kajaaga, and was now returning to his own country, was about to pay him a visit. He came accordingly, and upon Park's representing to him his situation and distresses, kindly offered to be his guide and protector as far as Kasson. With him, therefore, our traveller now continued his route to the banks of the Senegal, upon crossing which, his royal guide, who, like other guides, required a present for his services, informed him they were in his uncle's dominions, and in complete safety.

Safe or not safe, however, Park soon found that the stranger and the traveller were nowhere beyond the reach of extortion. Half of the little property which had escaped the fangs of the Kajaaga people, was here taken from him. He was then permitted to depart. Among the honest negroes with whom he had set out from Pisania, on the Gambia, there was a blacksmith from the interior, who, having amassed some little money upon the coast, was now returning to spend the remainder of his days in his native land. Shortly after quitting Teesee, the last place where our traveller had submitted to legal robbery, he and his companions came within sight of the blacksmith's village. The news of his return had, it seems, preceded him. His brother, accompanied by a singing-man, came forth to welcome the wanderer home, and brought along with him a horse, that the blacksmith "might enter his native town in a dignified manner." Park and his companions were desired to put a good charge of powder into their guns. The singing-man led the way; the two brothers followed; and the cavalcade was quickly joined by a considerable number of the inhabitants, who, by extravagant gestures and songs of triumph, testified their joy at the return of their townsman. "When we arrived at the blacksmith's place of residence, we dismounted, and fired our muskets. The meeting between him and his relations was very tender; for these rude children of nature, freed from restraint, display their emotions in the strongest and most expressive manner. Amid these transports, the blacksmith's aged mother was led forth, leaning upon a staff. Every one made way for her; and she stretched out her hand to bid her son welcome. Being totally blind, she stroked his hands, and arms, and face with great care, and seemed highly delighted that her latter days were blessed by his return, and that her ears once more heard the music of his voice. From this interview, I was convinced, that whatever difference there is between the Negro and European in the conformation of the nose, and the colour of their skin, there is none in the genuine sympathies and characteristic feelings of our common nature.

During the tumult of these congratulations, I had seated myself apart, by the side of one of the huts, being unwilling to interrupt the flow of filial and parental tenderness; and the attention of the company was so entirely taken up with the blacksmith, that I believe none of his friends had observed me. When all the people present had seated themselves, the blacksmith was desired by his father to give some account of his adventures; and silence being commanded he began; and after repeatedly thanking God for the success that had attended him, related every material occurrence that had happened

to him from his leaving Kasson to his arrival at the Gambia; his employment and success in those parts; and the dangers he had escaped in returning to his native country. In the latter part of his narration, he had frequent occasion to mention me; and after many strong expressions concerning my kindness to him, he pointed to the place where I sat, and exclaimed, *Affille ibi siring* (see him sitting there.) In a moment all eyes were turned upon me. I appeared like a being dropped from the clouds, every one was surprised that they had not observed me before; and a few women and children expressed great uneasiness at being so near a man of such an uncommon appearance. By degrees, however, their apprehensions subsided, and when the blacksmith assured them I was perfectly inoffensive, some of them ventured so far as to examine the texture of my clothes; but many of them were still very suspicious, and when by accident I happened to move myself, or look at the young children, "their mothers would scamper off with them with the greatest precipitation. In a few hours, however, they all became reconciled to me."

With these honest people Park remained during the whole of that day and the next, and then, accompanied by the worthy blacksmith, who declared he would not quit him during his stay in that part of the country, set forward towards Kooniakary. On his arrival at this city he obtained an audience of the king, a fine old man, who, for his conduct both in peace and war, was greatly beloved by his subjects. His behaviour towards the stranger was not inconsistent with this character. He informed him with apparent regret, that the direct route to Bambarra was about to be closed by war, but, after vainly advising his guest to retrace his footsteps, added, that there yet remained some hopes of peace, respecting the validity of which he should be able to pronounce an opinion in the course of four or five days. In the meanwhile he invited Park to remain in the neighbourhood.

On the 1st of February, 1796, the king's messenger returned from the contiguous kingdom of Kaarta, bringing intelligence that the Bambarra army had not yet entered the country, and that it was possible the traveller might be enabled to traverse it before the invasion should take place. Accordingly, being provided with two guides by the king, Park took leave of his friend the blacksmith, and set forward on his dangerous journey. The country, at all times thickly peopled, now swarmed with fugitives, whom the fear of the Bambarrans had terrified from their homes. The scenery in many places was romantically wild. "On coming within sight of the mountains of Foolado, we travelled," says Park, "with great diffi-

culty down a stony and abrupt precipice, and continued our way in the bed of a dried river-course, where the trees meeting over our heads, made the place dark and cool. In a little time we reached the bottom of this romantic glen; and about ten o'clock emerged from between two rocky hills, and found ourselves on the level and sandy plains of Kaarta. At noon we arrived at a korree, or watering-place, where, for a few strings of beads, I purchased as much milk and corn-meal as we could eat; and indeed provisions are here so cheap, and the shepherds live in such affluence, that they seldom ask any return for what refreshment a traveller receives from them."

From this place, having prevailed upon his landlord, a Mohammedan negro, to accompany him as a guide to Kemmoo, our traveller set forward on the 11th of February. He observes, "We had no sooner got into a dark and lonely part of the first wood, than he made a sign for us to stop; and taking hold of a hollow piece of bamboo that hung as an amulet round his neck, whistled very loud three times. I confess I was somewhat startled, thinking it was a signal for some of his companions to come and attack us; but he assured me it was done merely with a view to ascertain what success we were likely to meet with on our present journey. He then dismounted, laid his spear across the road, and having said a number of short prayers, concluded with three loud whistles; after which he listened for some time, as if in expectation of an answer, and receiving none, told us we might proceed without fear, for there was no danger."

Adventures now appeared to crowd upon our traveller. The country through which their road lay being thickly sprinkled with wild fruit-trees, they amused themselves as they rode slowly along with picking and eating the fruit. "In this pursuit," says Park, "I had wandered a little from my people, and being uncertain whether they were before or behind me, I hastened to a rising ground to look about me. As I was proceeding towards this eminence, two negro horsemen, armed with muskets, came galloping from among the bushes. On seeing them I made a full stop; the horsemen did the same; and all three of us seemed equally surprised and confounded at this interview. As I approached them their fears increased, and one of them, after casting on me a look of horror, rode off at full speed; the other, in a panic of fear, put his hand over his eyes, and continued muttering prayers until his horse, seemingly without his rider's knowledge, conveyed him slowly after his companion. About a mile to the westward they fell in with my attendants, to whom they related a frightful story; it seems their fears had dressed me in the

flowing robes of a tremendous spirit; and one of them affirmed, that when I made my appearance, a cold blast of wind came pouring down upon him from the sky, like so much cold water."

Shortly after this they arrived at the capital of Kaarta, where he was an object of such extraordinary curiosity to the populace, the majority of whom had never before seen a white man, that they burst forcibly into his hut, crowd after crowd. Those who had beheld the monster giving way to those who had not, until, as he observes, the hut was filled and emptied thirteen different times. Here he found that the war with Bambarra had actually commenced; that all communication between the countries had consequently ceased; and that, if it was his determination to persevere, it would be necessary to take a circuitous route through the Moorish kingdom of Ludamar. The people of Kaarta were Mohammedans; but there is a variety in church discipline even among these inflexible fanatics; for, instead of the fine sonorous voice of the muezzin, by which the faithful are elsewhere summoned to their devotions, the hour of prayer was here announced by the beating of drums, and blowing through large elephant's teeth, hollowed out in such a manner as to resemble buglehorns. The sound of these horns our traveller thought melodious, and approaching nearer to the human voice than any other artificial sound. Being very desirous to depart from the seat of war, Park presented his horse-pistols and holsters to the king; and on pressing to be dismissed, received in return an escort of eight horsemen to conduct him to Jarra. Three of the king's sons, with two hundred horsemen, kindly undertook to accompany him a little way on his journey.

On his arrival at Jarra, in the kingdom of Ludamar, he despatched a messenger to Ali, who was then encamped near Benown, soliciting permission to pass unmolested through his territories; and having waited fourteen days for his reply, a slave at length arrived from the chief, affirming that he had been instructed to conduct the traveller in safety as far as Goomba. His negro, Johnson, here refused to follow him any further; and signified his intention of pushing back without delay to Gambia; upon which Park, fearful of the success of his enterprise, intrusted him with a copy of his journal, reserving another for himself, directing him to deliver the papers to the English on the coast. A portion of his baggage and apparel he committed to the care of a slave-merchant at Jarra, who was known to Dr. Laidley. He then departed with his slave-boy, accompanied by the chief's messenger. On the road our traveller was robbed once more by the Moors, who



added insult to violence ; and when he was nearly perishing for thirst, beat away his faithful slave from the wells without permitting him to draw water.

However, after much fatigue and extraordinary privations, they arrived in Ali's camp at Benowm, where Park was immediately surrounded by crowds of fanatical Moors, attracted partly by curiosity, partly from a desire to vent their fierce zeal against a Christian. "My arrival," says he, "was no sooner observed than the people, who drew water at the wells, threw down their buckets ; those in the tents mounted their horses, and men, women, and children came running or galloping towards me. I soon found myself surrounded by such a crowd, that I could scarcely move ; one pulled my clothes, another took off my hat ; a third stopped me to examine my waistcoat buttons, and a fourth called out 'La illah el allah Mahamet rasowl allahi,' and signified, in a threatening manner, that I must repeat those words. We reached at length the king's tent, where we found a great number of people, men, women, and children, assembled. Ali was sitting on a black leathern cushion, clipping a few hairs from his upper lip—a female attendant holding up a looking-glass before him. He appeared to be an old man of the Arab cast, with a long white beard, and he had a sullen and indignant aspect. He surveyed me with attention, and inquired of the Moors if I could speak Arabic ; being answered in the negative, he appeared much surprised, and continued silent. The surrounding attendants, and particularly the ladies, were abundantly more inquisitive ; they asked a thousand questions, inspected every part of my apparel, searched my pockets, and obliged me to unbutton my waistcoat and display the whiteness of my skin ; they even counted my toes and fingers, as if they doubted whether I was in truth a human being."

Ali now, with the base idea of insulting an unprotected stranger, ordered a wild boar to be brought in, which he signified his desire that Park should kill and eat. This, well knowing their religious prejudices, he of course refused to do ; upon which the boys who led in the boar were commanded to let it loose upon him, the Moors supposing that there exists an inveterate feud between pigs and Christians, and that it would immediately run upon and gore him. The boar, however, was more magnanimous. Scorning to attack a defenceless foreigner, he no sooner found himself at liberty than, brandishing his tusks at the natives, he rushed at them indiscriminately, and then, to complete the consternation, took shelter under the very couch upon which the tyrant was sitting. This bold proceeding of the unclean beast dissolved the assembly, and

the traveller was led away to the tent of a slave, in front of which, not being permitted to enter, he received a little food. Here he likewise passed the night lying upon the sand, surrounded by the curious multitude. Next day, a hut, constructed with corn-stalks, was given him; but the abovementioned boar, which had been recaptured, was tied to a stake in the corner of it, as his fittest companion.

By degrees, however, the Moors began to conceive that the Christian might in one way or another be rendered useful, but could think of no better employment for him than that of a barber. In this capacity he made his first attempt, in the royal presence, on the head of the young prince of Ludamar. This dignified office he had no great desire to monopolize, and his unskilfulness in performing the operation, for he almost at the outset made an incision in the young prince's head, quickly reduced him once more to the rank of a common mortal. Ali seemed by no means desirous, however, of dispensing altogether with his services, wishing perhaps to preserve him from the same motives which induce us to preserve a wild beast; and therefore, to render his escape the more impracticable, took possession of the whole of his baggage, including his gold, amber, watch, and one of his pocket compasses; the other he had fortunately buried in the sand composing the floor of his hut. The gold and amber were highly gratifying to Moorish avarice, but the pocket compass soon became an object of superstitious curiosity. "Ali was very desirous to be informed, why that small piece of iron, the needle, always pointed to the Great Desert, and I found myself somewhat puzzled to answer the question. To have pleaded my ignorance, would have created a suspicion that I wished to conceal the real truth from him; I therefore told him that my mother resided far beyond the sands of Sahara, and that while she was alive, the piece of iron would always point that way, and serve as a guide to conduct me to her; and that if she was dead, it would point to her grave. Ali now looked at the compass with redoubled amazement; turned it round and round repeatedly, but observing that it always pointed the same way, he took it up with great caution, and returned it to me, manifesting that he thought there was something of magic in it, and that he was afraid of keeping so dangerous an instrument in his possession."

It now began to be debated between Ali and his advisers what should be done with their prisoner. Their decisions were very dissimilar. Some were of opinion that he should be put to death; others that he should merely lose his right hand; while a third party thought that his eyes ought to be

put out. Ali himself, however, determined that matters should remain as they were until his queen Fatima, then in the north, had seen him. Meanwhile all these reports were related to our traveller, and tended not a little to distress and agitate his mind. His demand to be permitted to depart was formally refused. The accumulated horrors of his situation, united with the want of food and sleep, at length brought on a fever, by which his life was endangered. But his persecution from the Moors did not therefore cease. They plucked his cloak from him; they overwhelmed him with insults; they tortured him like some ferocious animal, for their amusement; and when, to escape from this detestable thralldom, he crawled away to a short distance from the camp, he was forced back by menaces and violence.

At length, after more than a month's detention at Benowm, he was commanded to follow Ali to the northern encampment of Bubaker, on the skirts of the Great Desert, and on the way endured the extremity of hunger, thirst, and fatigue. Upon arriving at Bubaker, the residence of Fatima, Park was introduced to that favourite princess. The beauty of a Moorish female is measured entirely by her circumference; and to bestow this grace on their daughters, the mothers stuff them with enormous quantities of milk and *kouskous*, the swallowing of which is enforced even with blows, till they attain that *acme* of beauty which renders them a load for a camel. The dimensions by which Fatima had captivated her royal lover were very enormous; she added to them Arab features and long black hair. This queen at first shrunk back with horror at seeing before her that monster, a Christian; but after putting various questions, began to see in him nothing so wholly different from the rest of mankind. She presented to him a bowl of milk, and continued to show him the only kindness he met with during this dreadful captivity. Upon the departure of her husband for Jarra, she not only obtained him permission to join the party, but prevailed upon the tyrant to restore him his horse, saddle, and bridle, together with a part of his apparel. His faithful black boy Demba, however, was taken from him, notwithstanding his animated remonstrances to Ali, who, upon his pressing the point rather warmly, only replied, that if he did not instantly mount his horse and depart, he should share the fate of his slave. "There is something in the frown of a tyrant," says Park, "which rouses the most secret emotions of the heart; I could not suppress my feelings; and for once entertained an indignant wish to rid the world of such a monster. Poor Demba was not less affected than myself; he had formed a strong attachment towards me, and had

a cheerfulness of disposition which often beguiled the tedious hours of captivity ; he was likewise a proficient in the Bambarra tongue, and promised, on that account, to be of great use to me in future. But it was in vain to expect any thing favourable to humanity from a people who are strangers to its dictates. So having shaken hands with this unfortunate boy, and blended my tears with his, assuring him, however, I would do the best to redeem him, I saw him led off by three of Ali's slaves towards the camp at Bubaker."

Upon his arrival at Jarra, where he was shortly afterward transferred by Ali to tyrants of a lower grade, his condition, far from being improved, was only rendered the more intolerable. The city itself, moreover, was in a state of the utmost confusion. Malcontents from Kaarta having taken refuge here, had recently made an incursion into their native country, carried off a large quantity of plunder, and thus drawn the vengeance of their king against the city. All those who had reason to dread his resentment were now, therefore, preparing to fly into Bambarra ; and Park, whose route lay in the same direction, became exceedingly desirous of effecting his escape from the Moors, that he might seize upon this fortunate occasion of fulfilling the object of his mission. "Their departure," says he, speaking of the black fugitives, "was very affecting : the women and children crying, the men sullen and dejected, and all of them looking back with regret on their native town ; and on the wells and rocks beyond which their ambition had never tempted them to stray, and where they had laid all their plans of future happiness ; all of which they were now forced to abandon, and to seek shelter among strangers."

Hoping to escape in this confused throng, he mounted his horse ; and taking a bag of corn before him, rode slowly off along with the townspeople. On their arrival at Queira, a village at no great distance from the city, Park began to flatter himself that he had really eluded the vigilance of his persecutors ; but before the agreeable idea had got a firm footing in his mind, he saw Ali's chief slave, accompanied by four Moors, arrive, and take up their lodgings with the dooty. Johnson, our traveller's interpreter, suspecting the design of this visit, sent two boys to overhear their conversation, by which means he learned that it was their intention to carry Park back to Bubaker. Upon this he at once came to the desperate resolution to effect his deliverance that very night from his pursuers, or to perish in the attempt. Johnson, who applauded this determination, but wanted the courage to imitate it, was nevertheless exceedingly well disposed to aid in effecting his mas-

ter's escape. He therefore undertook to keep watch upon the movements of the enemy, while Park was preparing for flight. About midnight he got all his apparel in readiness, which consisted of two shirts, two pair of trousers, two pocket-handkerchiefs, an upper and under waistcoat, a hat, a pair of half-boots, and a cloak. Besides these things he had not in his possession a single bead, or any other article, with which to purchase food for himself, or provender for his horse :—"About daybreak, Johnson, who had been listening to the Moors all night, came," says he, "and whispered to me that they were all asleep. The awful crisis was now arrived when I was again either to taste the blessings of freedom, or languish out my days in captivity. A cold sweat moistened my forehead as I thought of the dreadful alternative, and reflected that one way or the other, my fate must be decided in the course of the ensuing day. But to deliberate was to lose the only chance of escaping. So taking up my bundle, I stepped gently over the negroes who were sleeping in the open air ; and, having mounted my horse, I bade Johnson farewell, desiring him to take particular care of the papers I had intrusted him with, and inform my friends in Gambia that he had left me in good health on my way to Bambarra. I proceeded with great caution, surveying each bush, and frequently listening and looking behind me for the Moorish horsemen, until I was about a mile from the town, when I was surprised to find myself in the neighbourhood of a korree, belonging to the Moors. The shepherds followed me for about a mile, hooting and throwing stones after me ; and when I was out of their reach, and had begun to indulge the pleasing hope of escaping, I was again greatly alarmed to hear somebody halloo behind me ; and looking back I saw three Moors on horseback, coming after me at full speed, whooping and brandishing their double-barrel guns : I knew it was in vain to think of escaping, and therefore turned back and met them ; when two of them caught hold of my bridle, one on each side, and the third, presenting his musket, told me I must go back to Ali."

It soon appeared, however, that these gentlemen were merely private robbers, who were fearful that their master had not sufficiently pillaged the stranger ; for, after examining his bundle, and plundering him of his cloak, they bade him begone, and follow them no further. Too happy to be rid of the villains at any rate, he immediately struck into the woods, and continued his journey. His joy at thus escaping from the Moors was quickly damped by the consideration that he must very soon be in want of both food and water, neither of which could he procure without approaching villages or wells, where

he would almost inevitably encounter his old enemies. He therefore pushed on with all the vigour of which he was possessed, in the hope of reaching some town or village of the kingdom of Bambarra. But he already began to experience the tortures of thirst. His mouth was parched and inflamed; a sudden dimness, accompanied by symptoms of fainting, would frequently come over his eyes; and as his horse also was exceedingly fatigued, he began to apprehend that he should perish of thirst. Some shrubs, the leaves of which he chewed to relieve the burning pain in his mouth and throat, were all found to be bitter and of no service. "A little before sunset, having reached the top of a gentle rising," says Park, "I climbed a high tree, from the topmost branches of which I cast a melancholy look over the barren wilderness, but without discovering the most distant trace of a human dwelling. The same dismal uniformity of shrubs and sand every where presented itself, and the horizon was level and uninterrupted as that of the sea.

"Descending from the tree, I found my horse devouring the stubble and brushwood with great avidity; and as I was now too faint to attempt walking, and my horse too much fatigued to carry me, I thought it but an act of humanity, and perhaps the last I should ever have it in my power to perform, to take off his bridle and let him shift for himself; in doing which, I was affected with sickness and giddiness; and, falling upon the sand, felt as if the hour of death was fast approaching. Here then (thought I,) after a short but ineffectual struggle, terminate all my hopes of being useful in my day and generation—here must the short span of my life come to an end. I cast, as I believed, a last look on the surrounding scene, and while I reflected on the awful change that was about to take place, this world and its enjoyments seemed to vanish from my recollection. Nature, however, at length resumed its functions; and on recovering my senses I found myself stretched upon the sand, with the bridle still in my hand, and the sun just sinking behind the trees. I now summoned all my resolution, and determined to make another effort to prolong my existence: and, as the evening was somewhat cool, I resolved to travel as far as my limbs would carry me, in hopes of reaching (my only resource) a watering-place. With this view I put the bridle upon my horse, and driving him before me, went slowly along for about an hour, when I perceived some lightning from the north-east—a most delightful sight, for it promised rain. The darkness and lightning increased very rapidly; and in less than an hour I heard the wind roaring behind the bushes. I had already opened my mouth to receive the re-

freshing drops which I expected : but I was instantly covered with a cloud of sand, driven with such force by the wind as to give a very disagreeable sensation to my face and arms ; and I was obliged to mount my horse and stop under a bush to prevent being suffocated. The sand continued to fly for near an hour in amazing quantities, after which I again set forward, and travelled with much difficulty until ten o'clock. About this time I was agreeably surprised by some very vivid flashes of lightning, followed by a few heavy drops of rain. In a little time the sand ceased to fly, and I alighted and spread out all my clean clothes to collect the rain, which at length I saw would certainly fall. For more than an hour it rained plentifully, and I quenched my thirst by wringing and sucking my clothes.

“There being no moon, it was remarkably dark ; so that I was obliged to lead my horse, and direct my way by the compass, which the lightning enabled me to observe. In this manner I travelled with tolerable expedition until past midnight ; when the lightning became more distant, and I was under the necessity of groping along, to the no small danger of my hands and eyes. About two o'clock my horse started at something ; and, looking round, I was not a little surprised to see a light at a short distance among the trees, and supposing it to be a town, I grouped along the sand in hopes of finding corn-stalks, cotton, or other appearances of cultivation, but found none. As I approached, I perceived a number of other lights in different places, and began to suspect that I had fallen upon a party of Moors. However, in my present situation, I was resolved to see who they were, if I could do it with safety. I accordingly led my horse cautiously towards the light, and heard by the lowing of the cattle, and the clamorous tongues of the herdsmen, that it was a watering-place, and most likely belonged to the Moors. Delightful as the sound of the human voice was to me, I resolved once more to strike into the woods, and rather run the risk of perishing with hunger, than trust myself again in their hands ; but being still thirsty, and dreading the approach of the burning day, I thought it prudent to search for the wells, which I expected to find at no great distance. In this pursuit I inadvertently approached so near one of the tents as to be perceived by a woman, who immediately screamed out. The people came running to her assistance from some of the neighbouring tents, and passed so very near me that I thought I was discovered, and hastened again into the woods.

“About a mile from this place I heard a loud and confused noise, somewhere to the right of my course, and in a short

time was happy to find it was the croaking of frogs, which was heavenly music to my ears. I followed the sound, and at daybreak arrived at some shallow muddy pools, so full of frogs that it was difficult to discern the water. The noise they made frightened my horse, and I was obliged to keep them quiet by beating the water with a branch until he had drunk. Having here quenched my thirst, I ascended a tree, and the morning being clear, I soon perceived the smoke of the watering place which I had passed in the night, and observed another pillar of smoke, east-southeast, distant twelve or fourteen miles."

Towards this column of smoke, which, as he was informed, arose from a Foulah village, he now directed his course; but on arriving at the place, was inhospitably driven from every door, except that of an old woman, who kindly received him into her dwelling, and furnished him with food for himself and with provender for his horse. Even here, however, the influence of Ali pursued him like his evil genius. The people who had collected round him while he was eating, began, as he clearly discovered from their expressions, to form the design of carrying him back once more to Benowm or Bubaker. He therefore hastened his departure, and having wandered among the woods all day, passed the night under a tree. In this way he continued his journey, sometimes meeting with hospitality, but more frequently avoiding the dwellings of man, and subsisting upon the wild produce of the woods, and the water of a few pools, to which the croaking of the frogs directed him.

At length he entered the kingdom of Bambarra, where he found the people more hospitable in proportion as they were more opulent than their neighbours. Cultivation was here carried on in a spirited manner and on an extensive scale, and "hunger," as the natives expressed it, "was never known." The country itself was beautiful, intersected on all sides by rivulets, which, after a rain-storm, were swelled into rapid streams. Park's horse was now so attenuated by fatigue that it appeared like a mere skeleton, which the traveller, fearing to mount, drove before him as if to scare away the crows. The Bambarrans, whose hospitable disposition was accompanied by but little delicacy, were infinitely amused at this droll spectacle. Taking him for a Moor, they supposed from his appearance that he must be one of those religious mendicants who, having performed the pilgrimage to the holy cities, thenceforward consider themselves fully entitled to subsist upon the labours of their industrious coreligionists. "He has been at Mecca," said one; 'you may see that by his



clothes.' Another asked if my horse was sick ; a third wished to purchase it, &c. So that I believe the very slaves were ashamed to be seen in my company."

However, in spite of all this laughter and ridicule, he proceeded on his way, and at length had the satisfaction to be informed that on the morrow he should see the Niger, denominated *Joliba*, or the "Great Water," by the natives. Next morning, the 21st of July, after passing through several large villages, he saw the smoke ascend over Sego, the capital of Bambarra, and felt elated with joy at the thought of drawing near so important an object of his mission. "As we approached the town," says Park, "I was fortunate enough to overtake the fugitive Kaartans, to whose kindness I had been so much indebted in my journey through Bambarra. They readily agreed to introduce me to the king, and we rode together through some marshy ground, where, as I anxiously looked around for the river, one of them called out *Geo affilli* (see the water); and, looking forward, I saw with infinite pleasure the great object of my mission,—the long sought for, majestic Niger, glittering to the morning sun, as broad as the Thames at Westminster, and flowing slowly to the eastward. I hastened to the brink, and having drunk of the water, lifted up my fervent thanks in prayer to the Great Ruler of all things for having thus far crowned my endeavours with success."

Sego, the capital of Bambarra, consisted of four distinct towns, two on the northern and two on the southern bank of the Niger. The king at this period resided on the southern bank, while Park arrived on the opposite side. The communication between the different quarters of the city was kept up by means of large canoes, which were constantly passing and repassing; notwithstanding which, so great was the pressure of passengers, that Park was compelled to wait upwards of two hours before he could obtain even a chance of being ferried over. Meanwhile, the prospect before him was novel and striking in the highest degree. "The view of this extensive city," he observes, "the numerous canoes on the river, the crowded population, and the cultivated state of the surrounding country formed altogether a prospect of civilization and magnificence which I little expected to find in the bosom of Africa."

While he was thus waiting for a passage, the news was conveyed to Mansong that a white man was on the banks of the river coming to see him. The king, who seems to have been alarmed at this intelligence, immediately despatched a messenger, who was directed to inform the stranger that he would not be admitted into the royal presence until the purport of his

mission were made known; and that, in the mean while, he was prohibited from passing the river. He was likewise told that the king desired him to seek lodgings in one of the villages in the vicinity of the capital. As there was no alternative, he at once set out for the village, where, to his great mortification, he found that no person would admit him into his house. "I was regarded with astonishment and fear," he observes, "and was obliged to sit all day without victuals in the shade of a tree; and the night threatened to be very uncomfortable, for the wind rose, and there was great appearance of a heavy rain; and the wild beasts were so very numerous in the neighbourhood, that I should have been under the necessity of climbing up a tree, and resting among the branches. About sunset, however, as I was preparing to pass the night in this manner, and had turned my horse loose that he might graze at liberty, a woman returning from the labours of the field stopped to observe me, and, perceiving that I was weary and dejected, inquired into my situation, which I briefly explained to her; whereupon, with looks of great compassion, she took up my saddle and bridle, and told me to follow her. Having conducted me into her hut, she lighted up a lamp, spread a mat upon the floor, and told me I might remain there for the night. Finding that I was very hungry, she said she would procure me something to eat; she accordingly went out, and returned in a short time with a very fine fish, which, having caused to be half-broiled upon some embers, she gave me for supper. The rites of hospitality being thus performed towards a stranger in distress, my worthy benefactress, pointing to the mat, and telling me I might sleep there without apprehension, called to the female part of her family, who had stood gazing on me all the while in fixed astonishment, to resume their task of spinning cotton, in which they continued to employ themselves great part of the night. They lightened their labour by songs, one of which was composed extempore, for I was myself the subject of it: it was sung by one of the young women, the rest joining in a sort of chorus. The air was sweet and plaintive, and the words literally translated were these:—'The winds roared, and the rains fell; the poor white man, faint and weary, came and sat under our tree; he has no mother to bring him milk, no wife to grind his corn.' Chorus:—'Let us pity the white man, no mother has he,' &c. Trifling as this recital may appear to the reader, to a person in my situation the circumstance was affecting in the highest degree. I was oppressed by such unexpected kindness that sleep fled my eyes. In the morning I presented my compassionate land-

lady with two of the four brass buttons which remained on my waistcoat, the only recompense I could make her."

Although Mansong refused to admit our traveller into his presence, and seemed at first to neglect him, it soon appeared that his conduct did not arise from any churlish or inhospitable feelings; for while he persisted in his refusal to see him, and signified his pleasure that he should forthwith depart from the city, he sent him a present of five thousand cowries and a guide to Sansanding. Park immediately obeyed the royal command, and learned from the conversation of his guide on the way, that the king's motives for thus dismissing him without an audience were at once prudent and liberal, since he feared that by the least show of favour he should excite the jealousy and envy of the Moorish inhabitants, from whose inveterate malice he might be unable to protect him.

With this guide he proceeded to Sansanding, where he was hospitably received by the dooty, and would, as the king's stranger, have enjoyed much quiet and consideration, had he not had the misfortune to meet with some of his old enemies the Moors, who insisted on accompanying him to the mosque, and converting him into a Mohammedan at once. However, the dooty, by exerting his authority, freed him from these fanatics, and ordered a sheep to be killed, and part of it to be dressed for his supper. "About midnight, when the Moors had left me," says Park, "he paid me a visit, and with much earnestness desired me to write him a saphie. 'If a Moor's saphie is good,' said this hospitable old man, 'a white man's must needs be better.' I readily furnished him with one possessed of all the virtues I could concentrate, for it contained the Lord's Prayer. The pen with which it was written was made of a reed, a little charcoal and gum-water made very tolerable ink, and a thin board answered the purpose of paper."

From Sansanding he departed early in the morning, before the Moors were stirring. The road now lay through the woods, and the guide, who understood the dangers of the way, moved forward with the greatest circumspection, frequently stopping and looking under the bushes. Upon observing this, Park inquired the reason, and was told that lions were very plenty in that part of the country, and very often attacked travellers in the woods. While they were conversing on this subject, Park discovered a camelopard at a little distance, the fore-legs of which, from a hasty glance, appeared much longer than the hinder. "Shortly after this," says he, "as we were crossing a large open plain where there were a few scattered bushes, my guide, who was a little way before me,

wheeled his horse round in a moment, calling out something in the Foulah language which I did not understand. I inquired in Mandingo what he meant. '*Wara bili bili*' (a very large lion)! said he, and made signs for me to ride away. But my horse was too much fatigued; so we rode slowly past the bush from which the animal had given us the alarm. Not seeing any thing myself, however, I thought my guide had been mistaken, when the Foulah suddenly put his hand to his mouth, exclaiming, '*Soubah an alluhi*' (God preserve us)! and to my great surprise, I then perceived a large red lion at a short distance from the bush, with his head couched between his fore-paws. I expected he would instantly spring upon me, and instinctively pulled my feet from my stirrups to throw myself on the ground, that my horse might become the victim rather than myself. But it is probable that the lion was not hungry; for he quietly suffered us to pass though we were fairly within his reach."

About sunset they arrived at Moodiboo, "a delightful village on the banks of the Niger, commanding a view of the river for many miles, both to the east and west. The small green islands, the peaceful retreat of some industrious Foulahs, whose cattle were here secure from the attacks of wild beasts, and the majestic breadth of the river, which is here much larger than at Sego, render the situation one of the most enchanting in the world." Park was now so worn out with fatigue and suffering, that his landlord, fearing he might die in his house, hurried him away, though he was scarcely able to walk, and his horse still less able to carry him. In fact, they had not proceeded far before the poor beast fell down, and could no more be made to rise; so that, taking off his saddle and bridle, our traveller with extreme reluctance abandoned him to his fate, and began to toil along on foot after his guide. In this way they reached Kea, a small fishing village on the Niger, where Park embarked in a fisherman's canoe which was going down the stream, while the guide returned to Sego.

In this canoe our traveller reached Moorzan, whence he was conveyed across the river to Silla, a large town on the opposite shore. It was with great difficulty that he here obtained admission into the strangers' room of the dooty's house, a damp, uncomfortable place, where he had a severe paroxysm of fever during the night. Here his resolution and energy, of which no traveller ever possessed a larger share, began at length to fail. No hope of success remained. He therefore, with extreme sorrow and anguish of mind, determined on returning whence he had come; but let me lay before the reader his own simple and manly account of the matter, which cannot

fail to impress even the most insensible with veneration for a degree of courage and intrepidity amounting to heroism. "Worn down by sickness, exhausted by hunger and fatigue, half-naked, and without any article of value by which I might procure provisions, clothes, or lodging, I began," says Park, "to reflect seriously on my situation. I was now convinced by painful experience that the obstacles to my further progress were insurmountable. The tropical rains had already set in with all their violence; the rice-grounds and swamps were already overflowed; and in a few days more, travelling of every kind except by water would be completely obstructed. The cowries which remained of the King of Bambarra's present were not sufficient to hire a canoe for any great distance; and I had but little hopes of subsisting by charity in a country where the Moors have such influence. But, above all, I perceived I was advancing more and more within the power of those merciless fanatics; and from my reception both at Sego and Sansanding, I was apprehensive that, in attempting to reach even Jeune, (unless under the protection of some man of consequence among them, which I had no means of obtaining,) I should sacrifice my life to no purpose; for my discoveries would perish with me. The prospect either way was gloomy. In returning to the Gambia, a journey on foot of many hundred miles presented itself to my contemplation, through regions and countries unknown. Nevertheless, this seemed to be the only alternative; for I saw inevitable destruction in attempting to proceed to the eastward. With this conviction on my mind, I hope my readers will acknowledge I did right in going no farther. I had made every exertion to execute my mission in its fullest extent which prudence could justify. Had there been the most distant prospect of a successful termination, neither the unavoidable hardships of the journey nor the dangers of a second captivity should have forced me to desist. This, however, necessity compelled me to do."

When he had come to this resolution, he thought it incumbent upon him before he left Silla to collect whatever information might be within his reach respecting the further course of the Niger, and the situation and extent of the various kingdoms in its vicinity. Subsequent travellers have solved the problem, the honour of explaining which was denied to Park. We now know that this great river, after having flowed to a considerable distance eastward of Timbuctoo, makes a bend or elbow like the Burrampooter, and after pursuing a south-westerly course, falls into the Atlantic Ocean on the coast of Benin.

On the 30th of July our traveller commenced his return westward, by the same route through which he had reached Silla. In a few days he recovered his horse, which had in some measure regained its strength, though it was still too weak to be ridden. The rainy season having now set in, the whole of the plain country was quickly inundated; so that our traveller was often in danger of losing his way while traversing savannahs many miles in extent, knee-deep in water. In several places he waded breast-deep across the swamps. the huts of the villages in which he passed the night, being undermined or softened by the rain, often fell in; and the noise of their fall sometimes kept him awake, expecting that his own might be the next. His situation was now even worse than during his progress eastward. A report had been widely circulated that he was a spy, in consequence of which he was in some places civilly refused admittance into the towns, in others repulsed from the gates with violence; so that he now appeared inevitably doomed to perish of hunger. However, when the fatal hour seemed at hand, some charitable being always appeared with a poor but seasonable supply, such, perhaps, as a little raw corn, which prolonged his life, and supplied him with strength to achieve his memorable journey. "On the evening of the 15th of August I arrived," says Park, "at a small village called Song, the surly inhabitants of which would not receive me, nor so much as permit me to enter the gate; but as lions were very numerous in this neighbourhood, and I had frequently in the course of the day seen the impression of their feet upon the road, I resolved to stay in the vicinity of the village. Having collected some grass for my horse, I accordingly laid down under a tree by the gate. About ten o'clock I heard the hollow roar of a lion at no great distance, and attempted to open the gate; but the people from within told me that no person must attempt to enter the gate without the dooty's permission. I begged them to inform the dooty that a lion was approaching the village, and I hoped he would allow me to come within the gate. I waited for an answer to this message with great anxiety; for the lion kept prowling round the village, and once advanced so very near me that I heard him rustling among the grass, and climbed the tree for safety. About midnight the dooty with some of his people opened the gate and desired me to come in. They were convinced, they said, I was not a Moor; for no Moor ever waited any time at the gate of a village without cursing the inhabitants."

The history of this journey now becomes nothing more than a repetition of similar sufferings. Hunger, fatigue, and de-

pression of spirits attack the traveller by turns. Nothing, however, subdues his courage. Obstacle after obstacle yields to his persevering intrepidity, and he pushes forward with invincible ardour towards the coast. In one place, at the request of a native who had grown opulent by industrious application to commerce, he wrote charms for a good supper; and, finding the contrivance productive, continued the practice next day for small presents of various kinds. On other occasions, where superstition did not come to his aid, humanity interposed, and snatched him from starvation. At Bammakoo he was hospitably treated, even by a Moor, who, having travelled to Rio Grande, had conversed with Christians, and conceived a favourable idea of their character. The rains had now increased the Niger to a vast size, and rendered impassable almost every road; but as our traveller's finances had long been exhausted, he found himself compelled to proceed, the charity of the natives not extending so far as to the maintaining of a stranger for several months. The ordinary roads being obstructed by the rains, the only practicable route, wild, dreary, and desolate, lay over steril rocky mountains, over which, it was feared, a horse could not pass.

Finding that a singing-man was about to proceed by this road to Sibidooloo, Park placed himself under his guidance, and quitted Bammakoo. He had not proceeded far, however, before his companion, finding that he had taken the wrong path, escaped among the rocks, and left him to find his way how he might. He soon arrived at a village, where he was entertained with hospitality, and where he passed the night. Next day, as he was quietly pursuing his course, a troop of peasants presented themselves, whom he at first took for elephant-hunters, but who very shortly proved themselves to be banditti. Pretending to arrest him in the name of the King of the Foulahs, they commanded him to follow them, until, having reached a dark lonely part of a wood, one of them exclaimed in the Mandingo language, "This place will do!" and immediately snatched his hat from his head. "Though I was by no means free from apprehension," says Park, "yet I was resolved to show as few signs of fear as possible; and therefore told them, that unless my hat was returned to me I should proceed no farther. But before I had time to receive an answer, another drew a knife, and, seizing upon a metal button which remained upon my waistcoat, cut it off, and put it into his pocket. Their intentions were now obvious; and I thought that the easier they were permitted to rob me of every thing, the less I had to fear. I therefore allowed them to search my pockets without resistance, and examine every part of my apparel,

which they did with the most scrupulous exactness. But, observing that I had one waistcoat under another, they insisted that I should cast them both off; and at last, to make sure work, stripped me quite naked. Even my half-boots, though the sole of one of them was tied on to my foot with a broken bridle-rein, were minutely inspected. While they were examining the plunder, I begged them with great earnestness to return my pocket-compass; but when I pointed it out to them, as it was lying on the ground, one of the banditti, thinking I was about to take it up, cocked his musket, and swore he would lay me dead upon the spot if I presumed to put my hand upon it. And after this, some of them went away with my horse, and the remainder stood considering whether they should leave me quite naked, or allow me something to shelter me from the sun. Humanity at last prevailed; they returned me the worst of the two shirts and a pair of trowsers; and, as they went away, one of them threw back my hat, in the crown of which I kept my memorandums; and this was probably the reason why they did not wish to keep it."

This was the most terrible misfortune that had hitherto befallen him, and at first, his mind appeared to sink under the united influence of grief and terror. For a while he sat in sullen dejection, half-persuaded that he had no alternative but to lie down and perish. Presently, however, thoughts of religion, and a reliance upon Providence, succeeding this extreme dejection, his mind gradually regained its fervent tone:—

"I was, indeed, a stranger," he thought, "in a strange land; yet I was still under the protecting eye of that Providence, who has condescended to call himself the stranger's friend. At this moment, painful as my reflections were, the extraordinary beauty of a small moss in fructification, irresistibly caught my eye. I mention this to show from what trifling circumstances the mind will sometimes derive consolation; for though the whole plant was not larger than the top of one of my fingers, I could not contemplate the delicate conformation of its roots, leaves, and capsula without admiration. Can that Being (thought I) who planted, watered, and brought to perfection, in this obscure part of the world, a thing which appears of so small importance, look with unconcern upon the situation and sufferings of creatures formed after his own image? Surely not! Reflections like these would not allow me to despair; I started up, and, disregarding both danger and fatigue, travelled forwards, assured that relief was at hand; and I was not disappointed."

On arriving at Sibidooloo, Park related to the mansa, or chief of the town, the misfortune which had befallen him.



This humane and excellent man, having heard him patiently to an end, took the pipe from his mouth, and tossing up the sleeve of his coat with an indignant air, "Sit down," said he, "you shall have every thing restored to you; I have sworn it." He then took the necessary measures for the recovery of the traveller's property, and invited him to partake of his hospitable fare until this should have been effected. After spending a few days at this place, without hearing any news of his horse or other property, our traveller removed to a distant village, where he remained until the whole was discovered and restored to him, with the exception of his pocket compass, which had been broken to pieces. Having nothing else to bestow upon his hospitable landlords, he gave his horse to one, and his saddle and bridle to the other: and then taking his leave, proceeded on foot to Kamalia. At this town, romantically situated at the foot of a lofty mountain, he found a slave-merchant, who, intending to descend to the coast with a small caravan in the beginning of the dry season, offered our traveller an asylum until he should set out. Conceiving that it would be impossible to proceed during the rains, Park accepted his kind proposal, and promised in return to give him the price of a slave upon their arrival on the coast. Here a fever, which had for some time menaced him, manifested itself with great violence, and continued to torment him during the whole season of the rains. His landlord, meanwhile, exerted himself to keep up his hopes, and having by some means or another obtained possession of an English Common Prayer Book, he communicated the use of it to Park, who was thus enabled to beguile the gloomy hours of his solitude and sickness. At length the rains became less frequent, and the fever abated, so that he could move out to enjoy the fresh air in the fields.

On the 19th of April, Karfa, the slave-merchant, having collected his slaves, and completed all necessary preparations, set out towards the coast, taking our traveller, to whom his behaviour had always been marked by the greatest kindness, along with him. He no longer encountered those difficulties and vicissitudes which had rendered the former part of his journey so full of interest and adventure. In traversing the high countries of Manding, Konkodoo, and Dindikoo, the chief object which attracted his attention was the mode of extracting gold. This precious metal did not occur in the form of ore, or in large masses, but its grains were mingled with a species of dust or sand. This golden earth appears to be chiefly washed down by torrents from the neighbouring chain of mountains; but it is collected with most advantage after the ground is dry and the harvest removed. Being indicated

by its reddish tinge, it is put into large baskets called calabashes, and agitated with a rotatory motion, so that at every turn a portion of light sand mixed with water flies over the brim. The weightier parts then remaining are mixed with pure water, stirred and carefully examined; and it is considered satisfactory if three or four grains are found in the whole basket. The dust is preserved in quills which are often stuck in the hair as ornaments. Their road led them across a vast wilderness, where the sufferings of every member of the caravan, and more particularly of the slaves, were most exquisite; but affliction was far from having taught them commiseration, for a fine young female slave, fainting from fatigue, had no sooner signified her inability to go on, than the universal cry of the caravan was, "cut her throat, cut her throat." By the interposition of Karfa her life was spared, but she was abandoned on the road, where she was no doubt soon devoured by wild beasts. At length, after a long, toilsome journey, Karfa succeeded in fulfilling his promise, and conducted our traveller safe to Pisanía, where the good old man was overwhelmed with the gratitude of his guest. Park now took his passage in an American vessel, and on arriving in the West Indies, quitted this ship for a packet bound for Falmouth, where he arrived on the 22d of December, 1797, after an absence of two years and seven months.

Immediately on his landing he hastened to London, where he arrived before daylight on the morning of Christmas-day. It being too early an hour to call on his brother-in-law, Mr. Dickson, he strolled about for some time in the neighbouring streets. At length, finding one of the entrances into the gardens of the British Museum accidentally open, he went in and walked about there for some time. It happened that Mr. Dickson, who had the care of those gardens, went there early that morning on some trifling business. What must have been his emotions on beholding, at that extraordinary time and place, the vision, as it must at first have appeared, of his long lost friend, the object of so many anxious reflections, and whom he had long numbered with the dead.

He was now received with distinguished honour by the African Association, and the various literary men whom he met with in London. In the mean time his travels, which the Association permitted him to publish on his own account, were announced; and both during his stay in London, and the visit which he paid to his friends in Scotland, all his leisure hours were devoted to the compiling and arranging of the materials for the work. It appeared in the spring of 1799, and immediately acquired that degree of popularity which it has

ever since maintained. In the composition of his travels, however, he was assisted by Bryan Edwards, author of a "History of the West Indies," an advocate of the slave-trade, in deference to whom Park is said to have suppressed his own opinions, which had a contrary tendency. The apology offered for this mean compliance is, that Bryan Edwards, being secretary to the African Association, had it in his power greatly to influence the future fortunes of our traveller. I should prefer supposing that his arguments produced a temporary conviction upon Park's mind, unless some more convincing proof than has yet been brought forward could be adduced to substantiate the accusation of so remarkable a deficiency of moral courage in a man in whom, on all other occasions, courage seemed to be the prevailing virtue.

However this may be, Park again returned to Scotland soon after the publication of his travels, where, on the 2d of August, 1799, he married one of the daughters of Mr. Anderson, of Selkirk, with whom he had served his apprenticeship. He now seemed to have forgotten his ambitious feelings, and for more than two years resided on the farm at Fowlshiels, with his mother and one of his brothers. He then removed to the town of Peebles, where he resumed the practice of his profession, and seems, in a short time, to have acquired a good share of the business of the place. But it will easily be imagined that the quiet obscure life of a country surgeon could possess no charms for an ardent ambitious mind like Park's. He longed to be performing upon some more stirring scene. In this dreary solitude, therefore, where the indulgence of day-dreams would appear to have been his principal amusement, scheme after scheme seems to have presented itself to his mind, each giving way in its turn to another equally impracticable. At length he received, through the medium of Sir Joseph Banks, intelligence that the African Association were once more about to send a mission into the interior of Africa, for the purpose of penetrating to and navigating the Niger; and that, in case government should enter into the plan, he himself would certainly be recommended as the person proper to be employed for carrying it into execution.

Dilatoriness is too frequently the characteristic of the proceedings of great public bodies. The first idea of this new mission was conceived in 1801, but it was not until the beginning of 1805 that the expedition was ultimately determined on, when Park received from Lord Camden his appointment as its chief conductor. "For the better enabling you to execute this service," says his lordship, "his majesty has granted you the brevet commission of captain in Africa, and has also

granted a similar commission of lieutenant to Mr. Alexander Anderson, whom you have recommended as a proper person to accompany you. Mr. Scott has also been selected to attend you as draughtsman. You are hereby empowered to enlist with you for this expedition any number you think proper of the garrison at Goree, not exceeding forty-five, which the commandant of that island will be ordered to place under your command, giving them such bounties or encouragement as may be necessary to induce them cheerfully to join with you in the expedition."

Five thousand pounds were at the same time placed at Park's disposal, and further directions given him respecting the course and line of conduct he was expected to pursue. With these instructions Park and his companions proceeded to Portsmouth, where they were joined by four or five artificers, appointed for the service from the dock-yards. They sailed on the 30th of January, and on the 28th of April arrived at Pisanía. Here they made preparations for entering the interior. The party consisted of forty men, two lieutenants, a draughtsman, a guide, and Park himself. Their provisions and merchandise were carried by asses, and they had horses for themselves. Thus appointed, they left Pisanía on the 4th of May. It was very quickly discovered, however, that their asses were unequal to the task imposed upon them; some lay down, others kicked off their burdens, and it became necessary to increase the number of these vicious animals.

At Bady, a town in the interior frontier of Woolli, they were led into a quarrel with the farauba, or chief of the town, respecting the amount of duties to be paid by their caravan, in which, though the conduct of the African was rude and peremptory, the travellers were clearly in the wrong. A few days after this affair the caravan had an adventure with a new species of enemy. On the 24th of May they reached a place which they denominated Bee's Creek, where they halted with the intention of encamping there. "We had no sooner unloaded the asses at the creek," says Park, "than some of Isaaco's people, being in search of honey, unfortunately disturbed a large swarm of bees near where the coflle had halted. The bees came out in immense numbers, and attacked men and beasts at the same time. Luckily, most of the asses were loose, and galloped up the valley; but the horses and people were very much stung, and obliged to scamper in all directions. The fire which had been kindled for cooking, having been deserted, spread and set fire to the bamboos; and our baggage had like to have been burnt. In fact, for half an hour the bees seemed to have put an end to our journey.

"In the evening, when the bees became less troublesome, and we could venture to collect our cattle, we found that many of them were very much stung and swelled about the head. Three asses were missing; one died in the evening and one next morning, and we were compelled to leave one at Sibikillin; in all six: besides which, our guide lost his horse, and many of the people were very much stung about the face and hands."

About the middle of June the rains began to set in, accompanied by violent tornadoes. The earth was quickly covered with water. The soldiers were affected with vomiting, or with an irresistible inclination to sleep. Our traveller himself was affected in a similar manner during the storm, and, notwithstanding that he used every exertion to keep away heaviness, at length fell asleep on the damp ground. The soldiers did the same thing. In the morning twelve of them were sick. In this vicinity he saw many pits, from which gold was obtained in large quantities by washing. As the caravan proceeded, many of the soldiers growing delirious, or too weak to continue the march, were left behind to the care of the natives; while others died on the road, or were drowned in the rivers. Some, still more unfortunate if possible, were lost in the woods, where they were no doubt devoured by wild beasts. Meanwhile the natives, who imagined that the caravan contained prodigious wealth, hung upon their march, plundered them at every turn, and as often as they appeared too weak to resist, endeavoured to extort presents from them.

The condition of the men now became desperate. Day after day some poor wretch was abandoned to his fate, some in one way, some in another. I give one example which may serve for the whole. "Three miles east of the village of Koombandi," says Park, "William Alston, one of the seamen whom I received from his majesty's ship Squirrel, became so faint that he fell from his ass, and allowed the ass to run away. Set him on my horse, but found he could not sit without holding him. Replaced him on the ass, but he still tumbled off. Put him again on the horse, and made one man hold him upright while I led the horse; but, as he made no exertion to hold himself erect, it was impossible to keep him on the horse, and after repeated tumbles he begged to be left in the woods till morning. I left a loaded pistol with him, and put some cartridges into the crown of his hat."

In crossing the Wundu the caravan was nearly deprived of its guide in the following manner: "Our guide, Isaaco, was very active in pushing the asses into the water, and shoving along the canoe; but as he was afraid that we could not have

them all carried over in the course of the day, he attempted to drive six of the asses across the river farther down, where the water was shallower. When he had reached the middle of the river, a crocodile rose close to him, and instantly seizing him by the left thigh, pulled him under water. With wonderful presence of mind he felt the head of the animal, and thrust his finger into its eye, on which it quitted its hold, and Isaaco attempted to reach the farther shore, calling loudly for a knife. But the crocodile returned and seized him by the other thigh, and again pulled him under water; he had recourse to the same expedient, and thrust his fingers into its eyes with such violence that it again quitted him; when it arose, flounced about on the surface of the water as if stupid, and then swam down the middle of the river. Isaaco proceeded to the other side, bleeding very much."

This event retarded for several days the march of the caravan. Besides, Park himself was attacked with fever, and their provisions, moreover, were now reduced to so low an ebb, that upon examination it was found that no more than rice for two days remained in their possession. This deficiency was, therefore, to be immediately supplied. Two persons were sent away with an ass to a distant village for rice, and in the mean time our traveller devoted his attentions to the wounds of the guide. The sailor who had been abandoned in the woods here rejoined the caravan quite naked, having been robbed of his clothes by the natives. The audacity of these thieves was extraordinary. In ascending an eminence two miles from Maniakono, Park himself was robbed in a very characteristic manner:—"As I was holding my musket carelessly in my hand, and looking round," says he, "two of Numma's sons came up to me; one of them requested me to give him some snuff; at this instant the other (called Woosaba,) coming up behind me, snatched the musket from my hand, and ran off with it. I instantly sprung from the saddle and followed him with my sword, calling to Mr. Anderson to ride back, and tell some of the people to look after my horse. Mr. Anderson got within musket-shot of him; but, seeing it was Numma's son, had some doubts about shooting him, and called to me if he should fire. Luckily I did not hear him, or I might possibly have recovered my musket at the risk of a long palaver, and perhaps the loss of half our baggage. The thief accordingly made his escape among the rocks; and when I returned to my horse, I found the other of the royal descendants had stolen my coat."

Their condition was now exceedingly distressing. Not only the soldiers and sailors, but Scott and Anderson began to lag

behind, being attacked by fever, the first effect of which in those countries is to deprive the sufferer of his energies. Having remained for some time by the wayside with his dying friend, he placed him, when his strength appeared for a moment to return, upon his horse, and pushed forward towards their proposed halting-place, leading the horse by the bridle. "We had not proceeded above a mile," says Park, "before we heard on our left a noise very much like the barking of a large mastiff, but ending in a hiss like the fuff\* of a cat. I thought it must be some large monkey; and was observing to Mr. Anderson, 'What a bouncing fellow that must be,' when we heard another bark nearer to us, and presently a third still nearer, accompanied with a growl. I now suspected some wild beast meant to attack us, but could not conjecture of what species it was likely to be. We had not proceeded a hundred yards farther, when, coming to an opening in the bushes, I was not a little surprised to see three lions coming towards us. They were not so red as the lion I had formerly seen in Bambarra, but of a dusky colour, like that of an ass. They were very large, and came bounding over the long grass, not one after another, but all abreast of each other. I was afraid, if I allowed them to come too near us, and my piece should miss fire, that we should all be devoured by them. I therefore let go the bridle, and walked forwards to meet them. As soon as they were within a long shot of me, I fired at the centre one. I do not think I hit him; but they all stopped, looked at each other, and then bounded away a few paces, when one of them stopped and looked back at me. I was too busy in loading my piece to observe their motions as they went away, and was very happy to see the last of them march slowly off among the bushes. We had not proceeded above half a mile farther when we heard another bark and growl close to us among the bushes. This was, doubtless, one of the lions before seen; and I was afraid they would follow us till dark, when they would have too many opportunities of springing on us unawares. We however heard no more of them."

At length, from the brow of a hill, Park had once more the satisfaction of beholding the Niger, rolling its immense stream along the plain. But he was in no mood of mind to triumph at the sight. The majority of his companions had fallen on the way; of thirty-four soldiers and four carpenters who left the Gambia, only six soldiers and one carpenter reached the

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\* *Fuff* is an expressive Scotch word, applicable in its original sense to the explosive noise which a cat makes in flying at a dog.

Niger. With this miserable remnant of his original force he descended the hill, and pitched his tents near the town of Bambakoo. Here some of the party embarked in canoes on the Niger, while others proceeded by land to the neighbourhood of Sego, which they reached on the 19th of September. Mansong was still king of Bambarra; and being highly gratified with their presents, not only gave them permission to build a boat on the Niger at whatever town they pleased, but engaged to protect, as far as his power extended, the trade of the whites in the interior. Park selected Sansanding as the place most eligible for building the boat, and removed thither as quickly as possible. Here immediately on his arrival he opened a shop, exhibiting a choice assortment of European goods, which sold so well among the natives that his success excited the envy of the Jinnic people, the Moors, and the other merchants of the place, who offered Mansong merchandise to a much greater value than the presents made him by Park, if he would either kill the strangers or drive them out of the country. Mansong, however, rejected the offer. "From the 8th to the 16th nothing of consequence occurred; I found my shop every day more and more crowded with customers; and such was my run of business, that I was sometimes forced to employ three tellers at once to count my cash. I turned one market-day twenty-five thousand seven hundred and fifty-six pieces of money (cowries)."

Park now received intelligence of the death of Mr. Scott, who had been left behind near Bambakoo. Mansong very soon convinced the traveller that he understood the art of receiving presents much better than that of returning them; for upon being requested to furnish a canoe in which the mission, now reduced to a very small number, might embark on the Niger, he sent one after another several half-rotten barks; two of which Park, seeing no hope of getting better, was at length compelled to accept, and with these he constructed what he termed a schooner. Shortly after this he lost his friend Anderson, upon whose death "I felt myself," says he, "as if left a second time lonely and friendless amid the wilds of Africa." Dreary and perilous as was his position, however, he still determined to persevere. His companions were now reduced to four, Lieutenant Martyn and three soldiers, one of whom was deranged in his mind; yet with this wretched remnant of a detachment which, it must be confessed, had been thus thinned, or rather annihilated, by his own ill management and want of foresight, he purposed following the course of the Niger to its termination, whether that should prove to be in some great lake



or inland sea, or, as he rather believed, in the Atlantic Ocean. And this voyage, says one of his biographers, one of the most formidable ever attempted, was to be undertaken in a crazy and ill-appointed vessel, manned by a few negroes and a few Europeans!

On the 16th of November, having completed all the necessary preparations for his voyage, our traveller put the finishing hand to his journal; and in the interval between that and his embarkation, which seems to have taken place on the 19th, wrote several letters to England. These letters, together with the journal, were then delivered to his guide Isaaco, by whom they were conveyed to the Gambia, from whence they were transmitted to England; after which nothing certain or authentic can be said to have been heard either of Park or the expedition. In 1806, however, vague accounts of the death of Park and his companions were brought to the British settlements on the coast by the native traders from the interior; but several years elapsed without any further intelligence being obtained. At length, in 1810, Colonel Maxwell, governor of Senegal, despatched Park's guide, Isaaco, into the interior, for the purpose of ascertaining the truth or falsehood of the reports which prevailed, and, should they prove correct, of collecting information respecting the place and manner of the catastrophe.

After an absence of one year and eight months Isaaco returned to Senegal, and delivered to the governor a journal of proceedings, including a narrative which he had received from Amadi Fatouma, the guide who accompanied Park from Sansanding down the Niger. The particulars of Isaaco's adventures it is altogether unnecessary to describe. He found Amadi Fatouma at Madina, a village distant a few hours from Sansanding. On seeing Isaaco, and hearing the name of Park, he began to weep; and his first words were, "They are all dead." The recollection of the melancholy transaction appeared to affect him in an extraordinary manner, and it was with the utmost reluctance that he at length consented to recall to memory an event which he seemed peculiarly desirous of delivering over to oblivion. However, upon the pressing entreaties of Isaaco, he narrated circumstantially what had taken place. Upon leaving Sansanding, there were, he said, nine persons in the canoe; Park, Martyn, three other white men, three slaves, and himself as their guide and interpreter. They had proceeded but a very little way down the river before they were pursued and attacked by the Africans in canoes, particularly in passing Timbuctoo, where a great number of the natives were killed. Shortly after passing Goronmo,

they lost one white man by sickness. They were now, therefore, reduced to eight; but as each person had always fifteen muskets loaded and ready for action, they were still formidable to their enemies.

As Park had laid in a considerable quantity of provisions previous to his leaving Sansanding, he was enabled to proceed for several days without stopping at any place, which is the only circumstance that can account for his passing in safety through the country of so many hostile nations. At length, however, their wants compelled them to have some communication with the shore. "We came," says Amadi Fatouma, "near a small island, and saw some of the natives; I was sent on shore to buy some milk. When I got among them, I saw two canoes go on board to sell fresh provisions, such as fowls, rice, &c. One of the natives wanted to kill me, and at last he took hold of me, and said I was his prisoner. Mr. Park, seeing what was passing on shore, suspected the truth. He stopped the two canoes and people; telling the latter, that if they should kill me, or keep me prisoner on shore, he would kill them all, and carry their canoes away with him. Those on shore, suspecting Mr. Park's intentions, sent me off in another canoe on board; they were then released: after which we bought some provisions from them, and made them some presents. A short time after our departure twenty canoes came after us from the same place; on coming near, they hailed, and said, 'Amadi Fatouma, how can you pass through our country without giving us any thing?' I mentioned what they had said to Mr. Park, and he gave them a few grains of amber and some trinkets, and they went back peaceably. On coming to a narrow part of the river, we saw on the shore a great many men sitting down; coming nearer to them they stood up; we presented our muskets to them, which made them run off into the interior. A little farther on we came to a very difficult passage. The rocks had barred the river, but three passages were still open between them. On coming near one of them, we discovered the same people again, standing on the top of a large rock; which caused great uneasiness to us, especially to me, and I seriously promised never to pass there again without making considerable charitable donations to the poor. We returned, and went to a pass of less danger, where we passed unmolested.

"We came to before Carmassee, and gave the chief one piece of baft. We went on, and anchored before Gourman. Mr. Park sent me on shore with forty thousand cowries to buy provisions. I went and bought rice, onions, fowls, milk, &c., and departed late in the evening. The chief of the village

sent a canoe after us, to let us know of a large army encamped on the top of a very high mountain, waiting for us; and that we had better return, or be on our guard. We immediately came to an anchor, and spent there the rest of the day and all the night. We started in the morning; on passing the above mentioned mountain we saw the army, composed of Moors with horses and camels, but without any firearms. As they said nothing to us we passed on quietly, and entered the country of Haoussa, and came to an anchor. Mr. Park said to me, 'Now, Amadi, you are at the end of your journey: I engaged you to conduct me here; you are going to leave me; but before you go you must give me the names of the necessities of life, &c., in the language of the countries through which I am going to pass;' to which I agreed, and we spent two days together about it without landing. During our voyage I was the only one who had landed. We departed, and arrived at Yaour. I was sent on shore the next morning with a musket and a sabre to carry to the chief of the village; also with three pieces of white baft for distribution. I went and gave the chief his present: I also gave one to Alhagi, one to Alhagibiron, and the other to a person whose name I forget; all Marabons. The chief gave us a bullock, a sheep, three jars of honey, and four men's loads of rice. Mr. Park gave me seven thousand cowries, and ordered me to buy provisions, which I did; he told me to go to the chief, and give him five silver rings, some powder and flints and tell him that these presents were given to the king by the white men, who were taking leave of him before they went away. After the chief had received these things, he inquired if the white men intended to come back. Mr. Park, being informed of this inquiry, replied that he could not return any more.\* Mr. Park had paid me for my voyage before we left Sansanding: I said to him, 'I agreed to carry you into the kingdom of Haoussa; we are now in Haoussa. I have fulfilled my engagement with you; I am therefore going to leave you here and return.'

On the next day Park departed, leaving the guide at the village of Yaour, where he was put in irons by order of the king, from a supposition that he had aided the white men in defrauding him of the customary presents, which the chief of Yaour had in fact received, but retained for himself. "The next morning, early," continues the guide, "the king sent an army to a village called Boussa, near the river-side. There

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\* These words occasioned his death; for the certainty of Mr. Park not returning induced the chief to withhold the presents from the king.

is before this village a rock across the whole breadth of the river. One part of the rock is very high ; there is a large opening in that rock in the form of a door, which is the only passage for the water to pass through ; the tide current is here very strong. This army went and took possession of the top of this opening. Mr. Park came there after the army had posted itself ; he nevertheless attempted to pass. The people began to attack him, throwing lances, pikes, arrows, and stones. Mr. Park defended himself for a long time ; two of his slaves at the stern of the canoe were killed ; they threw every thing they had in the canoe into the river, and kept firing ; but being overpowered by numbers, and fatigued, and unable to keep up the canoe against the current, and no probability of escaping, Mr. Park took hold of one of the white men and jumped into the water ; Martyn did the same, and they were drowned in the stream in attempting to escape. The only slave remaining in the boat, seeing the natives persist in throwing weapons at the canoe without ceasing, stood up and said to them, 'Stop throwing now, you see nothing in the canoe, and nobody but myself ; therefore cease. Take me and the canoe, but don't kill me.' They took possession of the canoe and the man, and carried them to the king.

"I was kept in irons three months ; the king released me, and gave me a slave (woman.) I immediately went to the slave taken in the canoe, who told me in what manner Mr. Park and all of them had died, and what I have related above. I asked him if he was sure nothing had been found in the canoe after its capture ; he said nothing remained in the canoe but himself and a sword-belt. I asked him where the sword-belt was ; he said the king took it, and had made a girth for his horse with it."

Such is the narrative of Amadi Fatouma ; and the information since obtained in the country by Captain Clapperton corroborates almost every important circumstance which it describes. It appears, however, that certain books (whether printed or manuscript does not appear) were found in Park's canoe, some of which were still in the possession of the chief of Yaour when Clapperton made his inquiries ; but the wily African, who no doubt expected a valuable present for these relics, refused to deliver them to our traveller's messenger, and Clapperton himself, for some reason or another not stated, neglected to visit this chief in person. It should be remarked, that the Africans who were questioned by Clapperton seemed all exceedingly desirous of exculpating their countrymen, perhaps their own friends and relations, from the charge of having

DEATH OF MUNGO PARK.



murdered Park and his companions ; according to one narrator, the canoe was caught between two rocks, where the river, being obstructed in its course, rushed through its narrow channel with prodigious rapidity. Here the travellers, in attempting to disembark, were drowned in the sight of an immense multitude who had assembled to see them pass, and were too timid to attack or assist them. On another occasion, however, the same person confessed that his countrymen did indeed discharge their arrows at the travellers, but not until they had been fired upon from the canoe. But the sheriff of Bokhary, whose letter was found among the MSS. of Clapperton, asserts that the inhabitants of Boussa went out against the white men in great numbers, and attacked them during three successive days ; after which Park and Martyn, who from this account would appear to have been the only European survivors, threw their papers and baggage into the water, and leaping in after them were drowned in the stream. It would answer no useful purpose to push these inquiries any further at present, as we in reality possess no sufficient materials for coming to any definite conclusion. There can be no doubt that Mungo Park perished on the Niger, near Boussa, or that the Africans were the cause, mediate or immediate, of his death. His character will be best understood by a careful examination of his life ; but it may be useful to remark, in conclusion, that, although his natural prudence seems partly to have forsaken him during his second journey, few men have possessed in a higher degree the virtues of a traveller—intrepidity, enthusiasm, perseverance, veracity, prudence ; his manners, likewise, though somewhat too stiff and reserved, must upon the whole have been agreeable, since he was able both in civilized and savage countries to gain and preserve many friends ; among whom by far the most distinguished was Sir Walter Scott, with whom, during the interval between his two journeys, he lived on terms of the greatest intimacy.



## DIXON DENHAM.

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COLONEL DIXON DENHAM, well known by his expedition into Central Africa, was born at London, in 1786, and after finishing his studies at school, was placed with a solicitor, but in 1811, entered the army as a volunteer, and served in the peninsular campaigns. After the general peace, he was reduced to half-pay on the peace establishment, and, in 1819, was admitted into the senior department of the Royal Military College at Farnham. His courage, address, firmness, perseverance, and moderation, his bold, frank, energetic disposition, and his conciliating manners, peculiarly fitted him for the enterprize which in company with Captain Clapperton, he undertook in the years 1823-4. We allude to the enterprize of exploring Central Africa.



HUGH CLAPPERTON.

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CAPTAIN HUGH CLAPPERTON, the African traveller, was born in Annan, in Dumfries-shire, in 1788. After some elementary instruction in practical mathematics, he was bound apprentice, at the age of 13, to the owner of a vessel trading between Liverpool and North America, in which he made several voyages. He was then impressed into his Britannic majesty's service, was soon after made a midshipman, served on the American lakes in 1815, and, in 1816 received the commission of lieutenant. Having retired to Scotland, he became acquainted with Dr. Oudney, who was about to embark for Africa, and requested permission to accompany him. Lieutenant (since Colonel) Denham having volunteered his services, and it being intended that researches should be made, to the east and west, from Bornou, where Dr. Oudney was to reside as British consul, his name was added to the expedition by lord Bathurst.



Nothing could shake the determination of the British government to obtain, by some means or other, a competent degree of information respecting the unknown countries of Africa. The great favour and influence enjoyed at the court of Tripoli was still regarded as a favourable circumstance. It was chiefly due to the prudence and ability of Mr. Warrington, without whose advice scarcely any thing of importance was transacted. The bashaw was therefore disposed to renew his protection to any mission which Britain might send. Nor could the protection of any sovereign have been more efficient; for the influence of this petty prince and the terror of his name are almost unbounded in the greatest kingdoms of Central Africa. One weapon, the gun, in the hands of his troops, gives him all this superiority; for the remoter nations, from the Nile to the Atlantic, scarcely know any other arms besides the spear, the bow, and the javelin. A musket among those tribes is an object of almost supernatural dread; individuals have been seen kneeling down before it, speaking to it in whispers, and addressing to it earnest supplications. With troops thus armed, the bashaw of Tripoli is esteemed in North Africa the most potent monarch on earth; and it is a matter of surprise among the natives that he has not ere now compelled all Europe to embrace the Mohammedan faith. He could therefore assure the English, that for any but physical obstacles, they might travel as safely from Tripoli to Bornou, as from Edinburgh to London.

Under the confidence inspired by these circumstances, the British government prepared an expedition, and without difficulty procured a band of adventurers, who undertook to brave all its perils. Major Denham, Lieutenant Clapperton, and Dr. Oudney, were appointed to this service. Without delay they proceeded to Tripoli, where they arrived on the 18th of November, 1821. They were immediately introduced to the bashaw, whom they found sitting cross-legged on a carpet, attended by armed negroes. After treating them to sherbet and coffee, he invited them to a hawking party, where he appeared mounted on a milk-white Arabian steed superbly caparisoned, having a saddle of crimson velvet richly studded with gold nails, and with embroidered trappings. He was preceded by six *chaoushes*, or officers, in white silk robes; while two favourite negro slaves, in glittering vest, light burnouse, and white turban, supported him on each side. The hunt began on the borders of the Desert, where parties of six or eight Arabs dashed forwards quick as lightning, fired suddenly, and rushed back with loud cries. The skill with which they ma-

nœuvred their steeds, whirling the long musket over their heads as they rode at full gallop, appeared quite surprising.

Although the English were personally well treated at Tripoli, they could not shut their eyes to the reigning barbarism. The sheik, Belgassum Khalifa, a fine old Arab, understood to be high in the favour of the bashaw, had been one evening at an elegant entertainment in the palace, when on reaching his own door, a pistol-shot wounded him in the arm, and on his entering the passage another penetrated his body. He staggered into the house, denouncing his own nephew as the author of the assassination. The murderers rushed in, and completed their crime by stabbing him seven times with their daggers, while his wife received two wounds in endeavouring to save him. The three actors in this tragedy instantly fled for protection to the British consulate; but Mr. Warrington sent notice to the bashaw, "that the murderers of Khalifa would find no protection under the flag of England." That chief, however, either privy to the crime, or disposed to wink at its commission, expressed his regret that the guilty persons had found shelter in the consulate; but added, that he could not think of violating such a sanctuary. Repeated assurance was given that he might send any force, or use any means, to drag them from beneath a banner that never was disgraced by giving protection to assassins. The bashaw at length, ashamed of his apathy, sent sixteen stout fellows, by whom the ruffians were seized; and in less than an hour the murderers were seen hanging from the castle-walls.

The mission, fortified with recommendations to the sultan of Fezzan, now entered upon their long and dreary pilgrimage to Mourzouk, where they arrived on the 8th of April, 1822. This prince received them with courtesy and affability, but gave himself very little trouble in making provision for the continuance of their journey. He even intimated his intention of visiting Tripoli, and the necessity of their remaining till his return. This arrangement was most disheartening; nor did they know what reliance to place in the sincerity of Boo Khalloom, a great merchant, who invited them to accompany an expedition which he was preparing for Soudan. The sultan and he soon after departed, each with large presents for the bashaw, to intrigue against one another at the court of Tripoli. After this there was scarcely a camel left in Fezzan, or any other means of prosecuting discovery. Major Denham then saw no alternative but that he himself should hasten back to Tripoli, and remonstrate with the bashaw on the apparent violation of his promise. After a tedious journey of

twenty days, with only three attendants, he arrived, and waited on the barbarian, who received him with his usual courtesy; but, not giving that full satisfaction which was expected, the Major lost no time in setting sail for England, to lodge a complaint with his own court. This step was painfully felt by the bashaw, who sent vessel after vessel, one of which at last overtook Major Denham while performing quarantine at Marseilles, and announced that arrangements were actually made with Boo Khalloom for escorting him to the capital of Bornou. Accordingly, on the Major's return to Tripoli, he found the Arab chief already on the borders of the Desert.

This trader, who was now to be a guide to the English into the immense regions of the south, was a personage of a very different character from what we in this country can form any idea of. The African caravan-merchant has nothing in common with that respectable class of men who, seated in counting houses at London or Amsterdam, direct the movement of their ships over the ocean, and count the silent accumulation of their profits. He, on the contrary, must accompany his merchandise from one extremity to the other of a great continent, and across its immense deserts, the scene of much suffering, and frequently of death itself. Nor is it from a parched wilderness and a burning climate that he has most to apprehend. His path is every where beset by bands whose trade is plunder, and who find amusement in assassination. He must therefore have his property guarded by armed men, ready to defend with their blood what his money has purchased. These followers, being in continual service, and exposed to frequent fighting, become practised soldiers, and are more than a match for the roving barbarians who infest the Sahara. Even the greatest princes view these merchant-chiefs with fear and jealousy; and though they contrive to draw considerable advantage from their trade, scarcely consider the kingdom as their own while their troops are within its boundaries. The merchants, unhappily, do not confine themselves to self-defence; but, seeing robbery practised on every side against themselves, begin to retaliate, and soon find it cheaper, and, according to African ideas, not less honourable, to replenish their stores by plunder than by purchase. Slaves, the staple of their trade, are generally obtained by the most atrocious violence, in expeditions called *ghrazzies* or *felateas*, undertaken solely for that guilty purpose; but, by engaging in such enterprises themselves, the merchants enjoy the benefit, since they reckon it such, of paying in blood instead of money. Provided they can escape the dangers and casualties to which they are exposed, their profits are immense, the value of mer-

chandise being somewhat more than tripled by its conveyance across the Desert. Thus a few successful journeys enable a man to acquire a fortune almost princely, and a high degree of influence in the Barbary States. In short, the merchant, the warrior, the prince, the thief, are united in this extraordinary character; and he is prepared, according to circumstances, to act in one or in all of these capacities. Yet Boo Khalloom might be reckoned a good specimen of this evil race. He possessed an enlarged and liberal mind, and was honourable, and even humane, so far as a slave-merchant could retain these qualities; he was dragged, too, with reluctance into the most odious parts of his vocation,—while at home his generosity was such as to make him almost idolized.

Under the guidance of this remarkable personage Major Denham set forth, with almost the full assurance of reaching those depths of Africa from which no European had ever yet returned. Little occurred to diversify the usual monotony of a desert route, till they arrived at Sockna, where Boo Khalloom, who was fond of display, determined to make his entrance with almost kingly pomp. He rode a white Tunisian horse, with gilded saddle and trappings of scarlet cloth bordered with gold; his dress consisted of various caftans and robes of the richest silks, adorned with gold buttons, lace, and embroidery: the burnouse, a present from the bashaw, had cost four hundred dollars. The citizens meeting the party with shouts and guns, and the females with singing and dancing, formed a species of triumphal procession. Several days were spent at Sockna, Boo Khalloom being ill, and wishing to try the effect of various charms and superstitious remedies. The English, meantime, witnessed a great marriage ceremony, the chief pomp of which consisted in placing the bride in a basket on the back of a camel and leading her round the town, while numerous horsemen galloped up and discharged their muskets quite close to her head; the honour of which compliment was understood to compensate for the fear which it could not fail to occasion.

In journeying onwards to Mourzouk the travellers passed along the naked sides of the Gebel Assoud, which the Major crossed now for the third time; but no familiarity could relieve the sense of dreariness and misery which its aspect occasioned. A rainy day came as a blessing to the whole party, especially to the poor slaves, on whom Boo Khalloom had only in special kindness bestowed one draught of water in the day to cool their burning thirst. On the 30th of October the caravan made its entry into Mourzouk with similar pomp as into Sockna, amid the shouts of the inhabitants, whom the chief, by his

liberality, had inspired with the warmest attachment. The Major, however, was much disheartened by not seeing any of his countrymen amid the joyous crowd; and his fears were confirmed by finding Dr. Oudney just recovering from a severe attack in the chest, and Mr. Clapperton in bed the fifteenth day with ague,—facts which, combined with the unfortunate result of the last expedition, and the sickly look of the natives themselves, indicated some peculiarly baneful influence, without any visible cause, in the climate of Mourzouk.

Invalids so severely afflicted were not very fit to begin a long and laborious journey; but their ardour was extreme, and imagining that a change of air would be beneficial, they contrived, even before Boo Khalloom was ready to set out, to move forward to Gatrone, leaving Major Denham behind at Mourzouk. On the 29th of November the whole caravan broke up from that city, and began their journey through the Desert. They were escorted by nearly every inhabitant who could muster a horse. The expedition, besides the English, comprised two hundred and ten Arabs, ranged in tens and twenties, under different chiefs. The most numerous were the M'Garha, who, to the amount of seventy, came from the barren shore of the Syrtes. These barbarians enlivened the route by their traditionary tales, their songs, their extemporaneous poems, in which all the incidents of the journey itself were narrated; in short, by an inexhaustible fund of wit and vivacity. Their pride, their revenge, their robberies, did not come into view in their intercourse with the English, who, being received into their camp, having eaten of their bread and salt, and being bound in the cord of friendship, were entitled to all the rights of hospitality, and would have been protected even at the hazard of life.

The caravan arrived in due time at Traghan, a small town containing a fine carpet-manufactory, and ruled by a marabout, who used the sanctity of his character to maintain order and promote the prosperity of the place. Passing that station they were soon in the heart of the Desert, where they spent whole days without seeing a living thing, even a bird or an insect, that did not belong to the caravan itself. After painful marches under the direct action of the solar rays, they were delighted by the stillness and beauty of the night. The moon and stars shone with peculiar brilliancy; cool breezes succeeded to the burning heat of the day; and on removing a few inches of the loose hot soil, a soft and refreshing bed was obtained. Even the ripple of the blowing sand sounded like a gentle and murmuring stream. Every noise was rendered doubly impressive by the deep stillness, as well as by an echo

from the surface of the surrounding waste. The road derived a very peculiar aspect from the quantity of salt with which the soil was impregnated; the clods were often cracked so as to resemble a ploughed field; and from the sides of cavities were hanging beautiful crystals of that mineral like the finest frost-work. Sometimes the ground for several miles was glazed over, resembling a sheet of ice; but though the surface was very hard, the interior was brittle, and the salt fell away in flakes.

The travellers had not proceeded far when the melancholy aspect of the Desert was heightened by a succession of objects which could not be viewed without the deepest horror. The ground was strewn with the skeletons of former travellers, who had perished in the attempt to cross this extensive wilderness. These at first appeared singly, but afterwards increased till they amounted to fifty or sixty in a day. At Meshroo a hundred were seen together; and near the wells at El Hammar they were found lying in countless multitudes. One forenoon, as Major Denham was dozing on horseback, he was awakened by the sound of something crashing under his horse's feet, and on looking down, saw the animal trampling on two perfect human skeletons. A movement of one of the feet had separated the skull from the trunk, and driven it forward like a ball. In some of these remains portions of the flesh and hair were left, and even the features were still distinguishable. Two female skeletons lay closely twined together, having evidently been faithful friends, who had died in each other's arms. The Arabs gave little proof of their boasted sensibility in the utter indifference with which they viewed these dismal objects, driving about the limbs with their firelocks, passing coarse jests upon the dead, and deriding the sympathy manifested by their English companions. They told them these were only blacks, "damn their fathers,"—the barbarous prejudices arising from difference of religion and lineage having thus extinguished in their breasts every touch of human sympathy. Major Denham appears in one place to countenance the popular belief that these bodies were the remains of caravans buried beneath tempests of moving sand; but none of his facts support this conclusion, or contradict the opinion of Browne, that such victims have in most instances perished from other causes. They were lying open and exposed, without even a covering of dust; and the catastrophe of the largest group was too well known, having been a body of slaves, the chief booty obtained by the sultan of Fezzan during his last expedition into Soudan. The troop had left Bornou without an adequate supply of provisions, which failed entirely before

they approached Mourzouk. That want, or perhaps fatigue, was the real cause of this destruction was manifest from the fact that the sufferers were all negroes, while their Arab masters had taken care to reserve for themselves the means of reaching home.

In this route the travellers had on one side the Tibboos, on the other the Tuaricks, two native tribes, probably of great antiquity, and having no alliance with the Arab race, now so widely spread over the continent. The Tibboos were on the left, and it was through their villages that the caravan passed. These people live partly on the milk of their camels, which pick up a scanty subsistence on the few verdant spots that rise amid the Desert, partly by carrying on a small trade between Mourzouk and Bornou, in which they are so busily employed that many do not spend at home more than four months in the year. They are black, though without the negro features; the men ugly, but the young females possessed of some beauty, not wholly obscured by the embellishments of coral stuck in the nose, and of oil streaming over the face. They are besides a gay, good-humoured, thoughtless race, with all the African passion for the song and the dance; which last they practise gracefully, and with movements somewhat analogous to the Grecian. This cheerfulness appears wonderful, considering the dreadful calamity with which they are threatened every day. Once a year, or oftener, an inroad is made by their fierce neighbours, the Tuaricks, who spare neither age nor sex, and sweep away all that comes within their reach. The cowardly Tibboos dare not even look them in the face; they can only mount to the top of certain steep rocks with flat summits and perpendicular sides, near one of which every village is built. They carry up with them every thing that can be removed, and this rude defence avails against still ruder assailants. The savage Tuaricks, again, were observed by Clapperton and Oudney in a journey to the westward from Mourzouk, and were found in their private character to be frank, honest, and hospitable. The females are neither immured nor oppressed, as is usual among rude and Mohammedan tribes, but meet with notice and respect; indeed, the domestic habits of this nation have much resemblance to the European. They are a completely wandering race of shepherds and robbers, holding in contempt all who live in houses and cultivate the ground; yet they are, perhaps, the only native Africans who have letters and an alphabet, which they inscribe, not on books and parchments indeed, but on the dark rocks that checker the surface of their territory; and in places

where they have long resided every stone is seen covered with their writings.

Bilma, the capital of the Tibboos, was found a mean town with walls of earth, but surrounded by numerous lakes containing the purest salt, the most valuable of all articles for the commerce of Soudan. The inhabitants, however, though deeply mortified, durst not prevent the powerful Tuaricks from lading their caravans with it, and underselling them in all the markets. About a mile beyond Bilma was a fine spring, spreading around, and forming a little circle of the richest verdure. This was the last vegetable life that the discoverers were to see during a long march of thirteen days. In these wilds, where the constant drift causes hills to rise or disappear in the course of a night, all traces of a road are soon obliterated, and the eye of the traveller is guided only by dark rocks which at certain intervals raise their heads amid the sterile waste. Sometimes the sand is formed into hills with perpendicular sides, from twenty to sixty feet high. These the camels are made to slide down; in which operation they can only be kept steady by the driver hanging with all his weight on the tail, otherwise they would tumble forward, and throw the load over their heads. "Tremendously dreary are these marches; as far as the eye can reach, billows of sand bound the prospect." Whenever the wind was high, volumes of this substance darkened the air, through which it was sometimes impossible to attempt a passage.

After a fortnight spent in the Desert, the expedition saw symptoms of a return to the region of life. There appeared scattered spots of thin herbage; little valleys watered by springs were filled with the shrub called *suag*, on which grew delicate berries; small herds of gazelles fed in these retreats; even the droves of hyenas indicated the revival of animal nature. As the travellers advanced, the country improved; at every mile the valleys became more gay and verdant; and the creeping vines of the colocynth in full bloom, with the red flowers of the *kossom*, converted many of these spots into a little Arcadia. The freshness of the air, with the melody of the hundred songsters that were perched among the creeping plants, whose flowers diffused an aromatic odour, formed the most delightful contrast to the desolate region through which they had passed. Here again were found Tibboos, of the tribe called Gunda, a more alert and active people than the former; the men still uglier, the girls still handsomer and more delicately formed. This sept have about five thousand camels, on whose milk alone they support themselves for half the year,



and their horses for the whole year ; the little crop of *gussub* and millet being too precious for these animals, which drink camel's milk, sweet or sour, and by this strange diet are kept in the highest health and condition. The chief, Mina Tahr, or the Black Bird, waited upon the party, and was presented by Boo Khalloom with a coarse scarlet burnouse and a tawdry silk caftan : these paltry dresses, being the finest that had ever invested the person of this chieftain, threw him into ecstasies of delight, which he continued for hours to testify by joyful shouts and high leaps into the air. Major Denham's watch singularly delighted him ; but solely, as soon appeared, from the pleasure of seeing his own person in the bright metallic case ; so that a very small mirror was deemed still more precious.

In this approach to the territory of Soudan the English began to witness the exercise of mutual plunder between the caravan and the natives. Every animal which straggled from the main body was instantly carried off ; even a dog had been eaten up, and only the bones left. A herald, handsomely equipped, who had been sent forward to the sultan of Bornou, was found stripped, and tied naked to a tree. On the other hand, no sooner did the caravan come in view of any village than the inhabitants were descried on the plain beyond in full flight with all their effects. The Arabs pursued, in indignation only, as they pretended, at not being allowed to purchase what they wanted ; but the conduct of the poor natives was evidently the result of long experience ; and Major Denham saw executed on one party the most rapid process of plunder he ever witnessed. In a few seconds the camels were eased of their loads, and the poor women and girls stripped to the skin. Boo Khalloom, on this and other occasions, interposed, and insisted on restitution ; but whether he would equally have done so without the urgent remonstrances of the English appears to be doubtful.

The expedition, now advancing rapidly, entered Kanem, the most northern province of Bornou, and soon arrived at Lari, a town of two thousand inhabitants, composed of clusters of rush-huts, conical at top, and looking like well-thatched corn-stacks. This place formed a remarkable stage in their progress ; for, from the rising ground in front of it was seen stretching out the boundless expanse of the great interior sea of Africa, the lake Tchad, "glowing with the golden rays of the sun." Major Denham, who saw here the key to his grand scheme of discovery, hastened down to the shores of this mighty water. These were darkened with the varied and beautiful plumage of ducks, geese, pelicans, and cranes four or

five feet high, immense spoonbills of snowy whiteness, yellow-legged plovers, with numerous unknown waterfowl, sporting around, and quietly feeding at half pistol-shot. It is not to be wondered at, that Major Denham should have felt reluctant to invade the profound tranquillity of these feathered tribes, and betray the confidence with which they received him. At last, overcoming his scruples, he took up his gun, and soon filled a large basket. It was evident here, that remarkable changes in the bed of the Tchad had recently taken place; for, though this was not the rainy season, long stalks of the grain called gussub were growing amid the waters on ground formerly dry.

The caravan now marched along the shores of the lake, and arrived in two days at Woodie, a large town, the first which was found thoroughly negro. The inhabitants lived in sluggish plenty, on the produce of a fertile country, without any attempt to obtain either elegancies or luxuries. It was resolved that the caravan should pause here, till a messenger could be sent forward to obtain for them invitation, or permission, to present themselves before the sheik of Bornou. The political state of that country was at this time somewhat singular. Twenty years before it had been overrun and completely conquered, with the most dreadful devastation, by the Fellatas, a western people, to whose empire Bornou seemed to have been finally annexed. There still remained, however, a spirit in the people which spurned at a foreign yoke. The present sheik, a native of Kanem, of humble birth, but of superior talents and energy, rallied round him a band of bold spearmen, and, animating them by a pretended vision of the prophet, hoisted the green flag, and attacked the invaders. His success was such, that in ten months the Fellatas were completely driven out of Bornou, which they had never since re-entered, though desultory hostilities were still waged between the two nations. This leader, idolized by the army who had conquered under him, was now the real master of the country, yet the reverence of the nation for their ancient line of kings was too deep to allow the legitimate heir to be wholly superseded. He was drawn forth from obscurity, received the title of sultan, and was established in empty pomp at the city of Birnie; while the successful soldier, under an humbler name, retained in his own hands all the real power of the kingdom.

After five days an invitation arrived from the sheik to visit him at Kouka, for which city the travellers immediately departed. In their way they passed the Yeou, the first river of any description which had crossed their path in this long journey, exciting considerable interest from being for a moment supposed to be the Niger flowing from Timbuctoo. The

stream was fifty yards broad, and proceeded with some rapidity eastward into the Tchad: in the wet season its breadth became twice as great. On the bank, for the convenience of passengers, lay two large canoes, rudely put together, constructed of planks fastened by cords, and having the openings stuffed with straw. The men and goods were ferried over on these rafts, while the horses and camels, having their heads fastened to them, swam across.

In approaching Kouka, Major Denham experienced considerable emotion, in consequence of the contradictory reports which he heard respecting the array and aspect of this great central court of Africa. Some told him that the sheik was surrounded by a mere handful of half-armed, half-naked negroes, fit only for plunder; while, according to others, he was at the head of a numerous cavalry, highly equipped and well-disciplined. The Major pressed eagerly forward before the main body, and, emerging from the forest, had his curiosity gratified by seeing a body of several thousand horse drawn up in line, and extending on each side as far as the eye could reach. He now awaited the coming up of the Arabs; at sight of whom the Bornou troops, who had previously stood immoveable, raised a mighty shout or yell, which rent the air, followed by a sound equally loud of rude martial music. Then, forming detached parties, they galloped up full speed to the strangers, never pausing till they almost touched the horses' heads, when they suddenly wheeled round and returned, exclaiming, "Blessing! blessing! sons of your country! sons of your country!" They had soon completely surrounded the party, and wedged them in so close, waving their spears over their heads, that it was impossible for the strangers to move. Boo Khalloom had nearly lost all patience at this vehement and incommodious welcome; but at length Barca Gana, the commander-in-chief, made his appearance, restored order, and caused a way to be opened, by which the caravan, though somewhat slowly, at length made its way to the city.

But, after their arrival at Kouka, symptoms of jealousy appeared, and only twelve of the principal persons, the English included, were allowed to enter. They were led through a wide street lined with spearmen, to the door of the sheik's residence. Here the principal courtiers came out in succession, and welcomed the party with cries of "Barca! Barca!" but as no one invited them to go in, the wrath of Boo Khalloom, who held himself scarcely inferior to the sheik, was kindled, and he declared that, unless immediately admitted, he would return to his tent. A chief merely waved his hand as a signal for patience; but at last Barca Gana appeared, and

invited the Arab leader to enter alone. Another half-hour elapsed ere the gates were again opened, and the four Englishmen were called. They found, on the present, as well as on other occasions, the etiquette of this barbarian court extremely rigid, and enforced too in a manner the most rough and unceremonious. They were allowed to walk only one by one, and, when thought to be going too fast, the guards grasped them by the leg so abruptly that they could with difficulty avoid falling flat forward; and when it was time to stop, instead of their being told so, spears were crossed before them, and the palm of the hand applied to their breast. At the close of all this ceremony, they found the sheik quietly seated on a carpet, plainly dressed, in a small dark room, ornamented solely with guns and pistols, which he had received in presents from crowned heads, and esteemed the most rare and precious of decorations. He appeared about forty, or forty-five years of age, and his countenance was pleasing and expressive. He inquired their object in visiting Bornou; when, being informed that they had come merely to see the country, and to give an account of its appearance, produce, and people, he engaged to forward their views, and even to gratify their wishes to the utmost of his power. Such motives, however, afterward proved entirely incomprehensible to his illiterate mind.

Major Denham next day waited again on the sheik and delivered his presents. A double-barrelled gun and two pistols, with powder-flask, and shot-cases, were examined by the chief with the most minute attention; the other gifts, consisting of fine cloths, spices, and porcelain, were no sooner produced than the slaves carried them off. The African was particularly gratified on being told that the king of England had heard of him, and said, turning to his captains, "This must be in consequence of our having defeated the Begharmis;" upon which Bagah Furby, a grim old soldier, who had made a figure in that war, came forward and asked, "Did he ever hear of me?" Major Denham scrupled not to answer, "Certainly;" when the whole party instantly called out, "Oh! the king of England must be a great man."

The Major, in the course of his residence at Kouka, had frequent opportunities of visiting the sheik. One day he received a message that he must come instantly and exhibit a musical box playing tunes by itself, which the other understood to be in his possession. This great warrior, who had never before shown any interest unless about grave concerns, was quite enchanted on hearing its performance, and raised shouts of delight and astonishment. He examined minutely the different parts of the mechanism, declaring he would willingly

give a thousand dollars in exchange for it. The Major, unable to misunderstand so broad a hint, presented the box to his highness. The display of sky-rockets also caused the utmost amazement and joy, and was even employed to strike the enemies of the sheik with superstitious awe. Finding that our traveller could speak Arabic, and give much information not attainable from any other quarter, Barca Gana became fond of his conversation, and invited him to pay frequent visits.

It remained that Major Denham should be introduced to the sultan in his royal residence at Birnie, where all the state and pomp of the kingdom, with none of its real power, were concentrated. On the 2d of March, the English accompanied Boo Khalloom to that city, and, on their arrival there, the following morning was fixed for the interview. Fashion, even in the most refined European courts, does not always follow the absolute guidance of reason or taste, and her magic power is often displayed in converting deformities into beauties; but there is certainly no court of which the taste is so absurd, grotesque, or monstrous, as that to which Major Denham was now introduced. An enormous protruding belly and a huge misshapen head, are the two features without which it is vain to aspire to the rank of a courtier or of a fine gentleman. This form, valued probably as a type of abundance and luxury, is esteemed so essential, that, where nature has not bestowed, and the most excessive feeding and cramming cannot produce it, wadding is employed, and a false belly produced, which, in riding, appears to hang over the pommel of the saddle. Turbans also are wrapped round the head, in fold after fold, till it appears swelled on one side to the most unnatural dimensions, and only one-half of the face remains visible. The factitious bulk of the lords of Bornou is still farther augmented by drawing round them, even in this burning climate, ten or twelve successive robes of cotton or silk, while the whole is covered over with numberless charms enclosed in green leather cases. Yet under all these encumbrances they do sometimes mount and take the field; but the idea of such unwieldy hogs-heads being of any avail in the day of battle appeared altogether ridiculous,—and it proved accordingly, that, on such high occasions, they merely exhibited themselves as ornaments, without making even a show of encountering the enemy.

With about three hundred of this puissant chivalry before and around him, the sultan was himself seated near the garden-door in a sort of cane basket covered with silk, and his face entirely shaded beneath a turban of more than the usual mag-

nitude. The presents were silently deposited; nothing passed; and the courtiers, tottering beneath the weight of their turbans and their bellies, could not display that punctilious activity which had been so annoying at the palace of the sheik. This was all that was ever seen of the sultan of Bornou. The party then set out for Kouka, passing, on their way, through Angornou, the largest city in the kingdom, containing at least 30,000 inhabitants.

Bornou, taken altogether, forms an extensive plain, stretching two hundred miles along the western shore of the immense lake already mentioned, and nearly the same distance inland. This sea periodically changes its bed in an extraordinary manner. During the rains, when its tributary rivers pour in thrice the usual quantity of water, it inundates an extensive tract of country, from which it retires in the dry season. This space, then overgrown with dense underwood, and with grass double the height of a man, contains a motly assemblage of wild beasts,—lions, panthers, hyenas, elephants, and serpents of extraordinary form and bulk. These monsters, while undisturbed in this mighty den, remain tranquil, or war only with each other; but when the lake swells, and its waters rush in, they of necessity seek refuge among the abodes of men, to whom they prove the most dreadful scourge. Not only the cattle, but the slaves tending the grain, often fall victims; they even rush in large bodies into the towns. The rest of the country, placed beyond the reach of this annual inundation, is in many places very fertile; and cultivation is so limited that land may always be had in any quantity by him who has slaves to employ upon it. This service is performed by female captives from Musgow, who, aiding their native ugliness by the insertion of a large piece of silver into the upperlip, which throws it entirely out of shape, are coveted in no other view than for the quantity of hard work which they can execute. The processes of agriculture are extremely simple. Their only fine manufacture is that of *tobes*, or vestments of cotton skilfully woven and beautifully died, but still not equal to those of Soudan. In every other handicraft they are very inexpert,—even in works of iron, which are of the greatest use to a martial people.

The Bornouese have, however, an ingenious mode of fishing with a very simple apparatus. They take two large gourds, and fasten them at each end to a stem of bamboo. The fisherman seats himself upon this machine, floats with the current, and throws his net. On drawing it up, he lays it before him, stuns the fish with a species of mace, and piles them into the

gourds. They are afterwards dried, and conveyed over the country to a considerable distance.

The Bornouese are complete negroes both in form and feature; they are ugly, simple, and good-natured, but destitute of all intellectual culture. Only a few of the great *fighis*, or doctors, of whom the sheik was one, can read the Koran.

A "great writer," indeed, is held in still higher estimation than with us; but his compositions consist only of words written on scraps of paper, to be enclosed in cases, and worn as amulets. They are then supposed to defend their possessor against every danger, to act as charms to destroy his enemies, and to be the main instrument in the cure of all diseases. For this last purpose they are aided only by a few simple applications; yet the Bornou practice is said to be very successful, either through the power of imagination, or owing to their excellent constitutions. In the absence of all refined pleasures, various rude sports are pursued with eagerness, and almost with fury. The most favourite is wrestling, which the chiefs do not practise in person, but train their slaves to exhibit in it as our jockeys do game-cocks, taking the same pride in their prowess and victory. Nations are often pitched against each other, the Musgowy and the Begharmi being the most powerful. Many of them are extremely handsome and of gigantic size, and hence the contests between them are truly terrible. Their masters loudly cheer them on, offering high premiums for victory, and sometimes threatening instant death in case of defeat. They place their trust, not in science, but in main strength and rapid movements. Occasionally the wrestler, eluding his adversary's vigilance, seizes him by the thigh, lifts him up into the air, and dashes him against the ground. When the match is decided, the victor is greeted with loud plaudits by the spectators, some of whom even testify their admiration by throwing to him presents of fine cloth. He then kneels before his master, who not unfrequently bestowed upon him a robe worth thirty or forty dollars, taken perhaps from his own person. Death or maiming, however, is no unfrequent result of these encounters. The ladies, even of rank, engage in another very odd species of contest. Placing themselves back to back, they cause particular parts to strike together with the most violent collision, when she who maintains her equilibrium, while the other lies stretched on the ground, is proclaimed victor with loud cheers. In this conflict the girdle of beads worn by the more opulent females very frequently burst, when these ornaments are seen flying about in every direction. To these elegant recreations is added gaming, always the rage of uncultivated minds. Their fa-

vourite game is one rudely played with beans, by means of holes made in the sand.

Boo Khalloom, having despatched his affairs in Bornou, wished to turn his journey to some farther account, and proposed an expedition into the more wealthy and commercial region of Houssa or Soudan; but the eager wishes of his followers pointed to a different object. They called upon him to lead them into the mountains of Mandara in the south, to attack a village of the kerdies, or unbelievers, and carry off the people as slaves to Fezzan. He long stood out against this nefarious proposal; but the sheik, who also had his own views, took part against him; even his own brother joined the malcontents, and at length there appeared no other mode in which he could return with equal credit and profit. Influenced by these inducements, he suffered his better judgment to be overpowered, and determined to conduct his troop upon this perilous and guilty excursion. Major Denham, allowing his zeal for discovery to overcome other considerations, contrived, notwithstanding the prohibition of the sheik, to be one of the party. They were accompanied by Barca Gana, the principal general, a negro of huge strength and great courage, along with other warriors, and a large body of Bornou cavalry. These last are a fine military body in point of external appearance. Their persons are covered with iron plate and mail, and they manage, with surprising dexterity, their little active steeds, which are also supplied with defensive armour. They have one fault only, but that a serious one,—they cannot stand the shock of an enemy. While the contest continues doubtful, they hover round as spectators, ready, should the tide turn against them, to spur on their coursers to a rapid flight; but if they see their friends victorious, and the enemy turning their backs, they come forward and display no small vigour in pursuit and plunder.

The road that led to Mandara formed a continued ascent through a fertile country which contained some populous towns. The path being quite overgrown with thick and prickly underwood, twelve pioneers went forward with long poles, opening a track, pushing back the branches, and giving warning to beware of holes. These operations they accompanied with loud praises of Barca Gana, calling out,—“Who is in battle like the rolling of thunder? Barca Gana. In battle, who spreads terror around him like the buffalo in his rage? Barca Gana.” Even the chiefs on this expedition carried no provisions except a paste of rice, flour, and honey, with which they contented themselves, unless when sheep could be procured; in which case half the animal, roasted over a frame-



work of wood, was placed on the table, and the sharpest dagger present was employed in cutting it into large pieces, to be eaten without bread or salt. At length they approached Mora, the capital of Mandara. This was another kingdom which the energy of its present sultan had rescued from the yoke of the Fellata empire; and the strong position of its capital, enclosed by lofty ridges of hills, had enabled it to defy repeated attacks. It consists of a fine plain, bordered on the south by an immense and almost interminable range of mountains. The eminences directly in front were not quite so lofty as the hills of Cumberland, but bold, rocky and precipitous, and distant summits appeared towering much higher, and shooting up a line of sharp pinnacles resembling the needles of Mont Blanc. It was reported, that two months were required to cross their greatest breadth and reach the other side, where they rose ten times higher, and were called large *moon* mountains. They there overlooked the plain of Adamowa, through which the Quorra (or Niger) was said to flow from the westward. The hills immediately in view were thickly clustered with villages perched on their sides, and even on their tops, and were distinctly seen from the plain of Mandara. They were occupied by half-savage tribes, whom the ferocious bigotry of the nations occupying the low country branded as pagans, and whom they claimed a right to plunder, seize, and drive in crowds for sale to the markets of Fezzan and Bornou. "The fires, which were visible in the different nests of these unfortunate beings, threw a glare upon the bold rocks and blunt promontories of granite by which they were surrounded, and produced a picturesque and somewhat awful appearance." A baleful joy gleamed in the visage of the Arabs as they eyed these abodes of their future victims, whom they already fancied themselves driving in bands across the Desert. A kerdy village to plunder was all their cry, and Boo Khalloom doubted not that he would be able to gratify their wishes. Their common fear of the Fellatas had united the sultan of Mandara in close alliance with the sheik, to whom he had lately married his daughter; and the nuptials had been celebrated by a great slave-hunt among the mountains, when, after a dreadful struggle, three thousand captives, by their tears and bondage, furnished out the materials of a magnificent marriage-festival.

The expedition obtained a reception quite as favourable as had been expected. In approaching the capital they were met by the sultan with five hundred Mandara horse, who, charging full speed, wheeled round them with the same threatening movements which had been exhibited at Bornou. The horses

were of a superior breed, most skillfully managed, and covered with cloths of various colours, as well as with the skins of the leopard and tiger-cat. This cavalry made of course a very brilliant appearance; but the Major did not yet know that their valour was exactly on a level with that of their Bornou allies. The party were then escorted to the capital, amid the music of long pipes like clarionets, and of two immense trumpets. They were introduced next day. The mode of approaching the royal residence is to gallop up to the gate with a furious speed, which often causes fatal accidents; and on this occasion a man was ridden down and killed on the spot. The sultan was found in a dark-blue tent, sitting on a mud-bench, surrounded by about two hundred attendants, handsomely arrayed in silk and cotton robes. He was an intelligent little man, about fifty years old, with a beard dyed sky-blue. Courteous salutations were exchanged; during which he steadily eyed Major Denham, concerning whom he at last enquired; and the traveller was advantageously introduced as belonging to a powerful distant nation, allies of the bashaw of Tripoli. At last, however, came the fatal question,—“Is he Moslem?—*La! la!*—no! no!—What! has the great bashaw Caffre-friends?” Every eye was instantly averted; the sun of Major Denham’s favour was set; and he was never more allowed to enter the palace.

The bigotry of this court seems to have surpassed even the usual bitterness of the African tribes, and our traveller had to undergo a regular persecution, carried on especially by Malem Chadily, the leading fighi or doctor of the court. As Major Denham was showing to the admiring chiefs the mode of writing with a pencil, and effacing it with Indian rubber, Malem wrote some words of the Koran with such force that the rubber could not wholly remove the traces of them. He then exclaimed with triumph, “They are the words of God, delivered to his prophet; I defy you to erase them.” The Major was then called upon to acknowledge this great miracle; and, as his countenance still expressed incredulity, he was viewed with looks of such mingled contempt and indignation as induced him to retire. Malem, however, again assailed him with the assurance that this was only one of the many miracles which he could show as wrought by the Koran; imploring him to turn, and paradise would be his, otherwise nothing could save him from eternal fire. “Oh!” said he, “while sitting in the third heaven I shall see you in the midst of the flames, crying out to your friend Barca Gana and myself for a drop of water; but the gulf will be between us:” his tears then flowed profusely. The Major, taking the

general aside, entreated to be relieved from this incessant persecution; but Gana assured him that the *fighi* was a great and holy man, to whom he ought to listen. He then held out not only paradise, but honours, slaves, and wives of the first families, as gifts to be lavished on him by the sheik if he would renounce his unbelief. Major Denham asked the commander, what would be thought of himself if he should go to England and turn Christian? "God forbid!" exclaimed he; "but how can you compare our faiths; mine would lead you to paradise, while yours would bring me to hell. Not a word more." Nothing appears to have annoyed the stranger more than to be told that he was of the same faith with the *kerdies* or savages; little distinction being made between any who denied the *Koran*. After a long discussion of this question, he thought the validity of his reasoning would be admitted, when he could point to a party of those wretches devouring a dead horse, and appealed to *Boo Khalloom* if he had ever seen the English do the same; but to this, which was not after all a very deep theological argument, the Arab replied,—“I know they eat the flesh of swine, and, God knows, that is worse.” “Grant me patience,” exclaimed I to myself,—“this is almost too much to bear and to remain silent.”

The unfortunate *kerdies*, from the moment that they saw Arab tents in the valley of *Mandara*, knew the dreadful calamity which awaited them. To avert it, and to propitiate the sultan, numerous parties came down with presents of honey, asses, and slaves. Finally appeared the *Musgow*, a more distant and savage race, mounted on small fiery steeds, covered only with the skin of a goat or leopard, and with necklaces made of the teeth of their enemies. They threw themselves at the feet of the sultan, casting sand on their heads, and uttering the most piteous cries. The monarch, apparently moved by these gifts and entreaties, began to intimate to *Boo Khalloom* his hopes that these savages might by gentle means be reclaimed and led to embrace the true faith. These hopes were held by the latter in the utmost derision; and he privately assured Major Denham that nothing would more annoy this devout Mussulman than to see them fulfilled, whereby he must have forfeited all right to drive these unhappy creatures in crowds to the markets of *Soudan* and *Bornou*. In fact, both the sultan and the sheik had a much deeper aim. Every effort was used to induce *Boo Khalloom* to engage in the attack of some strong *Fellata* post, by which the country was hemmed in; and as the two monarchs viewed the Arabs with extreme jealousy, it was strongly suspected that their defeat would not have been regarded as a public calamity. The royal councils

were secret and profound, and it was not known what influences worked upon Boo Khalloom. On this occasion unfortunately he was mastered by his evil genius, and consented to the proposed attack; but as he came out and ordered his troops to prepare for marching, his countenance bore such marks of trouble that the Major asked if all went well? to which he hurriedly answered, "Please God." The Arabs, however, who at all events expected plunder, proceeded with alacrity.

The expedition set out next morning, and, after passing through a beautiful plain, began to penetrate the mighty chain of mountains which form the southern border of the kingdom. Alpine heights, rising around them in rugged magnificence and gigantic grandeur, presented a scenery which our traveller had never seen surpassed. The passes of Hairey and of Horza, amid a superb amphitheatre of hills, closely shut in by overhanging cliffs, more than two thousand feet high, were truly striking. Here, for the first time in Africa, did nature appear to the English to revel in the production of vegetable life. The trees were covered with luxuriant and bright green foliage; and their trunks were hidden by a crowd of parasitical plants, whose aromatic blossoms perfumed the air. There was also an abundance of animal life of a less agreeable description: three scorpions were killed in the tent; and a fierce but beautiful panther, more than eight feet long, just as he had gorged himself by sucking the blood of a newly-killed negro, was attacked and speared. The sultan and Barca Gana were attended by a considerable body of Bornou and Mandar cavalry, whose brilliant armour, martial aspect, and skilful horsemanship gave confidence to the European officer, who had not yet seen them put to the proof.

It was the third day when the expedition came in view of the Fellata town of Dirkulla. The Arabs, supported by Barca Gana and about a hundred spearmen, marched instantly to the attack, and carried first that place, and then a smaller town beyond it, killing all who had not time to escape. The enemy, however, then entrenched themselves in a third and stronger position, called Musfeia, enclosed by high hills, and fortified in front by numerous swamps and palisades. This was likewise attacked, and all its defences forced. The guns of the Arabs spread terror, while Barca Gana threw eight spears with his own hand, every one of which took effect. It was thought, that had the two bodies of cavalry made even a show of advancing, the victory would have been at once decided; but Major Denham was much surprised to see those puissant warriors keeping carefully under cover behind a hill on the opposite side of the stream, where not an arrow could

reach them. The Fellatas, seeing that their antagonists were only a handful, rallied on the tops of the hills, were joined by new troops, and turned round. Their women behind, cheering them on, continually supplied fresh arrows, and rolled down fragments of rock on the assailants. These arrows were fatal; they were tipped with poison, and wherever they pierced; the body in a few hours became black, blood gushed from every orifice, and the victim expired in agony. The condition of the Arabs soon became alarming; scarcely a man was left unhurt, and their horses were dying under them. Boo Khalloom and his charger were both wounded with poisoned arrows. As soon as the Fellatas saw the Arabs waver, they dashed in with their horse; at sight of which all the heroic squadrons of Bornou and Mandara put spurs to their steeds, the sultan at their head, and the whole became one mass of confused and tumultuous flight. Major Denham saw too late the peril into which he had wantonly plunged. His horse, pierced to the shoulder-bone, could scarcely support his weight; but the cries of the pursuing Fellatas still urged him forward. At last the animal fell twice, and the second time threw him against a tree, then, frightened by the noise behind, started up and ran off. The Fellatas were instantly up, when four of his companions were stabbed beside him, uttering the most frightful cries. He himself was fully prepared for the same fate; but happily his clothes formed a valuable booty, through which the savages were loth to run their spears. After inflicting some slight wounds, therefore, they stripped him to the skin, and forthwith began to quarrel about the plunder. While they were thus busied, he contrived to slip away, and though hotly pursued, and nearly overtaken, succeeded in reaching a mountain-stream gliding at the bottom of a deep and precipitous ravine. Here he had snatched the young branches issuing from the stump of a large over-hanging tree, in order to let himself down into the water, when, beneath his hand, a large *liffa*, the most dangerous serpent in this country, rose from its coil, as in the very act of darting upon him. Struck with horror, Major Denham lost all recollection, and fell headlong into the water; but the shock revived him, and, with three strokes of his arm he reached the opposite bank, and felt himself for the moment in safety. Running forward, he was delighted to see his friends Barca Gana and Boo Khalloom; but amid the cheers with which they were endeavouring to rally their troops, and the cries of those who were falling under the Fellata spears, he could not for some time make himself heard. Then Maramy, a negro appointed by the sheik to attend on him, rode up and took him on his own horse. Boo

Khalloom ordered a burnouse to be thrown over him,—very seasonably, for the burning sun had begun to blister his naked body. Suddenly, however, Maramy called out, “See, see! Boo Khalloom is dead!” and that spirited chief, overpowered by the wound of a poisoned arrow, dropped from his horse, and spoke no more. The others now thought only of pressing their flight, and soon reached a stream, where they refreshed themselves by copious draughts, and a halt was made to collect the stragglers. Major Denham here fell into a swoon; during which, as he afterwards learned, Maramy complained that the jaded horse could scarcely carry the stranger forward, when Barca Gana said,—“By the beard of the prophet! believers enough have breathed their last to-day; why should we concern ourselves about a Christian’s death?” Malem Chadily, however, so bitter as a theological opponent, showed now the influence of a milder spirit, and said,—“No, God has preserved him; let us not abandon him;” and Maramy declared, “His heart told him what to do.” They therefore moved on slowly till about midnight, when they passed the Mandara frontier in a state of severe suffering; but the Major met with much kindness from a dethroned prince, Mai Meegamy, who, seeing his wounds festering under the rough woollen cloak which formed his only covering, took off his own trowsers and gave them to him.

The Arabs had lost forty-five of their number, besides their chief; the rest were in a miserable plight, most of them wounded, some mortally, and all having lost their camels and the rest of their property. Renouncing their pride, they were obliged to supplicate from Barca Gana a handful of corn to keep them from starving. The sultan of Mandara, in whose cause they had suffered, treated them with the utmost contumely, which perhaps they might deserve, but certainly not from him. Deep sorrow was afterward felt in Fezzan when they arrived in this deplorable condition and reported the fall of their chief, who was there almost idolized. A national song was composed on the occasion, which the following extract will show to be marked by great depth of feeling, and not altogether devoid of poetical beauty:—

“Oh! trust not to the gun and the sword! The spear of the unbeliever prevails!

“Boo Khalloom, the good and the brave, has fallen! Who shall now be safe? Even as the moon among the little stars, so was Boo Khalloom among men! Where shall Fezzan now look for her protector? Men hang their heads in sorrow, while women wring their hands, rending the air with their cries! As a shepherd is to his flock, so was Boo Khalloom to Fezzan!

"Give him songs! Give him music! What words can equal his praise? His heart was as large as the desert! His coffers were like the rich overflowings from the udder of the she-camel, comforting and nourishing those around him!

"Even as the flowers without rain perish in the fields, so will the Fezzaners droop; for Boo Khalloom returns no more!

"His body lies in the land of the heathen! The poisoned arrow of the unbeliever prevails!

"Oh! trust not to the gun and the sword! The spear of the heathen conquers! Boo Khalloom, the good and the brave, has fallen! Who shall now be safe?"

The sheik of Bornou was considerably mortified by the result of this expedition, and the miserable figure made by his troops, though he sought to throw the chief blame on the Mandara part of the armament. He now invited the Major to accompany an expedition against the Mungas, a rebel tribe on his outer border, on which occasion he was to employ his native band of Kanemboo spearmen, who, he trusted, would redeem the military reputation of the monarchy. Major Denham was always ready to go wherever he had a chance of seeing the manners and scenery of Africa. The sheik took the field, attended by his armour-bearer, his drummer fantastically dressed in a straw hat with ostrich feathers, and followed by three wives, whose heads and persons were wrapped up in brown silk robes, and each led by a eunuch. He was preceded by five green and red flags, on each of which were extracts from the Koran, written in letters of gold. Etiquette even required that the sultan should follow with his unwieldy pomp, having a harem, and attendance much more numerous; while frumfrums, or wooden trumpets, were continually sounded before him. This monarch is too dignified to fight in person; but his guards, the swollen and overloaded figures formerly described, enveloped in multiplied folds, and groaning beneath the weight of ponderous amulets, produced themselves as warriors, though manifestly unfit to face any real danger.

The route lay along the banks of the river Yeou, called also Gambarou, through a country naturally fertile and delightful, but presenting a dismal picture of the desolation occasioned by African warfare. The expedition passed through upwards of thirty towns, completely destroyed by the Fellatas in their last inroad, and of which all the inhabitants were either killed or carried into slavery. These fine plains were now overgrown with forests and thickets, in which grew tamarind and other trees, producing delicate fruits; while large bands of monkeys, called by the Arabs "enchanted men," filled the woods with their cries. Here, too, was found Old Birnie, the ancient but now desolate capital, evidently much larger than any of the

present cities, covering five or six miles with its ruins. They passed also Gambarou, formerly the favourite residence of the sultans, where the remains of a palace and of two mosques gave an idea of civilization superior to any thing that had yet been seen in Interior Africa. There were left in this country only small detached villages, the inhabitants of which remained fixed to them by local attachment, in spite of constant predatory inroads by the Tuaricks, who carried off their friends, their children, and cattle. They have recourse to one mode of defence, which consists in digging a number of *blaquas*, or large pits: these they cover with a false surface of sods and grass, into which the Tuarick, with his horse, plunges before he is aware, and is received at the bottom upon sharp-pointed stakes, which often kill the one and the other on the spot. Unluckily, harmless travellers are equally liable to fall into these living graves. Major Denham was petrified with horror to find how near he had approached to several of them; indeed, one of his servants fell in, and was saved only by an almost miraculous spring. It seems wonderful that the sheik should not have endeavoured to restore some kind of security to this portion of his subjects, and to repeople those fine but deserted regions.

The troops, which had been seen hastening in parties to the scene of action, were mustered at Kabshary, a town which the Mungas had nearly destroyed. The sheik made a review of his favourite forces, the Kanemboo spearmen, nine thousand strong. They were really a very savage and military-looking host, perfectly naked, except a girdle of goatskin, with the hair hanging down, and a piece of cloth wrapped round the head. They carried large wooden shields, shaped like a Gothic window, with which they warded off the arrows of the enemy, while they pressed forward to attack with their spears. Unlike almost all other barbarous armies, they kept a regular night-watch, passing the cry every half hour along the line, and at any alarm raising a united yell, which was truly frightful. At the review they passed in tribes before the sheik, to whom they showed the most enthusiastic attachment, kneeling on the ground and kissing his feet. The Mungas, again, were described as terrible antagonists, hardened by conflict with the Tuaricks, fighting on foot with poisoned arrows longer and more deadly than those of the Fellatas. The sultan, however, contemplated other means of securing success, placing his main reliance on his powers as a Mohammedan doctor and writer. Three successive nights were spent in inscribing upon little scraps of paper figures or words, destined to exercise a magical influence upon the rebel host; and





BODY GUARD OF THE SHEIK OF BORNOU.

their effect was heightened by the display of sky-rockets, supplied by Major Denham. Tidings of his being thus employed were conveyed to the camp, when the Mungas, stout and fierce warriors who never shrunk from an enemy, yielded to the power of superstition, and felt all their strength withered. It seemed to them that their arrows were blunted, their quivers broken, their hearts struck with sickness and fear; in short, that to oppose a sheik of the Koran who could accomplish such wonders was alike vain and impious. They came in by hundreds, bowing themselves to the ground, and casting sand on their heads in token of the most abject submission. At length, Malem Fanamy himself, the leader of the rebellion, saw that resistance was hopeless. After vain overtures of conditional submission, he appeared in person, mounted on a

white horse, with a thousand followers. He was himself in rags, and, having fallen prostrate on the ground, was about to pour sand on his head, when the sultan, instead of permitting this humiliation, caused eight robes of fine cotton cloth, one after another, to be thrown over him, and his head to be wrapped in Egyptian turbans till it was swelled to six times its natural size, and no longer resembled any thing human. By such signal honours the sheik gained the hearts of those whom his pen had subdued; and this wise policy enabled him, not only to overcome the resistance of this formidable tribe, but to convert them into supporters and bulwarks of his power.

Major Denham, who always sought with laudable zeal to penetrate into every corner of Africa, now found his way in another direction. He had heard much of the Shary, a great river flowing into the lake Tchad, and on whose banks the kingdom of Loggun was situated. After several delays, he set out on the 23d of January, 1824, in company with Mr. Toole, a spirited young volunteer, who, journeying by way of Tripoli and Mourzouk, had thence crossed the Desert to join him. The travellers passed through Angornou and Angala, and arrived at Showy, where they saw the river, which really proved to be a magnificent stream, fully half a mile broad, and flowing at the rate of two or three miles an hour. They descended it through a succession of noble reaches, bordered with fine woods, and a profusion of variously-tinted and aromatic plants. At length it opened into the wide expanse of the Tchad; after viewing which, they again ascended and reached the capital of Loggun, beneath whose high walls the river was seen flowing in majestic beauty. Major Denham entered, and found a handsome city, with a street as wide as Pall-Mall, and bordered by large dwellings, having spacious areas in front. He was led through several dark rooms into a wide and crowded court, at one end of which a lattice opened, and showed a pile of silk robes stretched on a carpet, amid which two eyes became gradually visible: this was the sultan. On his appearance there arose a tumult of horns and frum-frums; while all the attendants threw themselves prostrate, casting sand on their heads. In a voice which the court-fashion of Loggun required to be scarcely audible, the monarch inquired Major Denham's object in coming to this country, observing that if it was to purchase handsome female slaves, he need go no farther, since he himself had hundreds who could be afforded at a very easy rate. This overture was rejected on other grounds than the price; yet, notwithstanding so decided a proof of barbarism, the Loggunese were found a people more advanced in the arts of peace than any hitherto

seen in Africa. By a studied neutrality, they had avoided involving themselves in the dreadful wars which had desolated the neighbouring countries. Manufacturing industry was honoured, and the cloths woven here were superior to those of Bornou, being finely died with indigo and beautifully glazed. There was even a current coin made of iron, somewhat in the form of a horse-shoe; and rude as this was, none of their neighbours possessed any thing similar. The ladies were handsome, intelligent, and of a lively air and carriage; but, besides pushing their frankness to excess, their general demeanour was by no means scrupulous. They used, in particular, the utmost diligence in stealing from Major Denham's person every thing that could be reached, even searching the pockets of his trousers; and, when detected, only laughing, and calling to each other how sharp he had shown himself. But the darkest feature of savage life was disclosed, when the sultan and his son each sent to solicit poison "that would not lie," to be used against the other. The latter even accompanied the request with a bribe of three lovely black damsels, and laughed at the horror which was expressed at the proposal.

The Loggunes live in a rich country, abounding in grain and cattle, and diversified with forests of lofty acacias and many beautiful shrubs. Its chief scourge consists in the millions of tormenting insects which fill the atmosphere, making it scarcely possible to go into the open air at midday without being thrown into a fever; indeed, children have been known to be killed by their stings. The natives have a mode of building one house within another to protect themselves against this scourge; while some kindle a large fire of wet straw and sit in the smoke: but this remedy, if it be possible, seems worse than the evil which it is meant to obviate.

Major Denham was much distressed on this journey by the death of his companion Mr. Toole; and he could no longer delay his return when he learned that the Begharmis, with a large army, were crossing the Shary to attack Bornou. Soon after his arrival at Kouka the sheik led out his troops, which he mustered on the plain of Angala, and was there furiously attacked by five thousand Begharmis, led by two hundred chiefs. The Begharmi cavalry are individually strong and fierce, and both riders and horses still more thoroughly cased in mail than those of Bornou; but their courage, when brought to the proof, is nearly on a level. The sheik encountered them with his Kanemboo spearmen and a small band of musketeers, when, after a short conflict, the whole of this mighty host was thrown into the most disorderly flight; even the Bornou cavalry joined in the pursuit. Seven sons of the

sultan and almost all the chiefs fell; two hundred of their favourite wives were taken, many of whom were of exquisite beauty.

Mr. Tyrwhit, a gentleman whom his majesty's government had sent out to strengthen the party, arrived on the 20th of May, and on the 22d, delivered to the sheik a number of presents, which were received with the highest satisfaction. In company with this gentleman, Major Denham, eager to explore Africa still further, took advantage of another expedition undertaken against the tribe of Shouaa Arabs, distinguished by the name of La Sala,—a race of amphibious shepherds who inhabit certain islands that extend along the south-eastern shores of the Tchad. These spots afford rich pasture; while the water is so shallow, that, by knowing the channels, the natives can ride without difficulty from one island to the other. Barca Gana led a thousand men on this expedition, and was joined by four hundred of a Shouaa tribe, called Dugganahs, enemies to the La Salas. These allies presented human nature under a more pleasing aspect than it had yet been seen in any part of Central Africa. They despise the negro nations, and all who live in houses, and still more in cities; while they themselves reside in tents made of skin, collected into circular camps, which they move periodically from place to place. They live in simple plenty on the produce of their flocks and herds, celebrate their joys and sorrows in extemporaneous poetry, and seem to be united by the strongest ties of domestic affection. Tahr, their chief, having closely examined our traveller as to the motives of his journey, said, "And have you been three years from your home? Are not your eyes dimmed with straining to the north, where all your thoughts must ever be? If my eyes do not see the wife and children of my heart for ten days, they are flowing with tears when they should be closed in sleep." On taking leave, Tahr's parting wish was; "May you die at your own tents, and in the arms of your wife and family." This chief, it is said, might have sat for the picture of a patriarch: his fine, serious, expressive countenance, large features, and long bushy beard afforded a favourable specimen of the general aspect of his tribe.

The united forces now marched to the shores of the lake, and began to reconnoitre the islands on which the Shouaas with their cattle and cavalry were stationed; but the experienced eye of Barca Gana soon discerned that the channel, though shallow, was full of holes, and had a muddy, deceitful appearance. He proposed, therefore, to delay the attack till a resolute band of Kanemboo spearmen should arrive and lead the way. The lowing, however, of the numerous herds, and the

bleating of the flocks on the green islands which lay before them, excited in the troops a degree of hunger as well as of military ardour that was quite irrepressible. They called out, "What! be so near them and not eat them? No, no, let us on; this night these flocks and women shall be ours!" Barca Gana suffered himself to be hurried away, and plunged in among the foremost. Soon, however, the troops began to sink into the holes or stick in the mud; their guns and powder were wetted, and became useless; while the enemy, who knew every step, and could ride through the water as quickly as on land, at once charged the invaders in front, and sent round a detachment to take them in the rear. The assault was accordingly soon changed into a disgraceful flight, in which those who had been the most loud in urging to this rash onset set the example. Barca Gana, who had boasted himself invulnerable, was deeply wounded through his coat-of-mail and four cotton *tobes*, and was with difficulty rescued by his chiefs out of the hands of five La Sala horsemen who had vowed his death. The army returned to their quarters in disappointment and dismay, and with a severe loss. During the whole night the Dugganah women were heard bewailing their husbands who had fallen, in dirges composed for the occasion, and with plaintive notes, which could not be listened to without the deepest sympathy. Major Denham was deterred by this disaster from making any farther attempt to penetrate to the eastern shores of the Tchad.

The Biddoomahs are another tribe who inhabit extensive and rugged islands in the interior of the lake, amid its deep waters, which they navigate with nearly a thousand large boats. They neither cultivate the ground nor rear flocks or herds, while their manners appeared to our traveller the rudest and most savage even of Africans, those of the Musgow always excepted. They are said to have adopted as a religious creed, that God, having withheld from them corn and cattle, which the nations around enjoy, has given in their stead strength and courage, to be employed in taking these good things from all in whose possession they may be found. To this belief they act up in the most devout manner, spreading terror and desolation over all the shores of this inland sea; no part of which, even in the immediate vicinity of the great capitals, is for a moment secure from their ravages. The most powerful and warlike of the Bornou sovereigns, finding among their subjects neither the requisite skill nor experience in navigation, do not attempt to cope with the Biddoomahs on their watery domains; and thus gave up the lake to their undisputed sway.

While Major Denham was thus traversing, in every direction, Bornou and the surrounding countries, Mr. Clapperton and Dr. Oudney were proceeding through Houssa, by a route less varied and hazardous indeed, but disclosing forms both of nature and of society fully as interesting. They departed from Kouka on the 14th of December, 1823, and, after passing the site of Old Birnie, they found the banks of the Yeou fertile, and diversified with towns and villages. On entering Katagum, the most easterly Fellata province, they observed a superior style of culture; two crops of wheat being raised in one season by irrigation, and the grain stored in covered sheds elevated from the ground on posts. The country to the south was covered with extensive swamps and mountains, tenanted by rude and Pagan races, who furnish to the faithful an inexhaustable supply of slaves. The practice of travelling with a caravan was found very advantageous, from the mutual help afforded, as well as from the good reports spread by the merchants respecting their European companions. In Bornou these last had been viewed with almost unmingled horror; and, for having eaten their bread under the extremest necessity, a man had his testimony rejected in a court of justice. Some young Bornouese ladies, who accosted Major Denham, having ventured to say a word in his favour, an attendant matron exclaimed,—“Be silent; he is an uncircumcised Caffre,—neither washes nor prays, eats pork, and will go to hell;” upon which the others screamed out and ran off. But in Houssa this horror was not so extreme, and was mingled with the belief that they possessed surprising and supernatural powers. Not only did the sick come in crowds expecting the cure of every disease, but the ladies solicited amulets to restore their beauty, to preserve the affections of their lovers, and even to destroy a hated rival. The son of the governor of Kano, having called upon Mr. Clapperton, stated it as the conviction of the whole city and his own, that the English had the power of converting men into asses, goats, and monkeys, and likewise that by reading in his book he could at any time commute a handful of earth into gold. The traveller, having argued with him upon the difficulty he often found in procuring both asses and gold, induced him, with trembling hands, to taste a cup of tea; when he became more composed, and made a sort of recantation of his errors.

As the caravan proceeded they met many other travellers, and found sitting along the road numerous females, selling potatoes, beans, bits of roasted meat, and water with an infusion of gussub grains; and when they stopped at any place for the night, the people crowded in such numbers as to form

a little fair. Mr. Clapperton attracted the notice of many of the Fellata ladies, who, after examining him closely, declared, that had he only been less white, his external appearance might have merited approbation.

The travellers passed through Sansan, a great market-place divided into three distinct towns, and Katagum, the strongly-fortified capital of the province, containing about eight thousand inhabitants. Thence they proceeded to Murmur, where the severe illness under which Dr. Oudney had long laboured came to a crisis. Though now in the last stage of consumption, he insisted on continuing his journey, and with the aid of his servant had been supported to his camel, when Mr. Clapperton, seeing the ghastliness of death on his countenance, insisted on replacing him in his tent; where soon after, without a groan, he breathed his last. His companion caused him to be buried with the honours of the country. The body was washed, wrapped in turban-shawls, and a wall of clay built round the grave to protect it from wild beasts; two sheep also were killed and distributed among the poor.

Proceeding onwards, the traveller came to Katungwa, the first town of Houssa Proper, in a country well enclosed and under high cultivation. To the south was an extensive range of rocky hills, amid which was the town of Zangeia, with its buildings picturesquely scattered over masses of rock. He passed also Girkwa, near a river of the same name, which appears to come from these hills, and to fall into the Yeou.

Two days after, he entered Kano, which is now, as it was six hundred years ago, the chief commercial city of Houssa and of all Central Africa. Yet it disappointed our traveller on his first entry, and for a quarter of a mile scarcely appeared a city at all. Even in its more crowded quarters the houses rose generally in clusters, only separated by large stagnant pools. The inhabited part, on the whole, did not appear to comprise more than a fourth of the space enclosed by the walls, while the rest consisted of fields, gardens, and swamps; however, as the whole circuit is fifteen miles, there is space for a population moderately estimated to be between thirty and forty thousand. Its market, the greatest scene of commercial transactions in Africa, is held on a neck of land between two swamps, by which, during the rains, it is entirely overflowed; but in the dry season it is covered with sheds, or stalls of bamboo, arranged into regular streets. Different quarters are allotted for the several kinds of goods; some for cattle, others for vegetables; while fruits of various descriptions, so much neglected in Bornou, are here displayed in profusion. The fine cotton fabrics of the country are sold either in webs, or in

what are called *tobes* and *turkadees*, with rich silken stripes or borders ready to be added. Among the favourite articles are goora or kolla nuts, which are called African coffee, being supposed to give a peculiar relish to the water drunk after them ; and crude antimony, with whose black tint every eyebrow in Houssa must be dyed. The Arabs also dispose here of sundry commodities that have become obsolete in the north ; the cast-off dresses of the Mamelukes and other great men, and old sword-blades from Malta. But the busiest scene is the slave-market, composed of two long ranges of sheds, one for males and another for females. These poor creatures are seated in rows, decked out for exhibition ; the buyer scrutinizes them as nicely as a purchaser with us does a horse, inspecting the tongue, teeth, eyes, and limbs, making them cough and perform various movements, to ascertain if there be any thing unsound ; and in case of a blemish appearing, or even without assigning a reason, he may return them within three days. As soon as the slaves are sold, the exposor gets back their finery, to be employed in ornamenting others. Most of the captives purchased at Kano are conveyed across the Desert, during which their masters endeavour to keep up their spirits by an assurance that, on passing its boundary, they will be set free and dressed in red, which they account the gayest of colours. Supplies, however, often fail in this dreary journey,—a want felt first by the slaves, many of whom perish with hunger and fatigue. Mr. Clapperton heard the doleful tale of a mother who had seen her child dashed to the ground, while she herself was compelled by the lash to drag on an exhausted frame. Yet when at all tolerably treated, they are very gay,—an observation generally made in regard to slaves ; but this gayety, arising only from the absence of thought, probably conceals much secret wretchedness.

Boxing in Houssa, like wrestling in Bornou, forms a favourite exercise, and the grand national spectacle. Mr. Clapperton, having heard much of the *fancy* of Kano, intimated his willingness to pay for a performance, which was forthwith arranged. The whole body of butchers attended, and acted as masters of the ceremonies ; while, as soon as the tidings spread, girls left their pitchers at the wells, the market people threw down their baskets, and an immense crowd was assembled. The ring being formed, and drums beat, the performers first came forward singly, plying their muscles like a musician tuning his instrument, and each calling out to the bystanders, "I am a hyena ; I am a lion ; I can kill all that oppose me." After about twenty had shown off in this manner, they came forward in pairs, wearing only a leathern girdle, and with their



hands muffled up in numerous folds of country cloth. It was first ascertained that they were not mutual friends; after which, they closed with the utmost fury, aiming their blows at the most mortal parts, as the pit of the stomach, beneath the ribs, or under the ear: they even endeavoured to scoop out the eyes; so that, in spite of every precaution, the match often terminated in the death of one of the combatants. Whenever Mr. Clapperton saw the affair verging to such an issue, he gave orders to stop; and, after seeing six pairs exhibit, paid the hire and broke up the meeting.

From Kano he set out under the guidance of Mohammed Jollie, leader of an extensive caravan intended for Sackatoo, capital of the sultan of the Fellatas. The country was perhaps the finest in Africa, being under high cultivation, diversified with groves of noble trees, and traversed in a picturesque manner by ridges of granite. The manners of the people, too, were pleasing and pastoral. At many clear springs gushing from the rocks young women were drawing water. As an excuse for engaging in talk, our traveller asked several times for the means of quenching his thirst. "Bending gracefully on one knee, and displaying at the same time teeth of pearly whiteness, and eyes of the blackest lustre, they presented a gourd, and appeared highly delighted when I thanked them for their civility, remarking to one another, 'Did you hear the white man thank me?'" But the scene was changed when the traveller reached the borders of the provinces of Goober and Zamfra, which were in a state of rebellion against Sackatoo. The utmost alarm at that moment prevailed; men and women, with their bullocks, asses, and camels, all struggled to be foremost, every one crying out, "Wo to the wretch that falls behind! he will be sure to meet an unhappy end at the hands of the Gooberites." There was danger even of being thrown down and trampled to death by the bullocks, which were furiously rushing backward and forward; however, through the unremitting care of the escort, Clapperton made his way safely, though not without much fatigue and annoyance, along this perilous frontier.

On the 16th of March, 1824, after passing through the hilly district of Kamoon, the valleys began to open, and crowds of people were seen thronging to market with wood, onions, indigo, and other commodities. This indicated the approach to Sackatoo, which they soon saw from the top of a hill, and entered about noon. A multitude flocked to see the white stranger, and received him with cheers of welcome. The sultan was not yet returned from a ghrazzie or slave-hunt; but the gadado, or minister, performed handsomely the honours of the

place. Next day the chief arrived, and instantly sent for Clapperton. The palace, as usual in Africa, consisted of a sort of enclosed town, with an open quadrangle in front. The stranger, on entering the gate, was conducted through three huts serving as guard-houses, after which he found Sultan Bello seated on a small carpet in a sort of painted and ornamented cottage. Bello had a noble and commanding figure, with a high forehead and large black eyes. He gave the traveller a hearty welcome, and, after inquiring the particulars of his journey, proceeded to serious affairs. He produced books belonging to Major Denham, which had been taken in the disastrous battle of Dirkullah; and, though he expressed a feeling of dissatisfaction at the Major's presence on that occasion, readily accepted an apology, and restored the volumes. He only asked to have the subject of each explained, and to hear the sound of the language, which he declared to be beautiful. He then began to press his visiter with theological questions, and showed himself not wholly unacquainted with the controversies which have agitated the Christian world; indeed he soon went beyond the depth of his visiter, who was obliged to own that he was not versant in the abstruser mysteries of divinity.

The sultan now opened a frequent and familiar communication with the English envoy, in which he showed himself possessed of a good deal of information. The astronomical instruments, from which, as from implements of magic, many of his attendants started with horror, were examined by the monarch with an intelligent eye. On being shown the planisphere, he proved his knowledge of the planets, and even of many of the constellations, by repeating their Arabic names. The telescope, which presented objects inverted—the compass, by which he could always turn to the east in praying—and the sextant, which he called “the looking-glass of the sun,” excited peculiar interest. Being desirous to see an observation performed with the latter instrument, Clapperton, who had lost the key of the artificial horizon, asked a dagger to break it open; upon which the sultan started, and half-drew his sword, trembling like an aspen leaf. The other very prudently took no notice of this excitement, but quietly opened his box, when the exhibition soon dispelled all unfavourable impressions. The sultan, however, inquired with evident jealousy into some points of English history that had come to his knowledge; as, the conquest of India, which the traveller endeavoured to represent as a mere arrangement to protect the natives, and particularly the Moslem population. The attack on Algiers, be-

ing also alluded to, was justly declared to have been made solely on account of her atrocious piracies.

Sackatoo appeared to Mr. Clapperton the most populous city he had seen in the interior of Africa. The houses stand more closely together than in most other towns of Houssa, and are laid out in regularly well-built streets. It is surrounded by a wall between twenty and thirty feet high, with twelve gates, which are punctually shut at sunset. The dwellings of the principal inhabitants consist of clusters of cottages and flat-roofed houses, in the Moorish style, enclosed by high walls. There are two mosques, one of which, then in progress of building, was eight hundred feet long, adorned with numerous pillars of wood plastered with clay, and highly ornamented.

At Sackatoo, the traveller obtained an account of Mr. Park's death, very closely corresponding with the statement given by Amadi Fatonma. The Niger, it appears, called here the Quorra, after passing Timbuctoo, turns to the south, and continues to flow in that direction till it crosses the parallel of Sackatoo, at only a few days' journey to the westward; but whether it reaches the sea, or, making an immense circuit, becomes the Shary, and pours itself into the immense basin of the Tchad, are points on which his informants varied greatly.

Returning by a different route, Mr. Clapperton visited Zirmie, the capital of Zamfra, a kind of outlawed city, the inhabitants of which are esteemed the greatest rogues in Houssa, and where all runaway slaves find protection. He passed also through Kashna or Cassina, the metropolis of a kingdom which, till the late rise of the Fellata power, had ruled over all Africa from Bornou to the Niger.

Mr. Clapperton rejoined Major Denham at Kouka, whence they set out, and recrossed the Desert together in the latter part of the year 1824. They reached Tripoli in January, 1825, and soon after embarked for Leghorn; but being detained by contrary winds and quarantine regulations, did not reach London till the month of June.

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#### CLAPPERTON'S SECOND JOURNEY.

It has appeared, that in spite of some occasional symptoms of jealousy, and even of alarm, the sultan of the Fellatas had manifested a very considerable inclination to cultivate intercourse with the English. He was even understood to have promised that messengers should be kept in waiting at Rakah and Fundah, or at some port on the coast, to conduct a new

mission to Sackatoo. These promises, it is extremely probable, were mere inferences drawn from the empty boasts of the sultan ; he being master neither of Rakah nor Fundah, nor of any place within a great distance of the Gulf of Benin. Be this as it may, there seemed good ground to expect a welcome for the British envoys when they should reach his capital ; and in that direction, it was conjectured, were to be found the termination of the Niger, and also the most direct channel of trade with regions already ascertained to be the finest in Africa.

These were views to which the enterprising statesmen who conducted the naval government at home were never insensible. They equipped afresh Mr. Clapperton, now promoted to the rank of captain, and sent him to the Gulf of Benin ; naming as his associates, Captain Pearce, an excellent draftsman, and Mr. Morrison, a naval surgeon of some experience, whose skill, it was hoped, might be of great avail in preserving the health of the whole expedition.

The mission, in the end of 1825, reached its destination ; but, as might perhaps have been anticipated, they could hear nothing of Rakah or of Fundah, of any messengers sent by Bello, nor of any town that was subject to him on this coast. They were not, however, discouraged ; and having consulted Mr. Houtson, whom a long residence had made thoroughly acquainted with the country, they were advised not to attempt ascending the banks of the river,—a circuitous track, and covered with pestilential swamps,—but to take the route from Badagry as the most direct and commodious, and by which, in fact, almost all the caravans from Houssa come down to the coast.

On the 7th of December, 1825, the mission set out from Badagry on this grand journey into Interior Africa. But at the very first they were guilty of a fatal imprudence. During the nights of the 7th and 9th they slept in the open air, and on the last occasion in the public market-place of Dagmoo, without even their beds, which had been sent away by mistake. The consequence was, that in a day or two Morrison and Pearce were attacked with a dangerous fever, and Clapperton with fits of ague. It does not appear why they did not stop in one of the towns, and endeavour by rest to recruit their strength ; on the contrary, they pushed on till the 22d, when Captain Clapperton, seeing the illness of his companions increase, urged them either to remain behind or return to Badagry. They insisted on proceeding ; but next day Dr. Morrison could struggle no longer, and departed for the coast : he died before reaching it. Captain Pearce persevered to the last, and sunk on the road, breathing his last at nine in the

evening of the 27th. Clapperton was thus left to pursue his long and adventurous journey in very painful and desolate circumstances. He had only a faithful servant, Richard Lander, who stood by him in all his fortunes, with Pascoe, a not very trusty African, whom he had hired at Badagry.

After a journey of sixty miles, the travellers entered the kingdom of Yarriba, called also from its capital Eyeo. This country had long been reported on the coast as the most populous, powerful; and flourishing of all Western Africa, holding even Dahomey in vassalage. It answered the most favourable descriptions given of it; the fields were extensively cleared, and covered with thriving plantations of Indian corn, millet, yams, and cotton. A loom nearly similar to that used in England was busily plied; the women were spinning and dyeing the cloths with their fine indigo. These African dames were also seen going from town to town bearing large burdens on their heads,—an employment shared by the numerous wives of the king of Eyeo; their majesties having nothing to distinguish them from the humblest of their fellow-countrywomen. Amid these laudable occupations, they exercised their powers of speech with such incessant perseverance as to confirm the Captain in what appears to have been with him an old maxim, that no power on earth, not even African despotism, can silence a woman's tongue; yet, as this loquacity seems to have been always exerted in kindness, he need not, we think, have groaned quite so heavily under its stunning influence.

The English travellers were agreeably surprised by the reception which they experienced during this journey. In Houssa they had laboured under the most dire proscription as Caffres, enemies of the prophet, and foredoomed to hell; and, as black is there the standard of beauty, their colour was considered by the ladies a deep leprous deformity, detracting from every quality that might otherwise have been agreeable in their persons. With the negro and pagan Eyeos there was no religious enmity; and having understood, by reports from the coast, the superiority of Europeans in arts and wealth, this people viewed them almost as beings of a superior order, to see whom they felt an eager and friendly curiosity. A rumour had also spread that they came to do good, and to make peace wherever there was war. On entering any town they were soon encircled by thousands, all desirous to see white men, and testifying respect,—the males by taking off their caps, the women by bending on their knees and one elbow. In some places singing and dancing were kept up through the whole night in celebration of their arrival.

The mission had now to cross a range of hills about eighty miles broad, reported to reach the whole way from behind Ashantee to Benin. The highest pinnacle was not supposed to exceed two thousand five hundred feet, which is a good deal lower than Skiddaw; but its passes were peculiarly narrow and rugged, hemmed in by gigantic blocks of granite six hundred or seven hundred feet high, sometimes fearfully overhanging the road. The valley varied in breadth from one hundred yards to half a mile; but every level spot, extending along the foot of these mountains, or even suspended amid their cliffs, was covered with fine crops of yams, millet, and cotton. A large population thus filled these alpine recesses, all animated with the most friendly spirit. Parties met the travellers on the road, or were stationed on the rocks and heights above, which echoed with choral songs and sounds of welcome. After ascending hill over hill they came to Chaki, a large and populous town, situated on the very summit of the ridge. Here the caboccer had a house and a large stock of provisions ready for them; he put many questions, and earnestly pleaded for a stay of two or three days.

After descending to the plain and passing through a number of other towns, the party came to Tshow, where a caboccer arrived from the king of Yarriba, with a numerous train of attendants both on foot and horseback. This chief, having shaken hands with them, immediately rubbed his whole body, that the blessing of their touch might be spread all over him. His people kept up through the night a constant hubbub,—singing, drumming, dancing, and firing; and, claiming free quarters, they devoured such a quantity of provisions that the party fared worse than in any other place. Next morning they set out with a crowded escort of bowmen on foot, and of horsemen ill-mounted but active, dressed in the most grotesque manner, and covered with charms. On reaching the brow of a hill, the great capital of Eyeo opened to the view, on the opposite side of a vast plain bordered by a ridge of granite hills and surrounded by a brilliant belt of verdure. On reaching the gate they entered the house of a caboccer, till notice was sent to the king, who immediately invited them to his palace. They had five miles to march through this spacious capital, during which the multitude collected was so immense, and raised such a cloud of dust, that they must have stopped short, had not their escort, by a gentle but steady application of the whip and the cane, opened a way, and finally cleared a space in front of the throne. The king was sitting under a veranda, dressed in two long cotton robes, and ornamented with three strings of glass beads, and a pasteboard crown covered with

blue cotton, which had been procured from the coast. The mission, instead of the usual prostration, merely took off their hats, bowed, and presented their hands, which the king lifted up three times, calling out, "Ako! ako!" (How do you do?) His wives behind, drawn up in a dense body, which the travellers vainly attempted to number, raised loud cheers, and smiled in the most gracious manner. After an interview of half an hour, the chief eunuch showed the party to handsome and commodious lodgings, where a good dinner was prepared. In the evening they were surprised by a visit from his majesty in plain patriarchal style, with a long staff in his hand, saying that he could not sleep without again inquiring after them.

Eyeeo, or Katunga, capital of the kingdom of Yarriba, is fifteen miles in circumference, and supplied by seven large markets; but there are many open fields and spaces in this wide circuit, and hence the number of inhabitants could not even be conjectured. The population of the country must be very great, the whole being under cultivation, and the towns large and numerous. The government, in theory, is most despotic. The greatest chiefs, when they approach the sovereign, throw themselves prostrate on the ground, lie flat on their faces, and heap sand or dust upon their heads; and the same degrading homage is paid to the nobles by their inferiors. Yet the administration seems mild and paternal; no instances of wanton cruelty were observed; and the flourishing state of the people showed clearly the absence of all severe oppression. The horrid and bloody *customs*, which produce such dark scenes in Ashantee and Dahomey, were mentioned here with detestation. At the death of the king only, a few of his principal ministers and favourite wives take poison, presented to them in parrot's eggs, that they may accompany and serve him in the invisible world. The first question asked by every caboceer and great man was, how many wives the king of England had? being prepared, it should seem, to measure his greatness by that standard; but when told that he had only one, they gave themselves up to a long and ungovernable fit of laughter, followed by expressions of pity and wonder how he could possibly exist in that destitute condition. The king of Yarriba's boast was, that his wives, linked hand in hand, would reach entirely across the kingdom. Queens, however, in Africa are applied to various uses, of which Europeans have little idea. They were seen forming a large band of bodyguards; and their majesties were observed in every part of the kingdom acting as porters, and bearing on their heads enormous burdens; so that whether they should be called queens or slaves seems scarcely doubtful.

The Eyeos, like other nations purely negro, are wholly unacquainted with letters or any form of writing; these are known only to the Arabs or Fellatas, who penetrate thither in small numbers; yet they have a great deal of extemporaneous poetry. Every great man has bands of singers of both sexes, who constantly attend him, and loudly celebrate his achievements in poems of their own composition. The convivial meetings of the people, even their labours and journeys, are cheered by songs composed for the occasion, and sung often with considerable taste. Their houses are mere clay-built cottages, yet studiously adorned with carving; the door-posts and every piece of furniture are covered with well-executed representations of warlike processions, and of the movements of huge serpents seizing their prey. They have also public performances, which do not indeed deserve the name of dramatic, as they consist of mere mimicry and buffoonery. The first act of a piece witnessed by the strangers exhibited men dancing in sacks, who performed their part to admiration. One of the bags opened, and there came forth the boa constrictor, fourteen feet long, covered with cotton cloth, imitating the colour and stripes of the original. Though rather full in the body, it presented very nearly the form, and imitated well the actions, of that huge animal. The mouth was opened wide, probably by two hands, to devour a warrior armed with a sword, who had come forth to contend with this formidable creature, and who struck it with repeated blows, till it writhed in agony, and finally expired. Lastly, out of another sack came the white devil, a meagre, shivering figure, and so painted as to represent an European. It took snuff, rubbed its hands, and attempted, in the most awkward manner, to walk on its naked feet. The audience, amid shouts of laughter, called the particular attention of the captain to this performance; which being really good, he deemed it advisable to join in the mirth.

As soon as our traveller was fixed at Eyeo, he began to negotiate in regard to the means of advancing into Houssa, anxious to pass through that country and reach Bornou before the rains should set in. The king had professed a determination to serve him in every shape; but this proved to be the very thing in which he was least inclined to fulfil his promise. All African princes seek to make a monopoly of the strangers who enter their territory. It was hinted, that one journey was well and fully employed in seeing the kingdom of Yarriba and visiting its great monarch. Captain Clapperton, having pleaded the positive command of his sovereign, was then informed that the direct route through Nyffe was much disturbed



by civil war, the inroad of the Fellatas, and the insurrection of a great body of Houssa slaves,—reports suspected at the time to have been got up merely to detain the travellers, but afterward found to be correct. The king absolutely refused permission to proceed to Rakah, though situated on the Niger at the distance of only three days' journey; but he undertook to convey them to Houssa by a safer though somewhat circuitous route, through the kingdom of Borgoo.

After passing through a number of smaller places, the mission arrived at Kiama, capital of a district of the same name, and containing thirty thousand inhabitants. Kiama, Wawa, Niki, and Boussa are provinces composing the kingdom of Borgoo, all subject in a certain sense to the sovereign of Bousa; but the different cities plunder and make war on each other, without the slightest regard to the supreme authority. The people of Kiama and of Borgoo in general have the reputation of being the greatest thieves and robbers in all Africa; a character which nothing in their actual conduct appeared to confirm. Clapperton was well received at Kiama; and the king soon visited him with the most singular train ever seen by an European. Six young girls, without any apparel except a fillet on the forehead, and a string of beads round the waist, carrying each three light spears, ran by the side of his horse, keeping pace with it at full gallop. "Their light form, the vivacity of their eyes, and the ease with which they appeared to fly over the ground, made them appear something more than mortal." On the king's entrance, the young ladies laid down their spears, wrapped themselves in blue mantles, and attended on his majesty. On his taking leave, they discarded their attire; he mounted his horse, "and away went the most extraordinary cavalcade I ever saw in my life." Our traveller was visited by the principal queen, who had lost her youth and charms; but a good deal of flirtation passed between him and the eldest daughter, who, however, being twenty-five, was considered in Africa as already on the wane. Yarro, the king, was extremely accommodating, and no difficulty was found in proceeding onward to Wawa.

Wawa is a large city, containing eighteen thousand inhabitants, enriched by the constant passage of the Houssa caravans. The people spend the wealth thus acquired in dissolute pleasure, and have been denounced by our traveller as the most complete set of roaring toppers he had ever known. The festivities were usually prolonged till near morning, and the town resounded through the whole night with the song, the dance, the castanet, and the Arab guitar. The Wawa ladies paid a very particular and rather troublesome attention to the

English party. The Captain complains of being pestered by the governor's daughter, who came several times a-day, always half-tipsy, painted and bedizened in the highest style of African finery, to make love to him; and on meeting only with cold excuses, she departed usually in a flood of tears. But the most persevering suit was that of Zuma, an Arab widow, possessor of a thousand slaves, and the second personage in Wawa. Being turned of twenty, she was considered here as past her bloom, and a too ample indulgence in the luxuries which her wealth afforded had enlarged her dimensions till they could be justly likened to those of a huge water-cask; yet she had still some beauty, and, being only of a deep-brown complexion, considered herself white, and was in the most eager search after a white husband. In this pursuit she cast her eyes first upon the servant, to whom our traveller hesitates not to assign the palm of good looks in preference to himself; and he gave Lander full permission to follow his fortune. But that sage person, unmoved by all her charms and possessions, repelled the overture in so decided a manner, that the widow soon saw there was nothing to be made of him. She then withdrew her artillery from Lander, and directed it entirely against his master, the Captain, to whom she laid very close siege. At length, in a frolic, he agreed to visit her. He found her surrounded by every circumstance of African pomp, seated cross-legged on a piece of Turkey carpet, with an English pewter mug for her goora-pot, and dressed in a rich striped silk and cotton robe of country manufacture. Her eyebrows were dyed black, her hair blue, her hands and feet red; necklaces and girdles of beads, coral, and gold profusely adorned her person. She made a display of additional finery lodged in her repositories, leading him through a series of apartments, one of which was ornamented with a number of pewter dishes and bright brass pans. After these preliminaries, she at once declared her wish to accompany him on his journey, and proposed to send forthwith for a malem, or holy man, to read the *fatha*, by which their fates would be indissolubly united. Clapperton, who seems to have been completely stunned by this proposal, stammered out the best apology he could, and hastened away. His conduct, however, does not appear to have been so decisive as to deter the lady from the most energetic perseverance in her suit. She even obtained his permission for his servant Pascoe to accept a wife from among her slaves; but he was not aware that, according to African ideas, she had thus acquired a sort of claim to himself.

Regardless of all these tender solicitations, our traveller had no sooner completed his arrangements than he set out for the

Niger, leaving directions for his baggage to join him at the ferry of Comie, while he went round by way of Boussa. We shall follow him at present to the former place, where he did not find any of his baggage, but learned that the widow, having placed it under arrest, had left Wawa with drums beating and a numerous train; and besides, that she claimed a full right to his person, because his servant Pascoe had accepted a wife at her hand. It was whispered, moreover, that she was meditating to supplant the governor,—a scheme which, aided by the personal bravery of the strangers, she might probably realize,—and afterward she meant to invite the Captain to ascend the throne of Wawa. “It would have been a fine end to my journey, indeed,” says he, “if I had deposed old Mohammed, and set up for myself, with a walking tunbutt for a queen.” Scarcely had he received this account when a present from the widow intimated her arrival in a neighbouring village. Our author, however, insensible to all the brilliant hopes thus opened, set off full speed for Wawa to recover his baggage. On his arrival, the governor refused to liberate it till Zuma’s return,—Clapperton in vain protesting that his movements and hers had no sort of connexion. However, next day, the sound of drums was heard, and the widow made her *entree* in full pomp, astride on a very fine horse, with housings of scarlet cloth, trimmed with lace. The large circumference of her own person was invested in a red silk mantle, red trowsers, and morocco boots; and numerous spells, sewed variously in coloured leather, were hung all round her. She was followed by a train of armed attendants, and preceded by a drummer decked in ostrich feathers. On the whole, the scene was so splendid, that our hero’s resolution seems for a moment to have wavered. However, his part was soon taken. Pascoe was directed to return his wife, and thus extinguish all claim that could be founded upon her; and having received his baggage our traveller set forward without even admitting the fond widow to any further conference.

On his way to Comie, Clapperton had visited Boussa, a place chiefly interesting as the scene where the career of Park terminated in a manner so tragical. Every thing tended to confirm the report of Amadi Fatouma, and to dispel the skepticism with which it had been originally regarded. The king, however, and all the citizens, spoke of the event with deep grief and reluctance, and disavowed all personal concern in the transaction. One man gave as the reason of the attack on the discoverers, that the English had been mistaken for the advanced guard of the Fellatas, who were then ravaging Soudan. It was added, that a number of natives died in consequence,

as was imagined, of eating the meat found in the boats, which was supposed to be human flesh. That the English have no abode but on the sea, and that they eat the flesh of the negroes whom they purchase, are it seems, two ideas most widely prevalent over Africa. Even the king of Boussa could scarcely be brought to believe that they had a spot of land to dwell upon. The Captain and his party were received, however, with the same kindness and cordiality which they had experienced ever since they entered the country. Seven boats were here waiting for them, sent by the sultan of Youri, with a letter, in which he earnestly solicited a visit, and promised, on that condition, and on that only, to deliver up the books and papers of Park. It is deeply to be regretted that our traveller could not reconcile it with his plans to go to Youri at this time, proposing to visit it on his return, which, it is well known, never took place.

On crossing the Niger, Captain Clapperton entered Nyffe, a country which had always been reported to him as the finest, most industrious, and most flourishing in Africa; but he found it, as indeed he had been forewarned by the king of Yarriba, a prey to the most desolating civil war. The succession being disputed between two princes, one of them called in the Fellatas, and, by giving up his country to their ravages, obtained the privilege of reigning over its ruins. Our traveller, in his journey to the sansan or camp, saw only wasted towns, plantations choked with weeds, and a few remnants of a miserable population. This African camp consisted of a number of huts like bee-hives, arranged in streets, with men weaving, women spinning, markets at every green tree, holy men counting their beads, and dissolute slaves drinking; so that, but for the number of horses and armed men, and the drums beating, it might have been mistaken for a populous village.

Amid this desolation, two towns, Koolfu and Kufu, being walled and situated on the high road of the Hussa caravans, had protected themselves in some measure from the common calamity, and were still flourishing seats of trade. All the merchants halted for some time at Koolfu, and those from Bornou seldom went farther. The market was crowded with the same articles as that of Kano. The Moslem religion was the most prevalent; but it had not yet moulded society into the usual gloomy monotony; nor had it succeeded in secluding or subjecting the female sex, who, on the contrary, were the most active agents in every mercantile transaction. Our traveller knew twenty-one female brokers living at the same time in one house, who went about continually from market to market. Many had amassed considerable wealth, and were

persons of great consequence,—quite in their own right. Elated with this distinction, they claimed considerable latitude as to their deportment, and spent whole nights with the men in singing and drinking,—a species of indulgence very prevalent in all these entrepôts of African trade. The English, however, experienced here none of the bigoted enmity which they had encountered in other Moslem cities. On the contrary, they were the objects of much kindness; the principal people of the place sent presents, and the lower ranks sought to obtain a sight of them by mounting the trees which overlooked their residence. The Koran does not seem to have much embarrassed the Koolfuans. Their only mode of studying it was, to have the characters written with a black substance on a piece of board, then to wash them off, and drink the water; and when asked by our traveller what spiritual benefit could be derived from the mere swallowing of dirty water, they indignantly retorted,—“What! do you call the name of God dirty water?” This mode of imbibing sacred truth is indeed extensively pursued throughout the interior of the African continent.

Captain Clapperton passed next through Kotongkora and Guari, two states which, united in a league with Cubbi and Youri, had shaken off the yoke of the Fellatas. Guari, strongly situated among hills, could bring a thousand horse into the field. He then entered Zeg-zeg, a Fellata country, which, especially around Zaria, its capital, seems to be one of the very finest in all Africa. It was beautifully variegated with hill and dale, like the finest parts of England, was covered with plentiful crops and rich pastures, and produced the finest rice grown in any part of that continent. Rows of tall trees, resembling gigantic avenues of poplar, extended from hill to hill. Zaria, like many other African cities, might be considered as a district of country surrounded with walls. When the Captain entered, he saw for some time only fields of grain, with the tops of houses rising behind them; still such was its extent, that its population was said to exceed that of Kano, and to amount to at least fifty thousand.

Setting out from Zaria, he soon reached his old quarters at Kano; but he unfortunately found that great city in a state of dreadful agitation. There was war on every side; hostilities had been declared between the king of Bornou and the Fellatas; the provinces of Zamfra and Goobur were in open insurrection; the Tuaricks threatened an inroad; in short, there was not a quarter to which the merchants durst send a caravan. Kano being nearly midway between Bornou and Sackatoo, Clapperton left his baggage there to be conveyed to the

former on his return, and set out for the capital of Bello, bearing only the presents destined for that prince. On his way he found numerous bands mustering to form an army destined to attack Coonia, the rebel metropolis of Goobur. The appearance of these troops was very striking as they passed along the borders of some beautiful little lakes formed by the river Zirmie. These waters were bordered by forests of flowering acacias, with dark-green leaves, the shadows of which were reflected on the smooth surface of the lake like sheets of burnished gold and silver. "The smoking fires, the sounding of horns, the beating of their gongs or drums, the braying of their brass and tin trumpets, every where the calls on the names of Mohammed, Abda, Mustapha, with the neighing of horses and the braying of asses, gave animation to the beautiful scenery of the lake, and its sloping green and woody banks."

At length the army mustered to the number of fifty or sixty thousand, chiefly on foot; a rude feudal host, arranging themselves according to their provinces and chiefs, without any military order. In a short time, they formed a dense circle around the walls of Coonia. Captain Clapperton expected to see some brilliant exploit performed by the united force of this great army, commanded by the sultan and Gadado in person. The whole, however, both horse and foot, kept carefully out of the reach of the arrows, which, with a sure and steady aim, the enemy directed against them. From time to time indeed a doughty warrior, well covered with armour, rode up, calling, "Shields to the wall! Why don't you come on?" but he instantly and quickly rode back, amid the derisive shouts of his countrymen. The only parties who exposed themselves to real danger were a few chiefs, in quilted armour, ornamented with gaudy robes and ostrich plumes, and of such weight that two men were required to lift them on horseback: several of them were brought down by the fire of one well-directed musket from the walls. Evening closed without any thing being effected by this band of heroes; and in the middle of the night, an alarm being raised of a sally from the garrison, the whole besieging army began a tumultuous flight, tumbling over each other and upsetting every thing in their way, thinking only how they might soonest escape from danger. The retreat was continued through the whole of the following day and night, no halt having taken place till ten of the second morning. Thus closed this memorable campaign.

Clapperton, at the sultan's suggestion, repaired to Sackatoo (which he now calls Soccattoo;) the monarch himself remaining behind at Magaria, a neighbouring town, which he was

raising into a new capital. The traveller's time was spent between the two places. He found, however, an entire change in the feelings of kindness and cordiality towards himself, which had been so remarkably displayed in the former journey. Jealousies had begun to fester in the breasts of the African princes. They dreaded some ambitious design in those repeated missions sent by England without any conceivable motive; for, that men should undertake such long journeys out of mere curiosity, they could never imagine. The sultan accordingly had received a letter from the court of Bornou, warning him that, by this very mode of sending embassies and presents, which the English were now following towards the states of Central Africa, they had made themselves masters of India, and trampled on all its native princes. The writer, therefore, gave it as his opinion that Clapperton should immediately be put to death. An alarm had, in fact, been spread throughout Sackatoo that the English were coming to invade Houssa. The panic was groundless; no European potentate would at present dream of attempting to conquer those vast and almost inaccessible regions of Interior Africa. However, with the imperfect knowledge possessed by these chiefs, and the facts before them relative to India, they had scarcely the means of judging as to the foundation of their apprehensions. The sultan, irritated doubtless at the shameful result of his grand expedition against Coonia, felt also another and more pressing fear. War had just broken out between himself and the king of Bornou; Clapperton was on his way to visit that prince, and had left six muskets at Kano, supposed to be intended as presents to him; and six muskets in Central Africa, where the whole Fellata empire could scarcely muster forty, were almost enough to turn the scale between these two great military powers. Under the impulse of these feelings, Bello proceeded to steps unworthy of a prince and a man of honour. He demanded a sight of the letter which Clapperton was conveying to the king of Bornou; and when this was of course refused, he seized it by violence. Lander was induced by false pretences to bring the baggage from Kano to Sackatoo, when forcible possession was taken of the six muskets. The Captain loudly exclaimed against these proceedings, declaring them to amount to the basest robbery, to a breach of all faith, and to be the worst actions of which any man could be guilty. This was rather strong language to be used to a sovereign, especially to one who could at any moment have cut off his head; and the minister even dropped hints as if matters might come to that issue, though, in point of fact, the government did not proceed to any personal violence. But,

from other causes, the career of this spirited and hitherto successful traveller was now drawing to a close.

The strong constitution of Clapperton had till this period enabled him to resist all the baneful influences of an African climate. He had recovered, though perhaps not completely, from the effects of the rash exposure which had proved fatal to his two companions; but he had, when overcome with heat and fatigue, in hunting at Magaria, lain down on a damp spot in the open air, and was soon after seized with dysentery, which continued to assume more alarming symptoms. Indeed, after the seizure of the letter to the sultan of Bornou, he was never seen to smile, and in his sleep was heard addressing loud reproaches to the Arabs. Unable to rise from bed, and deserted by all his African friends, who saw him no longer a favourite at court, he was watched with tender care by his faithful servant Richard Lander, who devoted his whole time to attendance on his sick master. At length he called him to his bedside, and said—"Richard, I shall shortly be no more,—I feel myself dying." Almost choked with grief, Lander replied, "God forbid, my dear master,—you will live many years yet." But the other replied, "don't be so much affected, my dear boy, I entreat you; it is the will of the Almighty, it cannot be helped." He then gave particular directions as to the disposal of his papers, and of all that remained of his property; to which strict attention was promised. "He then," says Lander, "took my hand within his, and looking me full in the face, while a tear stood glistening in his eye, said, in a low but deeply-affecting tone, 'My dear Richard, if you had not been with me I should have died long ago; I can only thank you with my latest breath for your kindness and attachment to me; and if I could have lived to return with you, you should have been placed beyond the reach of want; but God will reward you.'" He still survived some days, and appeared even to rally a little; but, one morning, Lander was alarmed by a peculiar rattling sound in his throat, and, hastening to the bedside, found him sitting up, and staring wildly around; he laid his head gently on the dying man's shoulder; some indistinct words quivered on his lips; he strove, but ineffectually, to give them utterance, and expired without a struggle or a sigh.

Bello seems to have repented in some degree of his harsh conduct, especially after news arrived of a great victory gained by his troops over the sultan of Bornou. He allowed Lander to perform the funeral obsequies with every mark of respect. He also supplied him with the means of returning home, allowing him to choose his road, though advising him to prefer that through the Great Desert; but Lander had already had too



many dealings with the Arabs, and therefore preferred his old track through the negro countries.

On his arrival at Kano, Lander formed a spirited and highly-laudable design, which proved him to be possessed of a mind much superior to his station. This was nothing less than an attempt to resolve the great question respecting the termination of the Niger; which he hoped to effect by proceeding to Fundah, the place, every one admits, at which the point may most easily be determined,—whether it flows onward to the sea or turns eastward into the interior. Lander, in order to reach that city, proceeded due south, through a country diversified with rising ground, but still presenting the same fertile and luxuriant aspect as that through which he had just passed. He was told, however, that to the south there was a very elevated mountainous region, inhabited by a savage people called Yemyems. These are probably the Lamlam of Edrisi, reported to be devourers of human flesh, and who were said to have lately killed and eaten a whole caravan; since which time no one had been much inclined to go near them. The chief place through which Lander passed was Cuttup, composed of five hundred little villages, clustered together, and forming the market for a very great extent of country. The king's wives were vastly delighted to receive one or two gilt buttons from the traveller's jacket; and, imagining them to be pure gold, fastened them to their ears. From Cuttup he proceeded to Dunrora, where he was informed that about half a days' journey eastward was the large city of Jacoba, near which flowed the Shary, in a continuous course between the Tchad and Fundah; which last place lay now in the direction of due west. Lander here promised himself the satisfaction, in ten or twelve days, of finally solving the grand African problem, when suddenly four horsemen, with foaming steeds, galloped into the town. Their leader, followed by an immense multitude, rode up, and told the traveller that he must instantly return to the king of Zeg-zeg. Lander endeavoured to argue the point, but could get no answer, except that they must either bring him with them or lose their heads. It behooved him then, of necessity, to repair to Zaria, the capital, where, being introduced to the king, and having delivered his presents, that prince boasted of having done him the greatest possible favour, since the people of Fundah, being now at war with Sultan Bello, would certainly have murdered any one who had come from visiting and carrying gifts to that monarch. From this reasoning, sound or otherwise, Lander had no appeal, and found no alternative but to make his way back by his former path. In all the places through which he passed,

anxious inquiries were made about "his father," as the people called Clapperton; and when they heard of his death, they raised loud lamentations. He reached Badagry on the 21st of November, 1827; but, being detained some time there and at Cape Coast Castle, did not reach England till the 30th of April, 1828.



RICHARD LANDER.

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## RICHARD AND JOHN LANDER.

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To these individuals belongs the honour of having been the first Europeans who discovered the termination of the Niger, a subject which for more than forty years excited an interest beyond any other connected with the knowledge of the earth. Britain, acting in conformity with a noble and liberal spirit, in a succession of African expeditions, sacrificed a portion of her treasure and the lives of some of her citizens. These sacrifices, as to the main object, were for some time made in vain. Park, when he was directly on the route which would have led to the grand discovery, met his premature and tragical fate. Denham and Clapperton made most important discoveries, and threw light on many almost unknown regions of interior Africa; but they left the grand mystery covered with as thick a veil as ever. The honour of removing this veil was reserved for the individuals whose names stand at the head of this chapter.

In reviewing the narrative of Clapperton's last expedition, we had occasion to introduce to the reader Richard Lander, acting in the humble capacity of servant to that enterprising traveller. We have seen him, after fulfilling in an exemplary manner the duties of that situation, and closing his master's eyes, become himself inspired with a similar spirit, and make a considerable progress towards the solution of the grand problem. The interposition of king Zeg-zeg arrested his efforts, but his spirit was still unsubdued; and on his return to England, he tendered his services to government for a fresh expedition.

His services were accepted, but on such terms that even in case of success, he was encouraged to expect only a very moderate reward. He was to be furnished with the means of prosecuting his journey, his wife was to receive a support during his absence, and in the event of being successful he was to be allowed a gratuity of one hundred pounds—a pitiful donation from a great nation to one who in pursuit of one of its favourite objects was to brave all the perils of death and captivity. His brother, John Lander, was permitted to accompany him, but under the express stipulation of looking for no reward whatever.



JOHN LANDER.

The brothers embarked for Africa on the 9th of January, 1830, and after a passage of forty-two days, arrived, on the 22d of February, at Cape Coast Castle on the African shore.

After remaining on the coast until the 15th of March, enjoying the hospitality of the British residents there, our travellers embarked on board the *Clinker*, Lieutenant Matson commander, and on the 19th arrived at Badagry, on the gulf of Benin. The account of our travellers' reception here, we give in their own words.

"Cheered by six hearty huzzas good-naturedly given us by the crew of the *Clinker*, at the desire of her gallant commander, we sailed towards the beach in one of the brig's boats, in the earlier part of the afternoon, and having been taken into a canoe that was waiting at the edge of the breakers to receive us, we were plied over a tremendous surf, and flung with violence on the burning sands.

Wet and uncomfortable as this accident had rendered us, we had no change of linen at hand, and we walked to a small creek about the distance of a quarter of a mile from the sea-shore, where we were taken into a native canoe, and conveyed safely through an extremely narrow channel overhung with luxuriant vegetation, into the Badagry river, which is a branch of the Lagos. It is a beautiful body of water, resembling a lake in miniature; its surface is smooth and transparent as glass, and its picturesque banks are shaded by trees of a lively verdure. We were soon landed on the opposite side, when our road lay over a magnificent plain, on which deer, antelopes, and buffaloes are often observed to feed. Numbers of men, women, and children followed us to the town of Badagry, and they made the most terrific noises at our heels; but whether these were symptoms of satisfaction or displeasure, admiration or ridicule, we could not at first understand. We were soon, however, satisfied that the latter feeling was predominant; and indeed our clothing was exceedingly grotesque, consisting of a straw hat larger than an umbrella, a scarlet Mohammedan robe or tunic and belt, with boots and full Turkish trousers. So unusual a dress might well cause the people to laugh heartily; they were all evidently highly amused; but the more modest of the females, unwilling to give us any uneasiness, turned aside to conceal the titter, from which they were utterly unable to refrain.

On our way we observed various groups of people seated under the spreading branches of superb trees, vending provisions and country cloth; and on our approach many of these arose and bowed, while others fell on their knees before us in token of respect."

The next day our travellers visited the chief or king of Badagry at his residence. On our entrance, they say, he was sitting on a couple of boxes in a small bamboo apartment, from

whose sides were suspended a great quantity of muskets and swords, with a few paltry umbrellas, and a couple of horses' tails, which were used for the purpose of brushing away flies and other insects. King Adooley looked up in our faces without making any observation, and did not rise from his seat to congratulate us on our arrival. He appeared in deep reflection, and thoughtfully rested his elbow on an old wooden table, pillowing his head on his hand. One of the most venerable and ancient of his subjects was squatted at the feet of his master, smoking from a pipe of extraordinary length; while Lantern, his eldest son and heir-apparent, was kneeling at his side, etiquette not allowing the youth to sit in presence of his father. Every thing bore an air of gloom and sadness, totally different from what we had been led to expect. We shook hands, but the pressure of the chief was so very faint that it was scarcely perceptible; yet notwithstanding this apparent coldness, we seated ourselves, one on each side, without ceremony or embarrassment. The conversation was commenced on our part by inquiring after the chief's health, which was answered only by a languid smile, and he again relapsed into his former thoughtfulness. We then displayed to the greatest advantage the presents we had brought for him from England; they were accepted, it is true, but without the slightest demonstration of pleasure or satisfaction; they were scarcely looked at, and were carried away by his attendants with real or seeming indifference. This was very mortifying, but we said not a word, though it was the easiest thing imaginable to perceive that all was not right. Added to all this, in the midst of the conversation, Adooley left us abruptly, and did not return for some time.

Wearied at length with his delay, we dispatched a messenger to acquaint him that we were becoming impatient, and would feel obliged by his immediate return, in order to put an end to our conference, or *palaver*, as it is emphatically styled, as speedily as possible. On receiving this message the chief hastened back, and entered the apartment with a melancholy countenance, which was partially concealed behind large volumes of smoke from a tobacco pipe which he was using. He seated himself between us as before and gave us to understand in a very low tone of voice, that he was but just recovering from a severe illness, and from the effects of a variety of misfortunes which had rendered him almost broken-hearted. His generals, Bombanee and Poser, and all his most able warriors, had either been slain in battle or fallen by other violent means. The former, whose loss he more particularly lamented, had been captured by the Lagos people, who were his most

inveterate enemies. When this unfortunate man was taken prisoner, his right hand was immediately nailed to his head, and the other lopped off like a twig. In this manner he was paraded through the town, and exposed to the view of the people; whose curiosity being satiated, Bombanee's head was at length severed from his shoulders, and being dried in the sun and beat to dust, was sent in triumph to the chief of Badagry. To these calamities, others were added, all which served to account in some measure for the sad and grievous expression so strongly depicted on the chief's countenance; but another and more powerful reason doubtless influenced him on this occasion.

In returning to our residence, we were introduced to a number of the principal men, come, professedly, to compliment us on visiting their country, although their true and only motive for visiting our quarters was the expectation of obtaining rum, the great object of attraction to all of them. We were annoyed during the better part of the day by a tribe of ragged beggars, whose importunity was really disgusting; and the number of old, fat-headed and pot-bellied men, and skinny flapped women of the last century was immense. To these garrulous ladies and gentlemen we were obliged to laugh and talk, and shake hands, and crack fingers, and bend our bodies and bow our heads, and place our hands with solemnity on our heads and breasts; make presents, and cringe, fawn, and flatter up to the time of going to bed. We had not a moment's relaxation from this excessive fatigue. Had Job, among his other trials, been exposed to the horrors of an interminable African *palaver*, his patience must have forsaken him. For my own part, says one of the Landers, I am of opinion that I shall never be a favourite with this ever grinning and loquacious people. If I laugh, and laugh I most certainly must, it is done against my inclination, and consequently with a very bad grace. For the first five years of my life, I have been told that I was never even seen to smile; and since that period my merriment has been confined to particular and extraordinary occasions only. How then is it possible that I can be grinning and playing the fool from morning till night, positively without any just incentive to do so, and sweltering at the same time under a sun that causes my body to burn with intense heat, giving it the appearance of shrivelled parchment. Fortunately, these savages cannot distinguish between real and fictitious joy; and although I was vexed at heart, and wished them all at the bottom of the Red Sea, or somewhere else, I have every reason to believe that my forced attempts to please the natives have so far been successful; and that I have ob-

tained the reputation of being one of the pleasantest and best-tempered persons in the world.

The next day our travellers received a visit from one of the chief's messengers, who was a Haussa mallam, or priest. He came followed by a large and handsome spotted sheep from his native country, whose neck was adorned with little bells, which made a pretty jingling noise. He was dressed in the Haussa costume, viz. cap, robe, trousers, and sandals. He wore four large silver rings on his thumb, and his left wrist was ornamented with a solid silver bracelet. His visit appeared to be disinterested, as he did not beg any thing. It is to be understood, however, that he was a Mussulman, and it being the fast of the Ramadan, he was forbidden by his creed either to eat or drink from the rising to the setting of the sun.

A visit from the chief's eldest son who remained with our travellers nearly an entire day, is thus described. The manners of this young man are reserved, but respectful; he is a great admirer of the English, and has obtained a smattering of their language. Although his appearance is extremely boyish, he has already three wives, and is the father of two children. His front teeth are filed to a point after the manner of the Lagos people; but notwithstanding this disadvantage, his features bear less marks of ferocity than we have observed in the countenance of any one of his countrymen, while his general deportment is infinitely more pleasing and humble than theirs. When asked, whether, if it were in his power to do so, he would injure us two, or any European that might hereafter visit Badagry, he made no reply, but silently approached our seat, and falling on his knees at our feet, he pressed me with eagerness to his soft, naked bosom, and affectionately kissed my hand. I thought that language and expression would not have been half so eloquent as this.

Our travellers remained at Badagry until the 31st of March, about ten days from the time of their arrival. This whole time seems to have been employed on the part of the natives in incessant efforts and artifices to extract presents and money, and on the part of the travellers in receiving visits, cracking fingers, laughing and grinning in order to adapt themselves to the taste and character of their visitors. Besides the great king of all, the redoubtable Adooley, four fellows assumed the title of royalty, namely, the kings of Spanish Town, of Portuguese Town, of English Town, and of French Town; Badagry being divided into four districts, bearing the names of the European nations just mentioned. Besides these there was a host of ragged scoundrels who styled themselves great and powerful, and were styled noblemen and gentlemen. Each



of these the travellers were advised to conciliate with presents, and especially spirituous liquors, in order to do away any evil impression they might have received, and thus facilitate their object, viz. the obtaining leave to pass through the country. Several considerations conspired to render them anxious to hasten their departure. The rainy season was fast approaching—and they were told that a sacrifice of no less than three hundred human beings, of both sexes and all ages, was shortly to take place. We often hear, they say, the cries of many of these poor wretches; and the heart sickens with horror at the bare contemplation of such a scene as awaits us should we remain here much longer. But all their solicitations for leave to proceed on their journey were evaded by the chief under the most frivolous and absurd pretences. After visiting the residence of *General Poser*, they paid another visit to the king. *General Poser's* house was at that time under the superintendence of his head man. Him, we found squatting, they say, indolently on a mat, and several old people were holding a conversation with him. As the death of *Poser* is not generally known to the people, it being concealed from them for fear of exciting a commotion in the town, for he was universally loved and respected, we were not permitted even to mention his name, and the steward set us the example by prudently confining the conversation to the necessity of making him a present suitable to his expectations and the dignity of his station. Muskets and other warlike instruments were suspended from the sides of the apartment, and its ceiling was decorated with fetishes and Arab texts in profusion. Gin and water were produced, and partaken of with avidity by all present, more especially by the two mulattoes that had attended us, which being done, the head man wished the Great Spirit to prosper us in all our undertakings, and told us not to forget his present by any means. After taking our leave we repaired immediately to the residence of *Adooley*, whom we had not seen for two days.

The chief was eating an undressed onion, and seated on an old table, dangling his legs underneath it with a vacant thoughtlessness of manner, which our abrupt intrusion somewhat dissipated. He informed us of his intention of sending us on our journey the day after the next, was full of good nature and promised to make my brother a present of a horse and to sell me another, and added that he most particularly wished to examine the goods we intended taking with us into the "bush," as the uncleared country is called, in order that he might satisfy himself we had nothing objectionable among them. Having expressed our thanks to *Adooley* for his kind

intentions and agreed to his conditions, we all partook of a little spirit and water which soon made us the best friends in the universe. During this palaver, the chief's sister and two of his wives were ogling at us, and giggling, until the approach of the chief of English town and the rest of our party put a sudden stop to the entertainment. These men came to settle a domestic quarrel, which was soon decided by the chief, who, after receiving the usual salutation of dropping on the knees, with the face to the earth, chatted and laughed immoderately. This was considered by us as a happy omen. Very little ceremony is observed by the meanest of the people towards their sovereign. They converse with him with as little reserve as if he were no better than themselves, while he pays as much attention to their complaints as to those of the principal people of the country. Adooley seemed not entirely destitute of the virtues of hospitality, for we observed with pleasure that the remainder of his onions were divided equally among the chiefs who had come to visit him, and were received by them with marks of the highest satisfaction.

A few more pictures of African life and manners will close the account of our travellers' visit to the king of Badagry.

In the afternoon, after the *palaver* above described, a herald proclaimed the approach to our habitation of the venerable chief of Spanish town, with a long suite of thirsty followers. The old man's dress was very simple, consisting only of a cap and turban, with a large piece of Manchester cotton flung over his right shoulder and held under his left arm. This is infinitely more graceful and becoming in the natives than the most showy European apparel, in any variety of which, indeed, they generally look highly ridiculous. After we had made him and all his attendants nearly tipsy, the old chief began to be very talkative and amusing, continuing to chat without intermission for a considerable time, not omitting to whisper occasionally to the interpreter, by no means to forget, after his departure, reminding us of the present we had promised him, for it is considered the height of rudeness to mention any thing of the kind aloud in his presence. Our rum had operated so cheerily upon his followers in the yard, that fat and lean, old and young, commenced dancing, and continued performing the most laughable antics, till they were no longer able to stand. It amused us infinitely to observe these creatures, with their old solemn, placid-looking chief at their head, staggering out at the doorway; we were, in truth, but too happy to get rid of them at so cheap a rate. Hooper shortly afterward came with a petition from twelve "gentlemen" of English Town, for the sum of a hundred and twenty dollars, to be

divided among them ; and having no resource, we were compelled to submit to the demand of these rapacious scoundrels.

Late in the evening we received the threatened visit from Adooley, who came to examine the contents of our boxes. He was borne in a hammock by two men, and was dressed in an English linen shirt, a Spanish cloak or mantle, with a cap, turban, and sandals. His attendants were three half-dressed little boys, who, one by one, placed themselves at their master's feet, as they are in the habit of doing. One of them carried a long sword, another a pistol, and the third a kind of knapsack, filled with tobacco. We presented the chief with brandy, equal in strength to spirits of wine ; and he swallowed a large quantity of it with exquisite pleasure. The boys were permitted to drink a portion of the liquor every time that it was poured into a glass for Adooley ; but though it was so very strong, it produced no grimace, nor the slightest distortion of countenance in these little fellows. The fondness of the natives, or rather their passion, for strong waters is astonishing, and they are valued entirely in proportion to the intoxicating effects they occasion. Adooley smoked nearly all the while he remained in our house. As each box was opened, however, he would take the pipe slowly from his mouth, as if perfectly heedless of what was going forward ; and from the couch whereon he was reclining, regard with intense curiosity each article as it was held out to his observation. Every thing that in his opinion demanded a closer examination, or, more properly speaking, every thing he took a fancy to, was put into his hands at his own request ; but as it would be grossly impolite to return it after it had been soiled by his fingers, with the utmost *nonchalance* the chief delivered it over to the care of his recumbent pages, who carefully secured it between their legs. Adooley's good taste could not of course be questioned ; and it did not much surprise, though it grieved us, to observe a large portion of almost every article in the boxes speedily passing through his hands into those of his juvenile minions. Nothing seemed unworthy his acceptance, from fine scarlet cloth to a child's farthing whistle ; in fact, he requested a couple of these little instruments to amuse himself with in retirement ! And although he has received guns, ammunition, and a variety of goods to the amount of nearly three hundred ounces\* of gold he is so far from being satisfied that he is continually grumbling forth his discontent. Grati-

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\* An ounce of gold on this part of the African coast is worth about two pounds sterling.

tude is unknown both to him and his subjects; the more one gives them, the more pressing are their importunities for other favours. The very food that one eats and the clothes that he wears are begged in so fawning a tone and manner, as to create disgust and contempt at the first interview.

It was nearly midnight before Adooley arose from his seat to depart, when he took his leave, with broadcloth, and cottons, pipes, snuff-boxes, and knives, paper, ink, whistles, &c. &c., and even some of our books, so avaricious is this Chief of Badagry.

We arose early the next morning for the purpose of arranging some trifling matters, and taking our breakfast in quietness and comfort; but we had scarcely sat down, when our half-naked grinning acquaintances entered to pay us the compliments of the day. Notwithstanding our chagrin, so ludicrous was the perpetual bowing and scraping of these our friends, in imitation of Europeans, that we could not forbear laughing in good earnest. Our rum, which had been kindly supplied us by Lieutenant Matson, we are happy to say, is now nearly all consumed, and the number of our general visitors has diminished in exact proportion to its decrease; so that we are beginning to feel the enjoyment of an hour or two's quiet in the course of a day, which is a luxury we could hardly have anticipated. The chief sent his son this morning to us, requesting a few needles and some small shot. We could ill spare the latter, but it would be impolitic to refuse his urgent solicitations, whatever may be their tendency.

The horses promised by Adooley have been sent for us to examine. They appear strong and in good condition; and if they play us no wicked pranks in the "bush," no doubt they will be eminently serviceable.

This evening Poser's head-man, who we understand is one of the chief's first captains, returned our visit of yesterday, followed by a multitude of friends and retainers. He had been determined, I believe, before he left home, to be in an ill-humour with us, and perhaps he had treated himself with an extra dram for the occasion. This great bully introduced himself into our dwelling,—his huge round face inflamed with scorn, anger, and "potations deep." He drank with even more avidity than his countrymen, but the liquor produced no good impression on him, serving rather to increase his dissatisfaction and choler. He begged every thing he saw,—and when we had gratified him to the best of our power, he began to be very abusive and noisy. He said he was convinced we had come into the country with no good intentions, and accused us of deceit and insincerity in our professions; or, in

plainer terms, that we had been guilty of a direct falsehood in stating that we had no other motive for undertaking the journey than to recover the papers of Mr. Park at Yaoorie. He was assured that we were afraid to tell the true reason for leaving our own country. We withstood his invectives with tolerable composure, and the disgraceful old fellow left us in a pet about half an hour after his arrival.

The noise and jargon of our guests pursue us even in sleep, and our dreams are disturbed by fancied palavers, which are more unpleasant and vexatious, if possible, in their effects, than real ones. Early in the morning we were roused from one of these painful slumbers to listen to the dismal yell of the hyena, the shrill crowing of cocks, the hum of night-flies and musquitoes, and the hoarse croaking of frogs, together with the chirping of myriads of crickets and other insects, which resounded through the air as though it had been pierced with a thousand whistles.

Just after sunrise, two Mohammedans arrived at our house, with an invitation for us to accompany them to the spot selected for the performance of their religious rites and observances. This being a novelty, we embraced the proposal with pleasure, and followed the men to the distance of about a mile from our house. Here we observed a number of their countrymen sitting in detached groups, actively employed in the duties of lustration and ablution. It was a bare space of ground, edged with trees, and covered with sand. The Mussulmans were obliged to bring water with them in calabashes. Seated in a convenient situation, underneath the spreading branches of a myrtle-tree, without being seen, we could observe all their actions. But a number of boys soon intruded themselves upon our privacy, and, to say the truth, we were more amused by the artlessness and playfulness of their manners than with all the grave mummery of the Mohammedan worshippers. Groups of people were continually arriving at the spot, and these were welcomed to it by an occasional flourish of music from a native clarionet, &c. They were clad in all their finery, their apparel being as gaudy as it was various. The *coup-d'œil* presented by no means an uninteresting spectacle. Loose tobies, with caps and turbans, striped and plain, red, blue, and black, were not unpleasingly contrasted with the original native costume of figured cotton, thrown loosely over the shoulders, and immense rush hats. Manchester cloths of the most glaring patterns were conspicuous among the crowd; but these were cast in the shade by scarfs of green silk, ornamented with leaves and flowers of gold, and aprons covered with silver spangles. Very young children appeared bending under

the weight of clothes and ornaments ; while boys of maturer years carried a variety of offensive weapons. The Turkish scimitar, the French sabre, the Portuguese dagger, confined in a silver case, all gleamed brightly ; and heavy cutlasses, with rude native knives were likewise exhibited, half-devoured by cankering rust. Clumsy muskets and fowling-pieces, as well as Arab pistols, were also handled with delight by the joyful Mussulmans. In number the religionists were about a hundred and fifty. Not long after our arrival they formed themselves into six lines, and having laid aside many of their superfluous ornaments, and a portion of their clothing, they put on the most sedate countenances, and commenced their devotional exercises in a spirit of seriousness and apparent fervour worthy a better place and a more amiable creed. In the exterior forms of their religion, at least, the Mussulmans here are complete adepts, as this spectacle has convinced us ; and the little we have seen of them has led us to form a very favourable opinion of their general temperance and sobriety. The ceremony was no sooner concluded, than muskets, carbines, and pistols were discharged on all sides ; the clarionet again struck up a note of joy, and was supported by long Arab drums, strings of bells, and a solitary kettle-drum. The musicians, like the ancient minstrels of Europe, were encouraged by trifling presents from the more charitable of the multitude. All seemed cheerful and happy ; and on leaving them, several, out of compliment I suppose, discharged their pieces at our heels ; and were evidently delighted with themselves, with us, and with the whole world. In the path we met a fellow approaching the scene of innocent dissipation, clothed most fantastically in a flannel dress, and riding on the back of what we were informed was a wooden horse. He was surrounded by natives of all ages, who were laughing most extravagantly at the unnatural capering of the thing, and admiring the ingenuity of its contrivance. The figure itself was entirely concealed with cloth, which rendered it impossible to discover by what agency it moved. Some years ago I saw a monster something similar to it with a company of mountebanks, in a town in the west of England, which, among its other properties, used to swallow children ; and in all probability this "wooden horse" is constructed on a similar principle. Its head was covered with red cloth ; and a pair of sheep's ears answered the purpose for which they were intended tolerably well. Yet, on the whole, though it was easy to perceive that a horse was intended to be represented by it, the figure was clumsily enough executed. As soon as this party had joined the individuals assembled near the place of worship, a startling

shriek of laughter testified the tumultuous joy of the wondering multitude. The sun shone out resplendently on the happy groups of fancifully dressed persons, whose showy, various-coloured garments and sooty skin, contrasted with the picturesque and lovely appearance of the scenery, produced an unspeakably charming effect. The foliage exhibited every variety and tint of green, from the sombre shade of the melancholy yew to the lively verdure of the poplar and young oak. For myself, I was delighted with the agreeable ramble; and imagined that I could distinguish from the notes of the songsters of the grove, the swelling strains of the English skylark and thrush, with the more gentle warbling of the finch and linnet. It was indeed a brilliant morning, teeming with life and beauty; and recalled to my memory a thousand affecting associations of sanguine boyhood, when I was thoughtless and happy. The barbarians around me were all cheerful and full of joy. I have heard that, like sorrow, joy is contagious, and I believe that it is, for it inspired me with a similar gentle feeling.

The 27th of March in this place is what May-day is in many country places in England, and it strongly reminded us of it. But here, unfortunately, there are no white faces to enliven us: and a want of the lovely complexion of our beautiful countrywomen, tinged with its "celestial red," is severely felt; and so is the total absence here of that golden chain of kindness which links them to the ruder associates of their festive enjoyments. By-and-by, doubtless, familiarity with black faces will reconcile me to them; but at present I am compelled to own that I cannot help feeling a very considerable share of aversion towards their jetty complexions, in common, I believe, with most strangers that visit this place.

Last night, (Monday, March 29th,) a Fantee was plundered of his effects, and stabbed by an assassin below the ribs, so that his life is despaired of; and not long after this was discovered, a "fetish" (religious rite) was performed over the remains of a native that had been found dead, but who was in perfect health a few hours before. The lament of the relatives of the deceased was doleful in a high degree; and no sounds could be more dismally mournful than those shrieked forth by them on the occasion. The chief summoned us yesterday to repair to his residence in order finally to settle the business relative to our journey into the interior; but we refused to have any disputes with him on the Sabbath, and promised to wait on him this morning instead. After breakfast, therefore, we redeemed our pledge, by paying him the promised visit. Adooley received us with his accustomed politeness and gra-

cious smile. He said he wished to inform us of his intention of detaining us at Badagry a day or two longer, the "path" not being considered in a fit state for travelling, rather than his reputation should suffer by leading us into danger, which would undoubtedly be the case if he had not adopted his present resolution. Yet, he continued, we might depend on his word as a king, that we should have liberty to depart on Thursday morning next, at the latest. Now we well knew that the country was never in a more peaceable or quiet state than at the moment he was speaking; and are mortified beyond measure at the perpetual evasions and contradictions of this chief. We regret also that the dry season is fast drawing to a close, and that we shall be obliged to travel in the rainy months. When Adooley had made this declaration, he requested us to write on paper in his presence for a few things which he wished to procure either from Cape Coast Castle or from England, as a return for the protection he had promised us. Among other articles enumerated are "four regimental coats, such as are worn by the King of England, for himself, and forty, less splendid than these, for the use of his captains; two long brass guns to run on swivels; fifty muskets, twenty barrels of gunpowder, four handsome swords, and forty cutlasses;" to which are added two puncheons of rum, a carpenter's chest of tools, with oils, paints, and brushes," the chief himself boasting that he was a blacksmith, carpenter, painter, and indeed every trade but a tailor. Besides these trifles he wished to obtain a half-dozen rockets, and a rocket gun, with a soldier from Cape Coast capable of undertaking the management of it. And lastly, he modestly ordered two puncheons of cowries to be sent him, "for the purpose of defraying in part the expenses he had incurred in repelling the attacks of the men of Porto Novo, Atta, and Juncullee, the tribes inhabiting those places having made war upon him for allowing Captain Clapperton's last mission to proceed into the interior without their consent." We asked, jocosely, whether Adooley would be satisfied with these various articles; when, having considered for a few moments, and conversed aloud to a few of his chiefs that were in the apartment at the time, he replied that he had forgotten to mention his want of a large umbrella, four casks of grape-shot, and a barrel of flints, which having also inserted in the list, the letter was finally folded and sealed. It was then delivered into the hands of Adooley, who said that he should send it by Accra, one of his head-men, to Cape Coast Castle, and that the man would wait there till all the articles should be procured for him. If that be the case, we imagine that Accra will have a very long time to wait.



Our interpreter, old Hooper, having been suspected by the chief to be in our interest, a young man named Tockwee, that understood a little English, was sent for, and commanded to remain during the whole conference, in order to detect any error that Hooper might make, and to see that every thing enumerated by the chief should be written in the list of articles.

During this long and serious conversation we were occasionally enlivened by the music of three little bells, which were fastened to the tails of the same number of cats by a long string, and made a jingling noise whenever the animals thought proper to divert themselves. Besides these, and as an accompaniment to them, we were favoured with the strains of an organ, which instrument a little boy was placed in a corner of the apartment purposely to turn.

A young Jenna woman came to visit us this forenoon, accompanied by a female friend from Haussa. Her hair was traced with such extraordinary neatness, that we expressed a wish to examine it more minutely. The girl had never beheld such a thing as a white man before, and permission was granted with a great deal of coyness, mixed up perhaps with a small portion of fear, which was apparent as she was slowly untying her turban. No sooner, however, was our curiosity gratified, than a demand of two hundred cowries\* was insisted on by her companion, that, it was alleged, being the price paid in the interior by the male sex to scrutinize a lady's hair. We were obliged to conform to the established custom, at which the women expressed themselves highly delighted. The hair which had excited our admiration was made up in the shape of an hussar's helmet, and very ingeniously traced on the top. Irregular figures were likewise braided on each side of the head, and a band of worked thread, dyed in indigo, encircled it below the natural hair, which seemed by its tightness and closeness to have been glued fast to the skin. This young Jenna woman is by far the most interesting, both in face and form, of any we have seen since our landing, and her prettiness is rendered more engaging by her retiring modesty and perfect artlessness of manners, which, whether observed in black or white, are sure to command the esteem and reverence of the other sex. Her eyelids were stained with a bluish-black powder, her person was excessively clean, and her apparel flowing, neat, and graceful.

We shot a hawk this evening, which was hovering over our house, at the request of several of the natives, who ate the body of the bird, but preserved its head and claws, to render them "keen of eye and swift of foot." The king will not allow us to go to Jenna by the nearest beaten path, on the plea that as sacred fetish land would lie in our way, we should die the moment we should tread upon it.

*Tuesday, March 30th.*—The occurrences of this day may be related in very few words. The pleasantest news we hear is the fact of the King of Jenna having arrived at that town from Katunga. His messenger arrived here this morning, and came to see us in the afternoon, accompanied by a friend. We regaled him with a glass of rum, according to our general custom, the first mouthful whereof he squirted from his own into the mouth of his associate, and *vice versa*. This is the first time we have witnessed this dirty and disgusting practice. The chief sent for us again this afternoon, and summed up the measure of his exorbitant demands by requesting a gun-boat, with a hundred men from England, and a few common tobacco-pipes for his own private use. We could easily give a bill for the former, but the latter we dared not part with at any risk, because, considering the long journey before us, we are convinced we have nothing to spare: indeed, it is our opinion that the presents will all be exhausted long before it be completed. With the same facility we have written a paper for forty ounces of gold, to be distributed among the chiefs of English Town and the rest of our partisans. We had adjusted these little matters to the apparent satisfaction of all parties, when we were most agreeably surprised by an assurance from the chief that we shall quit this place to-morrow afternoon with the newly-arrived Jenna messenger. We are accordingly on the *qui vive*

\* A little Indian shell, the currency of many parts of that country and of the interior of Africa.

in getting every thing in a state of forwardness for our departure; nor can we help wishing, for the sake of our credit, that we may never meet such needy and importunate friends as have pestered us since our residence in this town.

The soil of Badagry consists of a layer of fine whitish sand, over loam, clay, and earth. The sand is so soft and deep that no one can walk on it without considerable labour and difficulty. The natives procure the necessities of life chiefly by fishing and the cultivation of the yam and Indian corn. In the former employment they use nets and spears, and likewise earthen pots, which they bait with palm-nut. These novel instruments are furnished with small apertures, not unlike those of a common wire mouse-trap. Oranges, limes, cocoanuts, plantains, and bananas are produced in abundance in the neighbourhood. The better sort of people are possessed of a small kind of bullock, with sheep, goats, and poultry; the chief himself is a drover and butcher, and when in want of money he orders one of his bullocks to be slaughtered and publicly sold in the market. The dwellings of the inhabitants are neatly constructed of bamboo, and thatched with palm leaves. They contain several apartments, all of them on the ground-floor. Some of the houses or huts are built in the *coozie* form, which is nearly round, and others are in the form of an oblong square: all have excellent yards attached to them, wherein lime-trees and others are planted in rows, and it gives one pleasure to look at the cleanliness and taste which prevail in these courts. The land is excessively fertile; and if the natives could only be induced to lay aside their habitual indolence, and the sluggishness of their characters, and devote a little more attention to the improvement of the soil, the country might soon be brought to an extraordinary pitch of beauty and perfection. As it is, vegetation springs forth spontaneously, is luxuriant even to rankness, and is ever pleasingly verdant.

A singular custom of administering justice prevails at Badagry. It is by means of a large wooden cap, having three corners, which is placed on the head of a culprit at the period of his examination. This fantastic work of mechanism, no doubt, by the structure of internal springs, may be made to move and shake without any visible agent—on the same principle as the enchanted Turk, or any other figure in our puppet-shows. It is believed the native priests alone are in the secret. When this cap is observed to shake while on the head of a suspected person, he is condemned, without further evidence being required; but should it remain without any perceptible motion, his innocence is apparent, and he is forthwith acquitted. The fame of this wonderful cap makes a great fuss in the town, and as many marvellous stories are told of it here as were related in England a century or two ago of the famous brazen head of Roger Bacon.

A respectable man, the chief of French Town, was tried by the ordeal of the cap a short time since, for having, it was alleged, accepted a bribe of the Lagos chieftain to destroy Adooley by poison. The fatal cap was no sooner put on his head than it was observed to move slightly, and then to become more violently agitated. The criminal felt its motion, and was terrified to such a degree that he fell down in a swoon. On awaking, he confessed his guilt, and implored forgiveness, which was granted him by Adooley, because, it was said, of his sorrow and contrition, but really, no doubt, of his birth and connexions.

On the morning of the 31st of March our travellers bade adieu to the chief of Badagry, and between ten and eleven o'clock of the same night set out in King Adooley's war-canoe (lent them for this purpose) on their way towards the Niger.

The canoe, they say was above forty feet in length; it was propelled through the water by poles instead of paddles, and moved slowly and silently along. It was a clear and lovely night; the moon shone glorious "as a silver shield;" and reflecting the starry firmament on the unruffled surface of the water, the real concave of heaven with its reflection seemed to form a perfect world. The scenery on the borders of the river appeared wild and striking, though not magnificent. In the delicious moonshine it was far from uninteresting. The banks were low, and partially covered with stunted trees; but a slave factory, and a fetish hut were the only buildings we observed on them. We could not help admiring at some distance ahead of our canoe, when the windings of the river

would permit, a noble and solitary palm-tree, with its lofty branches bending over the water's edge; to us it was not unlike a majestic plume of feathers, nodding over the head of a beautiful lady. The principal incidents on the passage were the croaking of myriads of frogs, inhabiting small islands in the river, and the chattering and noise of monkeys and parrots kept up among the branches of the trees all day long, until about half past eight in the morning of the first of April we landed in the sight of a great multitude assembled to gaze at us, and passing through a place where a great fair or market is held, and where thousands of people had congregated for the purposes of trade, we entered an extensive and romantic town called *Wow*. The major part of the inhabitants had never before had an opportunity of seeing white men, so that their curiosity, as may be supposed, was excessive.

Two of the principal persons came out to meet us, preceded by men bearing large silk umbrellas, and another playing a horn, which produced such terrible sounds, that we gladly took refuge, as soon as we could, in the chief's house. The apartment into which we were introduced is furnished with a roof precisely like the roof of a common English barn, inverted. In the middle of it, which reached to within a few inches of the floor, a large square hole had been made, to admit air and water to a shrub that was growing directly under it. The most remarkable, if not the only, ornament in the room, was a quantity of human jaw-bones, hung up on the side of the wall like a string of onions. After a formal and most ceremonious introduction, we were liberally regaled with water from a calabash, which is a compliment the natives pay to all strangers, and then shown into a very small apartment. Here my brother endeavoured to procure a little sleep, having remained awake last night; but we were so annoyed by perpetual interruptions and intrusions, the firing of muskets, the garrulity of women, the unceasing squall of children, the drunken petitions of men and boys; and a laugh (but it is quite out of my power to describe it—one that approximates more to the nature of a horse-laugh than any thing I know)—that it was found impossible to close one's eyes.

The market of this place is supplied abundantly with Indian corn, palm oil, &c.; togeter with *trona*,\* and other articles brought hither from the borders of the desert of Zaarha, through the medium of the wandering Arabs. By the regulations of the fetish, neither a white man nor a horse is permitted to sleep at *Wow* during the night season. We know not what is become of the horses; they were to have preceded us to this place by land, but are not yet arrived. With respect to ourselves we shall be obliged to walk to a neighbouring village, and spend the night there. Our course to this town through this creek, was N. by E., and Badagry is distant from it about thirty miles, by the route we have come.

A violent thunder-storm, which is called a tornado on the coast, visited us this afternoon, and confined us to the "worst hut's worst room," till it had subsided, and the weather became finer. At three P. M. we sallied forth, and presently were greeted with hootings, groans, and hallooings, from a multitude of people of all ages—from a child to its grandmother, and they followed close at our heels as we went along, filling the air with their laughter and raillery. A merry-andrew at a country town in England, during the Whitsun holydays, never excited so great a stir as did our departure from *Wow* this afternoon. But it is "fool's day," and some allowance ought to be made for that, no doubt. We had not proceeded more than a dozen paces from the outskirts of the town, when we were visited by a pelting shower, which wetted us to the skin in a moment. A gutter or hollow, misnamed a pathway, was soon overflowed; and we had to wade in it up to our knees in water, and through a most melancholy-looking forest, before we entered a village. It is called *Sagbu*, and is about eight miles from *Wow*. We were dripping wet on our arrival, and the weather still continuing unpleasant, it was some time before any one made his appearance to invite us into a hut. At length the chief came out to welcome us to his village, and immediately introduced us into a long narrow apartment, wherein we are to

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\* A vegetable alkali.

take up our quarters for the night. It is built of clay, and is furnished with two apertures to admit light and air into the room. One end of it was occupied with a number of noisy goats, while we took possession of the other. Paskoe\* and his wife are lying on mats at our feet; and a Toby Philpot, with his ruddy cheek and jug of ale, belonging to the chief, separates them from the goats. The remainder of our people have nowhere to sleep. The walls of our apartment are ornamented with strings of dry, rattling human bones, written charms, or fetishes, sheep-skins, and bows and arrows. We did not repose near so comfortably as could have been desired, owing to the swarms of musquitoes and black ants, which treated us very despitely till morning.

*Friday, April 2d.*—Between six and seven o'clock A. M., we continued our route through woods, and large open patches of ground, and at about eleven in the forenoon, arrived at the borders of a deep glen, more wild, romantic, and picturesque than can be conceived. It is enclosed and overhung on all sides by trees of amazing height and dimensions, which hide it in deep shadow. Fancy might picture a spot so silent and solemn as this as the abode of genii and fairies; every thing conducing to render it grand, melancholy, and venerable; and the glen only wants an old dilapidated castle, a rock with a cave in it, or something of the kind, to render it the most interesting place in the universe. There was one beautiful sight, however, which we would not omit mentioning for the world;—it was that of an incredible number of butterflies, fluttering about us like a swarm of bees. They had chosen this, no doubt, as a place of refuge against the fury of the elements. They were variegated by the most brilliant tints and colourings imaginable—the wings of some were of a shining green, edged and sprinkled with gold; others were of sky-blue and silver; others of purple and gold delightfully blending into each other; and the wings of some were like dark silk velvet, trimmed and braided with lace.

To revert from insects to men: our followers formed a group, at once savage and imposing. As they winded down the paths of the glen, with their grotesque clothing and arms, bundles, and fierce black countenances, they might be mistaken for a strange band of ruffians of the most fearful character. Besides our own, we had hired twenty men of Adooley to carry the luggage, as there are no beasts of burden in the country.† Being all assembled at the bottom of the glen, we found that a long and dangerous bog or swamp, filled with putrid water and the decaying remains of vegetable substances, intersected our path, and must necessarily be crossed. Boughs of trees had been thrown into the swamp by some good-natured people to assist travellers in the attempt, so that our men, furnishing themselves with long poles, which they used as walking-sticks, with much difficulty and exertion succeeded in getting over, and fewer accidents occurred to them than could have been supposed possible from the nature of the slough. For my own part, I was taken on the back of a large and powerful man, of amazing strength. His brawny shoulders supported me without any apparent fatigue on his part; and he carried me through bog and water, and over branches of trees no bigger than a man's leg, rendered slippery with mud, in safety to the opposite side. Although he walked as fast and with as much ease as his companions, he did not lay me down for twenty minutes, the swamp being, as nearly as we could guess, a full quarter of a mile in length. We then walked to a small village called *Basha*; whence without stopping we continued our journey, and about four in the afternoon passed through another village, somewhat larger than the former, which is called *Soato*. Here we found ourselves so much exhausted with over-fatigue and want of food, that we were compelled to sit down and rest awhile, and here—

“Naked youths and painted chiefs admire  
Our speech, our colour, and our strange attire.”

But they are a very uncourteous and clownish race, and teased us so much with their rudeness and begging propensities, that we were glad to be rid of them by

\* One of the Landers' attendants.

† Burdens of all kinds are invariably carried on the head by the people of Yariba, and the natives of various other countries in Africa.

setting out again. Having passed two other swamps in the same manner as we had done before, we were completely tired and could go no farther; for we had been walking all day, in an intricate, miserable path, sometimes exposed to the sun, and sometimes threading our way through a tangled wood. It is now six o'clock in the evening—our people are gone to the next town to fetch the horses, which Adooley promised should meet us yesterday; and my brother and I are resting by ourselves under a grove of trees, which is in the neighbourhood of a body of stagnant water, wherein women are bathing and casting sidelong glances at us. It is a low, marshy, and unwholesome spot, and it is extremely probable that we shall be obliged to sleep here on the grass all night; but what can we do? The village, it is true, is not many miles ahead, but then we are unable to walk.

*Saturday, April 3d.*—We had made fires of dried wood and fallen leaves last evening, and had prepared to repose for the night under a canopy of trees, and were in fact actually stretched at full length on the turf for that purpose, when we were agreeably surprised by the arrival of four of our men from the village with hammocks; for though sleeping in the open air, with "heaven for one's canopy," in a dark wood, and all that, may be very pretty in description, yet in reality nothing can be more disagreeable; for the crawling of ants, black worms, &c. over one's face disperses the most enchanting reverie. These hammocks were highly acceptable, and we were lifted into them with very grateful feelings. It is pleasant, too, after a long day's journey on foot, to be carried along so easily on one's back, to see parrots and other solemn birds perched on the branches of very tall trees, while the trees themselves seem capering away from one most surprisingly; as well as to gaze on the cheerful moon, and admire all the host of heaven.

After a charming journey of eight or ten miles, we entered the large and populous town of *Bidjie*. About a quarter of a mile from the town we were met by a fellow with a cow's horn, who, chiming in with a trumpeter that had accompanied us from Wow, produced a harmony surpassing all that had preceded it. Two men followed the *Bidjie* musician with umbrellas of variegated silk, and, thus honoured and escorted, we were set down, amid a crowd of people, in the centre of the town. As usual, the natives testified the wild delight they felt at our visit by clapping of hands and loud bursts of laughter. Presently, at the noise of three or four drums, which was a signal that the chief was prepared to receive us, the multitude quitted us simultaneously, and rushed to the spot where he was sitting, and to which also we were desired to proceed. The chief shook hands with us in great good-humour, and we remarked with pleasure, or fancied we could, that not only his laugh, but that of his people, was a more social and civilized kind of sound than what of late we had been accustomed to hear. Nevertheless, when I shook hands with the chief's son, which act is not very diverting in itself, the bystanders set up so general a roar of laughter, that the town rang with the noise; and when I ventured further to place my hand on his head, they were yet more amazingly tickled, and actually

"Shriek'd like mandrakes torn out of the earth."

As soon as the ceremony of introduction was over, and the admiration of the people was confined within rational bounds, we wished the chief a pleasant night's rest, and were conducted into a comfortable, airy hut, which had a verandah in front. Shortly afterwards he sent us a goat for supper.

We were in momentary expectation of hearing something from our horses from *Badagry* the whole of the morning and afternoon, and have indeed waited here at *Bidjie* to-day for that purpose. But just about sunset two fellows arrived from *Badagry* with the mortifying intelligence that our horses would not remain on the water in canoes, but having upset one of them and kicked out the bottom of another, had swam on shore and been led back to *Badagry*. We are persuaded that this story has been made up for the occasion, and thus by the bad faith of Adooley are we deprived of our horses. My brother paid eighty dollars for one of the animals, but Adooley has forgotten to return the coin, and has likewise kept for his own use a couple of saddles which we purchased at *Accra*.

Late in the evening our expected carriers arrived with the luggage, some of which has been wetted and damaged in the marshes. We are informed that horses will be sent us from Jenna to-morrow. My brother has been amusing himself the greater part of this afternoon in teaching the simple-hearted chief to play on a child's penny Jew's-harp, many of which we have brought with us as presents; but his proficiency, owing to a wonderfully capacious mouth and teeth of extraordinary size, has not been near so flattering as could have been wished. His people, however, who had assembled in great numbers, were of a different opinion, and when they heard their chief draw the first sound from the little instrument,

"Shouts of applause ran rattling to the skies."

Turnpikes are as common from Badagry to this place as on any public road in England. Instead of horses, carriages, &c., people carrying burdens alone are taxed; but as we are under protection of the government, no duty has been exacted for any of our things.

*Sunday, April 4th.*—We arose at sunrise this morning to make arrangements for leaving this place, which is no easy task; and sent to signify our intention to the chief shortly after. He expressed a desire to see us as soon as we could conveniently come; and accordingly after breakfast we repaired to his habitation, which is adjoining ours. Led through a number of yards and huts, inhabited only by goats and sheep, which were tethered to posts, and a quantity of tame pigeons, we perceived the object of our visit squatting on a leopard's skin under a decent looking verandah. He was surrounded by his drummers and other distinguished persons, who made room for us as we drew near. But the chief arose as soon as he saw us, and beckoning to us to follow him, we were ushered through a labyrinth of low huts, and still lower doors, till at last we entered the innermost apartment of the whole suit, and here we were requested to sit down and drink rum. The doors we had seen were carved with figures of men, which exactly resembled certain rude attempts at portraying the human body which may still be observed in several old churches and chapels in the west of England. The chief informed us that we were at liberty to quit Bidjie as soon as the heat of the sun should have somewhat abated, but previous to our departure he promised to return our visit. On leaving the place he followed us, though without our knowledge; but finding that we walked faster than he, and that he could not keep pace with us, (for he is a bulky man,) he hastily despatched a messenger to inform us that kings always walk with a slow and measured step, and that our strides being long and vulgar, he would thank us to lessen our speed, and stop awhile to enable him to come up with us, which of course we agreed to with great good-will. A few minutes after this he reached our house, dressed in a robe of green silk damask, very rich and showy, and a scull-cap made of purple and crimson velvet. With the exception of strings of white beads, which encircled his arms, he used no personal ornaments. He remained chatting with us a long time.

Many of the women of Bidjie have the flesh on their foreheads risen in the shape of marbles, and their cheeks similarly cut up and deformed. The lobes of their ears are likewise pierced, and the holes made surprisingly large, for the insertion of pieces of ivory and wood into them, which is a prevailing fashion with all ranks. We read the church service this morning, agreeably to our general custom. The natives, of whose society we have never been able to rid ourselves, seemed to attach great awe and reverence to our form of worship, for we had made them understand what we were going about, which induced them to pay a high degree of silent attention to the ceremony, and set at rest, for the time, that peculiar continuous laugh by which they are distinguished from their neighbours. In the afternoon, or, as the natives express it, "when the sun had lost his strength," we departed from the town of Bidjie, accompanied by its good-natured, happy governor, and reached the banks of a rivulet called *Yow* in a very few minutes. Butterflies were here more numerous than can be imagined; millions of them fluttered round us, and literally hid from our sight every thing but their own variegated and beautiful wings.

Here on the banks of the Yow we took a last farewell of the affectionate old chief, who implored the "Great God" to bless us; and as the canoes in which we had embarked moved from the spot, a loud long laugh, with clapping of hands from the lower classes, evinced the satisfaction they felt at having seen us, and their hearty wishes for our welfare. The Yow is an extremely narrow rivulet, not more than a few feet in breadth; and flows in a serpentine direction through a flat country, covered with rushes and tall rank grass. Crocodiles are said to resort here in great numbers; the low bark or growl of these rapacious animals we heard distinctly, and almost close to us.

After we had been pushed along against the stream by poles for five or six miles, between four and five o'clock in the afternoon we landed at a narrow creek, which ran a little way into a thick and gloomy forest. We had not proceeded more than two hundred yards on the pathway, when we were met by a messenger from Jenna, who informed us that the owners of all the horses in the town had rode out to welcome their chief, and escort him to his residence, so that we should be obliged to walk the remainder of the way. A few minutes only had elapsed, however, from this time, before we descried a horse approaching us in the path. This was a goodly sight to us, who were already becoming wearied and sore with the exertions we had made during the day, for we did not reflect a moment that the animal might not, after all, be for our use. However, we soon met, and the rider immediately declared that he had left Jenna purposely on our account. The horse's head was loaded with charms and fetishes, enveloped in pieces of red and blue cloth. His saddle was of Haussa manufacture, and uncommonly neat; in the interior such an article is used only by the principal people; and his bridle also was of curious workmanship. The horseman had an extravagant idea of his own consequence, and seemed a prodigious boaster. He wore abundance of clothing, most of which was superfluous, but it made him excessively vain. He informed us that he had been despatched by the king of Jenna to meet us in the path, and to escort us to the capital; but understanding that Adooley had supplied us with horses, he did not conceive it necessary to send others. The messenger, however, dismounted and offered us his horse; and my brother and self agreed to ride him in turns. We therefore immediately proceeded, and traversed a rich and varied country, abounding plentifully with wood and water. A fine red sand covered the pathway, which we found to be in much better condition than any we had before seen. Sometimes it wound through an open, level tract of fine grazing land; and then again it diverged through forests so thick and deep that the light of the moon, which had arisen, was unable to penetrate the gloom, and we were frequently left in midnight darkness. It would require greater powers than we are in possession of to give an adequate description of the magnificence, solemnity, and desolate repose of the awful solitudes through which we passed this evening. They were enlightened, however at times, by the appearance of glowworms, which were so luminous that one could almost see to read by their golden splendour; and sometimes by the moonbeams, which trembled upon the leaves and branches of the trees. A fragrance also was exhaled from the forest, more odoriferous than the perfume of primroses or violets; and one might almost fancy, while threading his way through scenery which perhaps cannot be surpassed for beauty in any part of the world, that he was approaching those eternal shades where in ancient time the souls of good men were supposed to wander. The woods rang with the songs of insects and night-birds, which saluted us with little intermission till about ten o'clock at night, when we entered *Laatoo*, a large and pleasant town. Here we were informed that no house would be offered us, the fetish-priest having declared that the moment a white man should enter the dwellings of the inhabitants, they would be seized by their enemies and enslaved. We arrived thirsty and exhausted, but for a long time could not procure even a drop of water. Our tent had been left on the road for want of carriers, and we had made up our minds to rest under a tree, when about two hours afterward it was fortunately brought into the town. We fixed it immediately, and having succeeded in procuring wood from the unkind inhabitants, we kindled a fire in front of it, and our people laid themselves in groups outside, while we entered, and attempted vainly to sleep.

*Monday, April 5th.*—Before sunrise this morning we were all on the alert, and struck the tent at a very early hour. We then sent the carriers onward with the luggage, and hastily left the town after them, without bidding adieu either to the chief or any of his people, on account of their inhospitality; and in an hour's time reached the extensive and important town of *Larro*. On dismounting, we were first led to a large, cleanly-swept square, wherein is preserved the fetish of the place, which is the model of a canoe, having three wooden figures with paddles in it. After waiting in the shade for an hour, surrounded by an immense multitude of people of all ages, the chief's approach was announced by a general rush from our quarters to the other end of the square, where he was walking. We went towards him in order to pay him the accustomed salutation of shaking hands, &c.; but one of his followers, fancying that I kept his master's hand clasped in mine longer than the occasion might warrant, looked fiercely in my face, and snatched away my hand, eagerly and roughly, without, however, uttering a word. I could have pulled the fellow's ears with the greatest good-will in the world, had not the fear of secret revenge deterred me. As it was, I smothered my rising choler, and with my brother quietly followed the chief to his principal hut, under whose verandah we were served with goora-nuts in a huge pewter platter. Presently the chief squatted himself down on a handsome rush mat of native manufacture, and we were desired to sit by him on an elegant Turkey carpet which had been laid there for the purpose. He was rather fancifully dressed; and wore two tobies, that nearest the skin being of black silk velvet, and the other crimson velvet lined with sarsenet. His boots were of yellow leather, neatly worked; and his wrists were loaded with bracelets of silver and copper. The chief's countenance betrayed much seriousness and solidity; and the diverting laugh of his countrymen was superseded by a sober cheerfulness. Many of his wives sat behind him in lines—some of whom were of a bright copper color; indeed, great numbers of the inhabitants of *Larro* have fairer complexions than mulattoes. The yard of the hut was crammed full of curious and inquisitive people, who stood with open mouth during the whole of the audience. The chief wished to impress strongly on our minds his own dignity and power; he said he was greater than the Governor of *Jemma*, inasmuch as the latter was a slave to the King of *Katunga*, but himself was a freeman. He would give us permission to depart to-morrow, he continued; and in the meantime would supply us with provisions. The chief was as good as his word, for shortly after we had quitted the hut we received a goat and some yams; and he returned our visit in the cool of the evening. It appears that it is not his general practice to drink spirituous liquors in the presence of his people, or it may be against the law to do so; for having carefully excluded all prying eyes from our dwelling, and ordered a mat to be hung over the doorway, he even then turned his face to the wall, whenever he attempted to swallow the brandy we offered him. He remained with us rather better than an hour. We have forgotten to mention, that on our presentation to the chief in the morning, a chapter from the *Koran* was repeated to him by a Mohammedan priest, to which both he and his people seemed to pay great respect and attention.

Public schools are established here for the avowed purpose of teaching the rising generation the rudiments of the Mohammedan religion.

A singular custom prevails in the town, of compelling children at the breast to swallow a quantity of cold water from a calabash. An infant was nearly choked this afternoon by the injection of more than a pint of water down its throat. Whether mothers follow this custom for the purpose of curing children of any imaginary complaints, or, as is more probable, in the hope of rendering them less eager for their natural food, we have not ascertained.

The inhabitants possess horses, asses, and mules, though not in considerable numbers; they have, however, great abundance of sheep and goats, which are bred in the town; and their yards and huts are the common place of resort for these animals—indeed they may be said to grow up and live with the children of their owners.

We have observed the country to be sensibly rising to-day; and agriculture



appears to be conducted on a regular system, which is an evident proof of the active and industrious habits of the people. The gloomy fastnesses and wildnesses of nature, such as we passed on the first day or two of our journey from Badagry, are less common as we advance; and open glades, with plantations of bananas, and fields of yams and Indian corn, all neatly fenced, met our view from the path yesterday and this morning. The inhabitants of Larro also exhibit greater cleanliness of person and tidiness of apparel than the tribes nearer the sea; and importunate beggars have disappeared entirely.

*Tuesday, April 6th.*—The sun had scarcely risen above the horizon, and the mists of the morning yet hung upon the hills, when we quitted the town of Larro, and pursued our journey on horseback. Three horsemen from Jenna followed us on the path, and we were enlivened by the wild jingling of their animal's bells, till we got within a mile of that town, where we alighted at a kind of turnpike, and fired a salute of two muskets. Here we were met by a parcel of fellows with horns, who blew on them with the accustomed energy of the natives: these men preceded us over a bridge, which is thrown across a moat that surrounds Jenna, into the centre of the town, where we alighted, and waited the chief's pleasure in an open shed. We had not been seated many moments before an immense crowd of people pressed in upon us on every side, subjecting us to the accustomed inconveniences of want of air, strong, unwholesome smells, and a confused hubbub that defies description. Never were people more eager to behold us. The little ones formed themselves into a ring close to the shed, then followed those of maturer age, after them came a still older class, and the last circle consisted of people as tall as steeples, most of whom held infants in their arms. Altogether was formed a large amphiatre of black woolly heads and teeth set in jetty faces; and although we felt rather annoyed at their innocent curiosity, and were obliged to wait a considerable time for the new chief, we could not help being highly diverted with the spectacle around us. At length, to our great relief and joy, news was brought that he was ready to receive us. Such is the etiquette here, that the longer a stranger is compelled to wait to be introduced, the greater is the honor done him, and the higher is the rank of that person supposed to be who exacts this unpleasant delay. We discovered the chief, or rather governor, sitting on a piece of leather, under a large verandah, at one end of a commodious square yard. He was clad in the prevailing finery of crimson velvet robe and cap, both edged with gold lace. At his right hand sat his wives and women, and we were desired to place ourselves on his left. The women sang the praises of their master in a loud unpleasant voice, in which they were assisted by the music (equally unharmonious) of drums, fifes, clarionets, and horns. On our wishing the chief all the happiness in the world, those that had flocked into the yard after us, and every one near him, prostrated themselves on the ground and clapped their hands. Goora-nuts were presented us in water, and a profusion of compliments passed on both sides; but the dignity of the newly-made governor seemed to sit rather awkwardly upon him, for he was shy and bashful as a maiden, and really appeared agitated and afraid of his white-faced visitants. Strange as it may seem, the patience of the most patient people in the world was completely exhausted, as might be seen by their desertion of the premises before we quitted them, notwithstanding the few words that had passed between the chief and ourselves. The ceremony of introduction being over, we bade adieu to the chief, and having visited the grave of Dr. Morrison in our way, repaired to a hut which had been got ready for our reception.

The former governor of Jenna, who, it will be recollected, treated the gentlemen composing the last mission so handsomely, died about fifteen months ago, and the King of Yarriba chose one of the meanest of his slaves as his successor. This is an invariable rule with the sovereigns of that country of which Jenna is a province; for they fear that, its distance from the capital being very great, a person of higher rank, if possessed of talents and spirit, could easily influence the natives to throw off the yoke, and declare themselves independent of Yarriba. The present governor is a Haussa man, and was raised to the dignity he now holds, in all probability, on account of his childish simplicity and artlessness;

for a person with a countenance more indicative of innocence, and perhaps stupidity also, we never recollect to have seen. The qualities of his heart, however, are said to be excellent, and his manners are mild and amiable. He had been twelve months in coming from Katunga to this place, being under the necessity of stopping at every town between Jenna and his capital to receive the applauses and congratulations of the inhabitants and to join in their festivities and amusements. He did not make his entry here till yesterday.

It is related in Captain Clapperton's journal than one of old Pascoe's wives eloped from him in Katunga, while he was asleep, taking with her the trinkets Mrs. Belzoni had given him, and that she was never afterwards heard of. This woman had the effrontery to introduce herself into our house to-day with an infant, whereof she asserted with warmth that Pascoe was the father, and that she was determined to leave it upon his hands. She had prevailed upon a number of Hausa females to accompany her, that they might endeavor to induce her *quondam* husband, who is a countryman of theirs, to receive the child, and make up the breach between them; but the infant not being more than nine, or at most twelve months old, and three or four years having elapsed since the elopement took place, we were convinced, independently of the age and infirmities of Pascoe, that it could by no rule of law be his. Accordingly, notwithstanding the uproar occasioned by the women's tongues, (which is no small matter in any part of the world,) the mother, with her spurious offspring, and the ladies that came to aid and abet her imposition, were turned out of the yard without any ceremony, to the great relief of Pascoe and his present rib, who felt rather uncomfortable while the palaver was carrying on.

The fetich priest of the town came dancing into our hut this afternoon, (April 7th,) looking exceedingly wild and roaring as if possessed by an evil spirit. We paid little attention to the fellows' fooleries, who, not liking his reception, left the hut, after we had given him the accustomed fee of a few cowries. The man's person and dress, together with its whimsical ornaments, were admirably fitted to impose on the credulity and superstition of the inhabitants, though many of the town's people, influenced perhaps by the spreading doctrines of Mahomet, spoke their minds pretty freely, calling him a scoundrel and a devil. There was something peculiar in the priest's countenance that we could not define. On his shoulders he bore a large club, carved at one end with the figure of a man's head. A vast number of strings of cowries were suspended on this weapon, which were intermixed with bells, broken combs, small pieces of wood, with rude imitations of men's faces cut on them, large sea-shells, bits of iron and brass, nut shells, &c. &c. Perhaps the number of cowries on his person did not fall far short of twenty thousand; and the weight of his various ornaments almost pressed him to the ground. After this fellow had left our apartment, three or four others came to torment us with drums, whistles, and horns, and began and ended the evening's serenade to their own infinite delight and satisfaction. The native drum answers the purpose of a tambarine and bagpipe as well, and is of peculiar formation. Its top is encircled with little brass bells, and is played upon with one hand, while the fingers of the other are employed at the same time in tapping on its surface. The instrument itself is held under the left arm, but instead of an outer wooden case, strings alone are used from end to end, which being pressed against the musician's side, sounds somewhat similar to those of the Scotch bagpipe, but very inferior, are produced. The drummers, with their companions of the horns and whistles, subsist entirely on the charity of the public, who require their services on all occasions of general merriment and jollity.

We were witnesses this morning, (April 8th,) to a specimen of native tumbling and dancing, with the usual accompaniments of vocal and instrumental music. By far the most diverting part of the entertainment was the dancing; but even this did not answer the expectations we had formed of it. The performers were liberally supplied with country beer, and, like most amusements of the kind, they ended this with wrangling and intoxication. The fellows that accompanied us as guides from Badagry, who in their native place would sell their birth-right for a glass of rum, have now washed themselves and thrown aside their

raggs, appearing at all public places in borrowed finery. They now never leave their habitations without Adooley's sword, which they have with them, and a host of followers. This morning they attended the celebration of the games, in showy apparel, with silk umbrellas held over their heads, and among other articles of dress, the principal of them wore an immense drab-colored Quaker's hat, of the coarsest quality. They will scarcely deign to speak to a poor man.

We learn with regret that all the horses of the late governor of Jenna were interred, according to custom, with the corpse of their master; and we begin to be apprehensive that we shall be obliged to walk the whole of the way to Katinga, as the present ruler is not the owner of a single beast of burden. This piece of ill news was carefully withheld from us till after the presents had all been duly delivered to the governor and his head men; but the latter alone are to blame in this instance. Matters being in this unpleasant state, we have sent a messenger to the chief of Larro, to inform him of the circumstance, and entreat him to redeem his promise of lending us a horse or a mule; and another to Adooley, requesting him to despatch immediately one of our horses, at least, from Badagry, for that we have found it impossible to do without him. But whether the latter will accede to it or not remains to be seen. We do not think that he will; and yet we can hardly imagine he will carry his chicanery so far, because he *must* fear that the variety of orders we have given him to receive valuable presents from England will never be honored by our countrymen if he refuses to fulfil his engagements to us.

This evening a corpse was interred at a short distance from our dwelling, and the friends of the deceased have been employed more than an hour in bewailing their loss. The low plaintive noise they make sounds dolefully in our hut, and it has a very sorrowful and depressing effect on our spirits.

We have been pretty busily engaged during the whole of the afternoon in writing letters and despatches for England. They will be forwarded by Adooley, as soon as possible, to Cape Coast Castle. The Badagrian guides and carriers will return home to-morrow, to our great relief, for they have been a constant trouble, and have harassed us from morning till night.

*Friday, April 9th.*—Since the demise of the late governor, it is calculated that Jenna has lost more than five hundred of its population, chiefly by wars, intestine broils, &c., and for want of a ruler. It must not be imagined, however, that because the people of this country are almost perpetually engaged in conflicts with their neighbors, the slaughter of human beings is therefore very great. They pursue war, as it is called, partly as an amusement, or to "keep their hands in;" and partly to benefit themselves by the capture of slaves. As we were sailing down the coast, we were told that the natives of Cape La Hoo and Jack-a-Jack had been warring for three years previously, and were still at variance; but, during that long period, only one single decrepit old woman, who found it no easy matter to run as fast as her countrymen, was left behind, and became the solitary victim of a hundred engagements. Much after the same fashion are the bloodless wars of Jenna. Success depends much more on the cunning and address of the parties, than on any extraordinary display of intrepidity; and living, not dead, subjects are sought after; so that it is their *interest* to avoid hard blows, and enrich themselves by the sale of their prisoners. Perhaps the extraordinary decrease in the population of Jenna has arisen from the desertion of slaves, who embrace the opportunity, while their masters are from home engaged in predatory excursions, of running away; thus the latter frequently become losers, instead of gainers, by their unnatural passion for stealing their fellow-creatures. The individuals captured are sent to the coast, and the chiefs of those unsettled and barbarous tribes that inhabit it are appointed agents to regulate the sale of them, for which they receive half the profits.

Late in the evening the young Falatah, mentioned in yesterday's journal, paid us a visit, and offered his horse for sale. He is a Mohammedan priest, and was accompanied by a countryman of the same persuasion; but neither of the holy men appeared in their dealing to understand the meaning of truth or justice. An agreement was made, and we paid thirty dollars. The merchant implored us not to tell his father, who was the real owner of the horse, that he had

sold him for less money than he had received; and in this request he was seconded by his more venerable friend; because, he said, he wanted a small sum for his private use, which he knew his parent would refuse him. The words were hardly out of their mouths before the two Mussulmans publicly went through their ablutions in front of our house, turning their faces to the east, they seemed to pray very devoutly to the founder of their faith. When this was concluded, they sang us an Arabic hymn with very great solemnity, and the whole had an immediate and wonderful effect on the feelings of many of their followers in the yard, who, mistaking loudness of voice for fervor, and hypocritical seriousness for piety, made the two worshippers a present of money.

The women of Jenna employ themselves generally in spinning cotton or preparing Indian corn for food. Much of the former material grows in the vicinity of the town, but the cultivation of the plant is not carried on with the spirit it deserves. Silk, which is brought over land from Tripoli, the inhabitants sometimes interweave in their cotton garments, but such, being very expensive, are only worn by the higher class of people. They have abundance of bullocks, pigs, goats, sheep, and poultry, but they prefer vegetable food to animal; their diet, indeed, is what we should term poor and watery, consisting chiefly of preparations of the yam and of Indian corn; notwithstanding which a stronger or more athletic race of people is no where to be met with. Burdens with them, as with the natives of many parts of the continent, are invariably carried on the head; which, it is more than likely, occasions that dignified uprightness of form and stateliness of walk so often spoken of by those acquainted with the pleasing peculiarities of the African female. The weight of a feather is borne on the head in preference to its being carried in the hand; and it not unfrequently requires the united strength of three men to lift a calabash of goods from the ground to the shoulder of one; and then, and not till then, does the amazing strength of the African appear. The greater part of the inhabitants of Jenna have the hair of their heads and their eyebrows shaven; but the governor's *ministers* and servants wear their hair in the shape of a horse shoe, as a mark of distinction. It is confined to the crown of the head by large daubs of indigo, and, none of the people presuming to imitate it, answers the purpose of a livery.

It is the custom here, when a governor dies, for two of his favorite wives to quit the world on the same day, in order that he may have a little pleasant social company in a future state; but the late governor's devoted wives had no ambition or inclination to follow their venerable husband to the grave, and went and hid themselves before the funeral ceremonies were performed, and have remained concealed ever since, with the remainder of his women. To-day, however, one of these unfortunates, (she to whom our house belongs,) was discovered in her hiding place at the present governor's, and the alternative of a poisoned chalice, or to have her head broken by the club of the fetish priest, was offered her. She has chosen the former mode of dying, as being the less terrible of the two, and has come to our yard to spend her last hours in the society of her faithful slaves. These address their mistress by the endearing name of mother. Poor creatures! as soon as they learned her misfortune they dropped their spinning; the grinding of corn was also relinquished; their sheep, goats, and poultry, were suffered to roam at large without restraint; and they abandoned themselves to the most excessive, most poignant grief; but now the arrival of their mistress has added, if possible, to their affliction. There is not to be found in the world, perhaps, an object more truly sorrowful than a lonely, defenceless woman in tears; and on such an occasion as this it may easily be conceived, the distress is more peculiarly cutting. A heart that could not be touched at a scene of this nature, must be unfeeling indeed. Females have been coming all day to condole with the old lady, and to weep with her; so that we have heard nothing but sobbing and crying from morning till the setting sun. The principal males in the town have likewise been here to pay their last respects to their mistress; and so has her gravedigger, who has just risen from prostrating himself on the ground before her. Notwithstanding the representations and remonstrances of the priest, and the prayers of the venerable victim to her gods for fortitude to undergo the dreadful ordeal, her resolution has forsaken her more

than once. She has entered our yard twice to expire in the arms of her women, and twice has she laid aside the fatal poison in order to take another walk, and gaze once more on the splendor of the sun and the glory of the heavens; for she cannot bear the idea of losing sight of them forever. She is still restless and uneasy, and would gladly run away from death, if she durst; for that imaginary being appears to her in a more terrible light than our pictures represent him, with his shadowy form and fatal dart. Die she must, and she knows it; nevertheless she will tenaciously cling to life to the very last moment. Meanwhile her grave is preparing, and preparations are making for a wake at her funeral. She is to be buried here in one of her own huts, the moment after the spirit has quitted her body, which will be ascertained by striking the ground near which it may be lying at the time; when, if no motion or struggle ensues, the old woman will be considered as dead. The poison used by the natives on this occasion destroys life, it is said, in fifteen minutes.

The reason of our not meeting with a better reception at Laato, when we slept there, was the want of a chief to that town, the last having followed the old governor of Jenna to the eternal shades, for he was his slave. Widows are burnt in India, just as they are poisoned or *clubbed* here; but in the former country, I believe, no male victims are destroyed on such occasions. The *origin* of this abominable custom is understood to have arisen from a dread on the part of the chiefs of the country, in olden time, that their principal wives, who alone were in possession of their confidence, and knew where their money was concealed, might secretly attempt their life, in order at once to establish their own freedom, and become possessed of the property. That, far from having any motives to destroy her husband, a woman might, on the contrary, have a strong inducement to cherish him as long as possible, the existence of the wife was made to depend entirely on that of her lord; and this custom has been handed down from father to son, even to the present time. But why men also, who can have no interest to gain on the death of their prince, should be obliged to conform to the same rite is not near so easily accounted for. The present governor of Jenna must of necessity go down to the grave on the first intelligence of the demise of the King of Yarriba; and as that monarch is a very aged man, the situation of the former is not the most enviable in the world.

Previous to her swallowing the poison, the favorite wife of the deceased chief or ruler destroys privately all the wealth, or rather money, of her former partner, in order that it may not fall into the hands of his successor. The same custom is observed at Badagry also; and although the king's son may be of age at the period of his father's death, he inherits his authority and influence only. He is left to his own sagacity and exertions to procure wealth, which can seldom be obtained without rapine, enslavement, and bloodshed.

Whenever a town is deprived of its chief, the inhabitants acknowledge no law—anarchy, troubles, and confusion immediately prevail, and till a successor is appointed, all labor is at an end. The stronger oppress the weak, and consummate every species of crime, without being amenable to any tribunal for their actions. Private property is no longer respected; and thus, before a person arrives to curb its licentiousness, a town is not unfrequently reduced from a flourishing state of prosperity and of happiness to all the horrors of desolation.

*Sunday, April 11th.*—This being Easter-day, we have devoted it exclusively to religious purposes. The messenger whom we sent to Badagry for our horse is not yet returned, although he promised to be back in four days from the time of his departure. He has exceeded the given time by a whole day, and as the man is a native of Badagry, we have given up all hopes of again seeing either him, or the horse, or the message-sword we lent him as a token that he had been sent by us. We have received positive assurances that leave will be granted us to depart hence on Tuesday next; but as we have one horse only, we shall be obliged to take it in turns to ride, or procure a hammock, which will be a difficult thing to get, and very expensive.

The old queen-dowager, like Prior's thief,

"Often takes leave, but seems loath to depart."

Although her doom is inevitably sealed, she has been more cheerful to-day than yesterday, and seems determined to spin out her thread of life to its utmost limit. Spies are now set over her, and she is not permitted to go out of the yard.

*Monday, April 12th.*—Nothing deserving particular notice has occurred to-day. We had the customary visit to our yard of a long line of women, who come every morning, with rueful countenances and streaming eyes, to lament the approaching death of the old widow. They weep, they beat their breasts and tear their hair, they moan, and exhibit all manner of violent affliction at the expected deprivation. Perhaps their sorrow is sincere, perhaps it is feigned. At all events, their transports are ungoverned and outrageous; the first woman in the line begins the cry, and it is instantly followed by the other voices; the opening notes of the lamentation are rather low and mournful, the last wild and piercing.

The principal people of the place, finding the old lady still obstinately bent on deferring her *exit*, have sent a messenger to her native village to make known to her relatives that should she make her escape, they will take all of them into slavery, and burn their town to ashes, in conformity to an established and very ancient law. They would therefore strongly advise the relatives of the old woman, for their own sakes, and the sake of the public, to use all their endeavors to prevail upon her to meet her fate honorably and with fortitude. A deputation is expected from the village to-morrow, when, no doubt, after a good deal of crying, and condoling, and talking, and persuading, the matter will eventually be decided against the old lady. It is understood that she has bribed a few of the most opulent and influential inhabitants of Jenna, with large sums of money, to induce them to overlook her dereliction from the path of duty, and that, by their representations, she has obtained the tacit consent of the King of Katunga to live out the full term of her natural life. But the people, for many miles round, horror-struck at such impiety and contempt of ancient customs, have risen to enforce the laws of the country against her.

*Tuesday, April 13th.*—Last night we were visited by one of those terrific thunder storms which are so prevalent in these latitudes. Our thatched hut afforded but an insecure and uncertain asylum against its fury; part of the roof was swept away, and the rain admitted freely upon our beds, whence the most awful lightning-flashes could be seen, making, as Milton says, "the darkness visible." It seemed as if the genius of the storm was driving through the murky clouds in his chariot of fire, to awaken the slumbering creation, and make them feel and acknowledge his power. It is indeed a grand lesson to human pride, to contemplate the terrors of a tornado through the trembling walls and roof of a gloomy, dilapidated hut in Africa. In civilized countries, when men are visited by an awful calamity of this kind, the distinctions of rank are levelled, and numbers flock together for the purpose of keeping each other in countenance, and strengthening each other's nerves; but here all is naked, lonely, and desolate.

We passed the night, as may be supposed, uncomfortably enough. The roof of our dwelling had long been infested with numbers of rats and mice, and these vermin, being dislodged from their haunts by the violence of the wind and rain, sought immediate shelter between our bedclothes, and to this very serious inconvenience was added another still greater, viz. the company of lizards, ants, and mosquitoes, besides worms and centipedes, and other crawling, creeping, and noxious things, which the tempest seemed to renovate with fresh life and motion. After a long, long night, the morning at length appeared, and the terrors of the storm were forgotten.

Not long after sunrise two fresh legions of women entered our yard to mourn with their old mistress, and the shrieks and lamentations of these visitors were more violent than any of their predecessors. It made us shudder to hear them. Their eyes were red with weeping, their hands were clasped on the crown of the head, their hair was in frightful disorder, and two channels of tears were plainly seen flowing down over the naked bosom of each of the women. In this manner they passed before the threshold of our hut, in two close lines, and in this manner we observed them bend the knee to the venerable matron, with-

out uttering a word. They then rose and departed, and we could hear their cries long after they had been out of sight.

Matters were arranged for our departure in good time this morning, and after breakfast we went to pay our last respects to the good governor. Of course we were obliged to wait a tiresome length of time outside his residence before admittance could be obtained; but when the doors were opened, the band that was in attendance inside played a native tune as a token of welcome. We observed a greater number of drummers assembled than on any former occasion. Some of their instruments were something in the shape of a cone, and profusely ornamented with plates and figures of brass. On one of these were represented the busts of two men, with a tortoise eating out of the mouth of one of them. The tortoise had a cock by its side, and two dogs standing as guardians of the whole. These figures were all ingeniously carved in solid brass. Both ends of the larger drums were played on with the palms of the hand; hundreds of little brass bells were suspended round their edges for ornament rather than use, for being without clappers they could produce no sound. The common native drum is beaten on one of its ends only, and with a stick shaped like a bow.

After a little conversation, the chief and his principal people shook us affectionately by the hand, and wished us every blessing, and as soon as we got outside the yard we mounted our horses and rode out of town. The chief of Larro had broken his promise, but we were fortunate enough to meet with and purchase another horse this morning, so that we cared little about it. Our pathway lay through a champaign country, partially wooded, and after a pleasant ride of three-quarters of an hour, we entered the small village of *Bidjie*.

Hawks and vultures are exceedingly numerous both at Jenna and this place; the former are bold and disgusting birds, but the latter are so hungry and rapacious, that they pounce fearlessly in the midst of the natives when at their meals. This evening one of them darted at a piece of meat which one of our men held between his fingers, and snatched it from him while he was conveying it to his mouth.

*Wednesday, April 14th.*—At an early hour this morning, to our infinite surprise and pleasure, the man from Badagry made his appearance with one of our horses and an English saddle.

We set off from Bidjie while the morning was yet cool and pleasant, and arrived at *Chow* before eleven o'clock in the forenoon. The natives have an unaccountable fancy that white men are fond of poultry to excess, insomuch that whenever we enter a village or town, all the fowls are immediately seized, and confined in a place of security till our departure.

The chief of Chow who received and entertained the last mission has been dead some time, and is succeeded by an humble, good-natured, and active individual, who has treated us more like demi-gods than men. At the time of our arrival he was engaged in superintending the slaves at his corn and yam plantations, but hastened to us the moment he was informed of the circumstance. He has a number of horses, among which is one of the smallest and most beautiful we have ever beheld.

In the evening the chief visited us again, with a present of provisions and a few goora-nuts. My brother took the opportunity of playing on a bugle horn in his presence, by which he was violently agitated, under the supposition that the instrument was nothing less than a snake.

For the first time since our landing we have observed the loom in active operation. The manufacture of cotton cloth is carried on here exclusively by women.

*Thursday, April 15th.*—The path to-day has wound through a country charmingly diversified by hill and dale, woods and open glades, and watered by streams flowing over beds of fine white sand. A horseman from Katunga met us about ten in the morning, whose dress and accoutrements were highly grotesque. He neither stopped nor spoke, but couched his lance as he galloped past us. We found numbers of people of both sexes in the path, who were returning from Egga to Chow, and several naked boys on their way to the coast, under the care

of guardians. These are slaves, and will be sold, most likely, at Badagry. Women bore burdens on their heads that would tire a mule, and children, not more than five or six years of age, trudged after them, with loads that would give a full-grown person in Europe the brain fever.

We departed from Chow before sunrise; a surprising dew had fallen during the night, and distilled from the leaves and branches in large drops. We passed, during the forenoon, over three or four swampy places covered with reeds, rushes, and rank grass, which were inhabited by myriads of frogs of prodigious size. On crossing streams we were invariably saluted by a loud and unaccountable hissing, as if from a multitude of serpents. We could not account for this extraordinary noise in any other way than by supposing it to proceed from some species of insects whose retreats we had invaded.

Many women with little wooden figures of children on their heads passed us in the course of the morning—mothers, who, having lost a child, carry such rude imitations of them about their persons, for an indefinite time, as a symbol of mourning. None of them could be induced to part with one of these little affectionate memorials.

We entered *Egga*, which is a very large town, in the early part of the afternoon. On our arrival, we were introduced into the house occupied by Captain Clapperton in the last mission, in the yard of which repose the remains of an Englishman named Dawson, who died here of a fever, when that officer was passing through the country. Both hut and yard are filled with people, and are in a state of filth which defies description. We cannot rid ourselves of sheep, goats, and fowls, with their train; they will be our companions in spite of us, and this grievance, with the tongues of a hundred visiters, makes our situation all but intolerable.

*Egga* is the principal market town in this part of Africa, and is attended by buyers and sellers for many miles round. Women here are the chief, if not the only, traders; most of them are of graceful and prepossessing exterior, and they all practice those petty tricks and artifices in their dealings with which the market women in more civilized countries are not unacquainted.

*Friday, April 16th.*—Yesterday was comparatively cool, owing to the thick dark clouds which obscured the sky; but on our setting out this morning, as if to make amends for his partial concealment, the sun showed his broad burning face with uncommon clearness, and the day was one of the hottest we ever remember to have felt. We found the path in much better condition than those behind it, and it lay almost entirely through plantations of yams, calavances, and pumpkins, and three or four different varieties of corn, which a number of labourers were employed in weeding, &c. The hoe is the only implement of husbandry in use, and indeed they can well dispense with every other, because the soil, during the rainy months, is so soft and light that but very little manual exertion in working it is required. Population is abundant; labourers may be hired to any number; and, in our opinion, the introduction of the plough would scarcely be a blessing, but, on the contrary, furnish new encouragement to the besetting sin of sloth.

Having crossed, at noon, a small but agreeable river, flowing from east to west, in which several females were bathing, and washing clothes, we shortly afterwards entered the capacious and populous town of *Jadoo*. Here we were informed that the chief had been in the grave more than a twelvemonth, and that no one having yet been nominated to succeed him, every thing continued in a state of confusion and misrule. We were conducted, after we had waited a little, into a large yard belonging to the late governor, and presently received a visit from his brother, in company with all the elders of the place: but their conversation was unpleasant, and their whole behaviour much cooler than was agreeable, the more so as such a reception had been entirely unexpected.

The yard wherein we reside is perfectly round, and walled with huts, all tenanted by the late chief's widows, who employ their time and earn their livelihood by spinning and weaving. Not less than a hundred of the King of Kattunga's ladies are lodging in the yard with them. They have all passed the bloom of life, and arrived here lately with loads of trona and country cloth, which



they barter for salt, and various articles of European manufacture, particularly beads; with these they return home, and expose them for sale in the market, and afterwards the profits are taken to their husbands. These royal ladies are distinguished from their countrywomen only by a peculiar species of cloth, which is wrapped round their goods, and which no one dares to imitate, on pain of perpetual slavery. This severe punishment is often inflicted; for, as the king's wives pay no tribute or turnpike dues whatever, and must besides be entertained by the chiefs of every town through which they pass, strong inducements are offered for others to attempt to deceive by using the forbidden cloth, and hence examples are necessary. As a contrast to the afflicted females of Jenna, the wives of the King of Katunga all fell to crying for *joy*, this evening, on recognizing a few old acquaintances in the yard, who soon joined them in the melancholy music. It was laughable enough to see them; yet after the first burst had subsided, they began to chat with a garrulity far beyond that of the most talkative of their European sisters. The conversation lasted more than an hour, till at last it resolved itself into a violent quarrel, which has not yet terminated.

It is now ten o'clock at night, and the women are sitting in groups round the several wood fires. We ourselves occupy only a verandah, which is simply the projection of the roof of a thatched hut; our horses are fastened to stakes in the centre of the yard; our men lying round them, warming themselves at their own fires. Sheep, beautiful sheep, with tinkling bells hung round their necks, are chewing their cud in peace and happiness. But, although it is the hour of repose, the tongues of our female fellow-travellers are making a clatter which all the *graces* of Billingsgate could not rival, and, together with the squalling of brats innumerable, it spoils the emotions which the wild and pleasing scene around us would otherwise awaken in our breasts. Sheep here are regarded with as much partiality, and treated much in the same manner, as ladies' lapdogs are in England. Great care is taken to keep them clean and in good condition; they are washed every morning in soap and water; and so greatly are they attached to their masters or mistresses, that they are constantly at their heels, following them in-doors and out, from town to town, and in all their peregrinations. Goats, sheep, swine, and poultry, are in great plenty here, and in every one's possession, notwithstanding which they are always excessively dear, because the people take a pride in displaying the number and quality of their domestic animals.

The inhabitants of Jadoo are, generally speaking, very tidily clad in cotton dresses of their own manufacture. In their persons they are much more agreeable than those who reside nearer the sea. European goods are brought hither from Dahomey and Badagry, but more especially from Lagos; and are daily exposed for sale in the markets of Jadoo and Egga. Several chiefs on the road have asked us why the Portuguese do not purchase as many slaves as formerly; and make very sad complaint of the stagnation in this branch of traffic. Hippopotami abound in the rivers in the vicinity of the town; when young the flesh and skin of these animals is sold as food; and whips and other articles are made of the skins of the old ones.

*Saturday, April 17th.*—At the usual hour this morning we quitted Jadoo, and in the middle of the day arrived at a clean, pretty little village called *Pooya*. The appearance of the country between these places is extremely fine, and resembles a magnificent orchard. On our way we met many hundreds of people of both sexes and all ages, with vast quantities of bullocks, sheep, and goats, together with fowls and pigeons, which were carried on the head in neat wicker baskets. Several of the travellers were loaded with packages of country cloth, and indigo in large round balls. They are all slaves, and were proceeding to the coast from the interior, to sell the goods and animals under their charge. One old woman had the misfortune to let a large calabash of palm oil fall from her head: on arriving at the spot we found a party of females, her companions in slavery, wringing their hands and crying; the old woman's own affliction was bitter indeed, as she dreaded the punishment which awaited her on her return to her master's house. I compassionated her distress, and gave her a large clasp knife, which would more than recompense her for the loss of the oil, whereat the women

wiped away their tears, and fell down on the dust before us, exhibiting countenances more gladsome and animated than can be conceived.

The mortality of children must be immense indeed here, for almost every woman we met with on the road had one or more of those little wooden images we have before spoken of. Whenever the mothers stopped to take refreshment, a small part of their food was invariably presented to the lips of these inanimate memorials.

*Sunday, April 18th.*—Our reception had been so truly inhospitable at Engua, that we arose at a much earlier hour this morning than we generally do, and proceeded on our way by starlight. In place of the iron-stone of yesterday, the country over which we have travelled to-day is partially covered with large and unshapely masses of granite. Mountains and elevated hills were observed to the right of us, whose sides were thickly wooded, and their summits reaching above the clouds. At 9 A. M. we passed through a neat and cleanly village, named *Chakka*, which has lately lost its chief; and an hour afterward crossed a small river called *Akeeney*, which is full of sharp and rugged granite rocks, and is said to fall into the Lagos. We were carried over on men's shoulders without much difficulty, but the horses were a long time in getting across. From hence the path wound up a high and steep hill, which we ascended, and entered the town of *Afoora* about midday. The governor gave us a hearty welcome, and said it made him extremely happy to see us, which the joy and animation of his countenance also expressed. The best hut in the town, which is the most airy and commodious of any we had seen, was presently got ready for us, and shortly after we had taken possession of it we received a quantity of excellent provisions from the chief.

This is the first day of his government. His father, the late chief, has been dead some time, but from motives of delicacy he refused to take upon himself his authority till this morning. In honour of the event, a large number of women have been dancing, rejoicing, and making merry all the evening outside our hut. It is somewhat strange that the chief or governor of almost every town through which we have passed since leaving Badagry, who was alive and well on my return to the coast three years ago, has been either slain in war, or has died from natural causes. Scarcely one of them is now alive.

*Monday, April 19th.*—An easy pleasant ride of three hours brought us to the first walled town we have seen, which is called *Assinara*.

*Tuesday, April 20th.*—The acting governor visited us to-day with a long face, and entreated us earnestly to discover a certain wizard, whom he imagined to be concealed somewhere in the town. By this sorcerer's influence numbers of people, it is said, pine away and die; and women with child are more especially the objects of his malevolence. These victims drop suddenly, without the slightest warning; and the deaths have lately been so numerous that the old man himself is grievously alarmed, and begs a charm to preserve him and his family.

To-day (April 23) we left Assinara, and after passing through the town of Accodoo, the village of Eddy, we arrived, Saturday, April 24th, at the town of *Choucou*.

Since leaving Jenna, we have met an incredible number of persons visited with the loss of one eye. They assign no other reason for their misfortune than the heat and glare of the sun's rays.

*Sunday, April 25th.*—It rained heavily during the whole of last night; but our hut, although of the very worst description, had a pretty good thatched roof, and sheltered us much better than we had expected. There are periods and seasons in our lifetime in which we feel a happy complacency of temper and an inward satisfaction, cheerfulness, and joy, for which we cannot very well account, but which constrains us to be at peace with ourselves and our neighbours, and in love with all the works of God. In this truly enviable frame of mind I awoke this morning to proceed onward on horseback: it was a morning which was fairly entitled to the epithet of "incense-breathing;" for the variety of sweet-smelling perfume which exhaled after the rain from forest flowers and flowering shrubs was delicious and almost overpowering. The scenery of to-day has been more interesting and lovely than any we have heretofore beheld. The

path circled round a magnificent cultivated valley, hemmed in almost on every side with mountains of granite of the most grotesque and irregular shapes, the summits of which are covered with stunted trees, and the hollows in their slopes occupied by clusters of huts, whose inmates have fled thither as a place of security against the ravages of the *war-men* that infest the plains. A number of strange birds resort to this valley, many of whose notes were rich, full, and melodious, while others were harsh and disagreeable; but, generally speaking, the plumage was various, splendid, and beautiful. The modest partridge appeared in company with the magnificent Balearic crane, with his regal crest; and delicate humming-birds hopped from twig to twig with others of an unknown species; some of them were of a dark shining green; some had red silky wings and purple bodies; some were variegated with stripes of crimson and gold; and these chirped and warbled from among the thick foliage of the trees. It is the contemplation of such beautiful objects as these, all so playful and so happy—or the more sublime ones of dark waving forests, plains of vast extent, or stupendous mountains—that gives the mind the most sensible emotions of delight and grandeur, leading it insensibly

“To look from nature up to nature’s God.”

For myself, I am passionately fond of them, and have regretted a thousand times over, that my ignorance incapacitates me from giving a proper representation of them, or describing the simplest flower that adorns the plains, or the smallest insect that sparkles in the air. This consideration gives me at times many unhappy reflections, although my defective education arose from circumstances over which my boyhood had no control.

*Monday, April 26th.*—A thick mist obscured the horizon this morning, and hid in deep shade the mountains and hills; every object indeed was invisible except the pathway, and the trees, &c. growing on each side, which we could barely distinguish as we passed along. It continued hazy for two hours after leaving Gwendekki, when the mist dispersed, and the atmosphere became clear. Preparatory to ascending a steep granite hill, we halted to refresh our horses under the branches of a high spreading tree, near a town called *Eco*. Here we were visited by several of the inhabitants, who, as soon as they were informed of our arrival, came flocking to the spot. They formed themselves into a line to pay their respects, and entreated us to wait a little for the coming of their chief, who was momentarily expected. But, after staying as long as we conveniently could, and no chief appearing, we mounted our beasts and began the toilsome ascent. On attaining the summit of the hill, the *coup d’œil* was magnificent indeed, and the fog having been dispersed by the sun, the eye was enabled to range round an extensive horizon, bounded by hills and mountains of wonderful shapes. Some of them bear a very striking resemblance to the Table Mountain at the Cape of Good Hope, and another is not unlike the “Lion’s Head and Rump,” of the same place. Our course was north-east, and those two mountains bore due west of us. There was no continued range of hills, but numbers of single unconnected ones, with extensive valleys between them. In some places several were piled behind each other; and those most distant from us appeared like dark indistinct clouds. Nothing could surpass the singularity, perhaps I may say the sublimity, of the whole view from the top of the granite hill which we had ascended; and we contemplated it in silence for a few seconds with emotions of astonishment and rapture.

Descending the hill, we continued our journey over a noble plain, watered with springs and rivulets; and in the afternoon entered *Dufo*, which is a most extensive and populous town. The inhabitants appear to be industrious and very opulent, as far as regards the number and variety of their domestic animals, having abundance of sheep, goats, swine, pigeons, and poultry; among the latter of which we observed, for the first time, turkeys and Guinea fowl. They have likewise horses and bullocks. The chief did not make his appearance for a long while; but as soon as he had introduced himself, he desired us to follow him into a cleanly-swept square, a house in which he desired us to occupy. Present-

ly after his departure, he sent us a quantity of yams, a basket of ripe bananas, and a calabash of eggs, which we soon discovered to be good for nothing, although sand had been mixed with them, that they might feel heavier than they really were.

*Tuesday, April 27th.*—We were on horseback early this morning, and at six o'clock, preceded by the carriers of our luggage, we rode out of the town of Dufo. The country seemed inferior indeed as to the boldness and beauty of its scenery to that traversed yesterday; but still it possesses features of no common interest. Another "Table Mountain" was observed to the left of our path in the course of the morning, and another "Lion's Head and Rump." Ponderous masses of granite rock overhang the roadway; these were almost black, and seem to have been washed by the rains of thousands of years; in many of them were deep and gloomy caverns, which, were they in Cornwall instead of Africa, would, I am sure, be pointed out as the scenes of dark and bloody stories of the elder time. Hundreds of the natives followed us a long while, and annoyed us so much by their noises and curiosity, that we were compelled to resort to violent measures to drive them away; but this is a line of conduct which we rarely adopt towards them, and never without extreme reluctance. We at length frightened them away, and we saw them no more. About eight miles from Dufo, we arrived at a large straggling village, called *Elekba*, where we halted a little, as the path had been so stony, rugged, and irregular, that a few minutes' rest was absolutely necessary to recruit ourselves. From this place the road became excellent, not at all inferior to a drive round a gentleman's park in England; and continued to be good till we came in sight of a capacious walled town called *Chaadoo*, which we entered about midday. Outside the wall is a little Falatah village, the huts of which are constructed in the circular or *coozie* form. Its inhabitants employ themselves solely in the breeding of cattle—an occupation to which they are passionately addicted. They are simple in their manners, and extremely neat in their dress and appearance.

Not long after our arrival, three or four young Falatah shepherdesses from the village came to our hut to pay their respects. We felt much pleased with their society, for they were extremely well behaved and intelligent; but they remained with us a very little time, their customary avocations not permitting a longer stay. The hair of these females was braided in a style peculiarly tasteful and becoming; and the *contour* of their oval faces was very far from disagreeable. Their manners also were innocent and playful; the imaginary shepherdesses of Fenton are not more modest, artless, and engaging in description, than these in reality; and they left behind them an impression very favourable both as regards their morals, *naivete*, and rustic simplicity.

On the road from Dufo, my brother unthinkingly fired at and shot a crane, which fell in an adjoining field. The report of his gun brought out a number of natives from the "bush," who, being in continual dread of an attack from the "war-men of the path," imagined it to be a signal of one of these marauders. They were all armed, like their countrymen, with bows and arrows; and with a threatening aspect, would have lodged a few shafts in the person of my brother, if it had not been for the timely interference of one of our Jenna messengers that fortunately happened to be with him at the time, and who gave an immediate and satisfactory explanation. The head of the party then sought for and picked up the bird; but my brother took it from him, after he had rewarded him liberally for his trouble. The man, however, was neither satisfied nor pleased, but roughly demanded the bird as his own, because it had fallen on his land. As there are no game laws here, my brother would not admit his claim, and was going away, when the fellow begged with much importunity that the head and legs of the animal at least might be given him, to make a fetish of. This was likewise objected to, at which he was out of all patience, and went off foaming with passion. In the evening the crane was dressed for supper, and a similar request was made by a eunuch from Katunga, who being a good-natured fellow, we readily complied with his wish. The chief of *Chaadoo*, however, presently sent a messenger to request the said precious head and legs; and to him they

were finally committed by the disappointed eunuch, who could hardly forbear weeping on the occasion: these relics are extremely valuable as a charm.

The chief sent us a goat and a quantity of bananas, a dish of pounded, or rather mashed yam with gravy, and a large basket of *caffas*. These are a kind of pudding, made into little round balls, from bruised Indian corn, which is first boiled to the consistence of thick paste. From being made entirely of coarse flour and water, they have an insipid taste when new, but when kept for a day or two, they become sour, and in this state are eaten by the natives. There are several deep wells in the town, but most of them are dried up, so that water is exceedingly scarce, and it is sold in the market-place to the inhabitants.—We are daily accosted on the road with such salutations as these: “I hope you go well on the path;” “Success to the king’s work;” “God bless you, white men;” “A blessing on your return,” &c.

*Wednesday, April 28th.*—Being in want of money we sent needles this morning to the market to sell. It is a custom in Yarriba, that after a buyer has agreed to pay a certain sum for an article, he retracts his expressions, and affirms that he only promised to give about half the sum demanded. This has occasioned violent altercations between our people and the natives; but it is an established custom, from which there is no appeal. The governor’s mother was buried this afternoon at a neighbouring village, and the funeral was attended by all his wives or women, as mourners. They were dressed in their holyday attire; and looked tolerably smart. The mourners exhibited no signs of grief whatever; on the contrary, they were as lively as a wedding party. Attended by a drummer, they passed through our yard four hours ago, on their return to the governor’s house, which is only a few steps from ours, and there they have been singing and dancing to the noise of the drum ever since.

*Thursday, April 29th.*—It commenced raining this morning at a very early hour, and continued with uncommon violence till between ten and eleven o’clock, when it suddenly ceased and we quitted Chaadoo. Before this, however, the credulous governor, who in common with his people imagines that white men influence the elements, paid us a visit, with a calabash of honey as a present, to thank us, he said, for the rain that had fallen, of which the country is greatly in want, and invoked blessings on us. The kindness of this good old man is remarkable. He never seemed weary of obliging us, regretted his inability to do more, and solicited us very pressingly to remain with him another day.

We traversed a mountainous country, intersected with streams of excellent water; and at noon entered a small but pleasant and picturesque village, which is ornamented with noble, shady trees. Here we waited a very short time, but continuing our route, arrived towards evening at a capacious walled town called *Rouc*, wherein we shall pass the night.

The governor of the town is a morose, surly, and ill-natured man. He sent us only a few bananas this evening, and a calabash of eggs, which were all stale and unfit to be eaten, so that our people were obliged to go supperless to bed. He ascribed the badness of his fare to extreme poverty; yet his vanity exacted from our Jenna messengers the most abject method of salutation we are acquainted with. These men walked backwards from him several yards, to throw dirt on their heads, and with the dust and filth still clinging to their hair, they were compelled to address the chief with their faces to the ground. Our apartment unfortunately communicates with his, and the restless tongues of his numerous wives prevented either my brother or self from closing our eyes long after sunset. In the centre of our yard grows a tree, round which several staves are driven into the ground. This tree is a fetish-tree, and these staves also fetish, and therefore we received a strong injunction not to tie our horses to either of them. Calabashes, common articles of earthenware, and even feathers, eggshells, and the bones of animals—indeed, any kind of inanimate substance, is made fetish by the credulous, stupid natives; and like the horse-shoe which is still nailed to the doors of the more superstitious of the peasantry in England, these fetishes are supposed to preserve them from ghosts and evil spirits. It is sacrilege to touch them, and to ridicule them would be dangerous.

After passing through several towns of no very considerable importance and without any occurrence of much interest, our travellers on Tuesday the 4th of May, entered a town of prodigious extent, called *Bohoo*, which is fortified with a triple wall and moats. Without being exposed to the customary formalities, they say, we were immediately conducted to the residence of the governor. The usual conversation passed between us, and after we had returned to our hut, a bullock was sent us, with yams, bananas, and a huge calabash of new milk, which did not contain less than six gallons; and our people sat down to enjoy themselves in perfect good-humour.

In the afternoon a message was delivered to us, signifying that the governor's "head minister" would be very glad to see us, and would thank us to visit him in the course of the day. But having experienced a relapse, my sufferings were such as to prevent my leaving the hut, and my brother was therefore obliged to go alone. He afterward informed me that a pleasant walk of rather more than two miles conducted him to the habitation of the minister, by whom he was very kindly received. The compliments of the day only were exchanged between them; and the numerous wives and large family of the master of the house, who are on these occasions generally exhibited to a stranger, having amply gratified their curiosity by an examination of his person, the interview terminated; and he presently returned to our abode, after promising to visit the minister again to-morrow. *Bohoo* lies north-east of *Achoro*, and is built on the slope of a very gentle and fertile hill, at whose base flows a stream of milk-white water; and behind which, on a rising ground, is the *Falatah* hamlet already mentioned. Its immense triple wall is little short of twenty miles in circuit; but besides huts and gardens, it encloses a vast number of acres of excellent meadow land, on which bullocks, sheep, and goats indiscriminately feed. By the hasty view obtained of it, the town is not much unlike *Kano*; but there is no large swamp like that which intersects the latter city. *Bohoo* was formerly the metropolis of *Yarriba*; but about half a century ago, the reigning prince preferring the plain at *Katunga*, the seat of government was transferred there, since which time *Bohoo* has considerably declined in wealth, population, and consequence, although it is still considered a place of great importance, and the second town in the kingdom. It is bounded on all sides by hills of gradual ascent, which are prettily wooded, and commands an extensive horizon. The land in the vicinity of the town presents a most inviting appearance, by no means inferior to any part of England in the most favourable season of the year. It seems to be duly appreciated by the *Falatahs*, so great a number of whom reside with their flocks in different parts, that the minister candidly declared he could not inform us of their amount. These foreigners sell their milk, butter, and cheese in the market at a reasonable rate. The latter is made into little cakes of about an inch square, and when fried in butter is very palatable. It is of the consistence and appearance of the white of an egg boiled hard.

I have been very ill all the evening with fever, accompanied by excruciating pains in the bowels, but my spirits are cheerful, and I hope soon to recover. We are thankful that we have not been both thus afflicted at the same time. As soon as one of us has in a measure regained his strength, his assistance has been required to minister to the wants of the other.

*Wednesday, May 5th.*—Agreeably to the promise my brother made yesterday, he left me to the care of *Pascoe* and his wife this morning, and hastened to pay his respects to the chief's head man, or minister, as he is called. It appears that this man has been placed in his present situation by the King of *Katunga* as a kind of spy on the actions of the governor, who can do nothing of a public nature without in the first place consulting him, and obtaining his consent to the measure. Yet he conducts himself so well in his disagreeable office, that he has won the good will, not only of the governor of the town, but also of its inhabitants. A kind of rivalry exists between the minister and his master; but then it is a rivalry in good and not in bad actions. Hearing that the governor had given us a bullock, and something besides, he presented my brother with a similar one, and a large calabash of *pitto* (country beer,) which he distributed among those who had accompanied him. A bottle of honey completed the list of presents, and they

were forthwith forwarded to our habitation, but my brother remained a considerable time afterward with the chief. He was filled with amazement at the formation and ticking of my brother's watch, which he gazed on and listened to with transport; his spurs also excited his eager curiosity, and he examined them with the minutest attention. He hoped, he said, that God would bless us both, and that we had his best wishes for our safety. He remarked, further, that white men worshipped the Great God alone, and so did black men also; and that every blessing of life was derived from that source.

On my brother's return I was very ill; I had been so faint and sick during his absence that my recovery seemed doubtful, but a few hours after I became better. In the afternoon I sent to the governor and his minister, who had behaved so handsomely to us, three yards of fine red cloth, a common looking glass, tobacco pipe, a pair of scissors, snuff box, and a large clasp knife. The tobacco pipe was much admired, but the red cloth was most valued; with the whole, however, they were both perfectly well pleased, and were extravagant in expressions of gratitude. One of the bullocks was slaughtered this morning, and about two-thirds of it distributed by the governor and his chief man to the poor of the town; the remainder of the carcass was dividedly equally among our attendants, who are in no hurry to leave the place while their present unusually good fare is to be had.

Last evening two female acquaintances, who had been separated from each other for a short time only, met in the yard adjoining ours, wherein one of them constantly resides. The women burst into tears directly as they saw each other, and cried loud enough to be heard distinctly by us during the whole of the night; nor did they cease giving vent to their feelings till some time after sunrise this morning.

*Thursday May 6th.*—We were visited this morning by a party of Falatahs of both sexes. They differ but little, either in colour or feature, from the original natives of the soil. In dress and ornaments, however, there is a slight distinction between them. They display more taste in their apparel, and wear a greater number of ornaments round the neck and wrists; they pay greater attention also to their hair, which the women plait with astonishing ingenuity. Like that of the young woman we met at Jenna, their heads exactly resemble a dragoon's helmet. Their hair is much longer, of course, than that of the negro, which enables the Falatahs to weave it on both sides of the head into a kind of *queue*, which, passing over each cheek, is tied under the chin. Another company of Falatahs came to us in the evening, for they had never beheld a white man, and curiosity had led them to our habitation. They brought us a present of a little thick milk, which they begged us to accept, and then went away highly gratified with the interview. The behaviour of the whole of them was extremely reserved and respectful; nothing in our persons excited their merriment; on the contrary, they seemed silently to admire our dress and complexion; and having looked well at us, from a little distance, seemed grateful for the treat. The kindness and generosity of the governor of Bohoo continues unabated; instead of diminishing, it seems to strengthen; he literally *inundates* us with milk, and is equally lavish with other things.

*Friday, May 7th.*—After we had retired to rest last night a Falatah woman came to our dwelling, bringing with her a quantity of eggs of the Guinea-hen, and a large bowl of milk fresh from the cow, as a return for a few needles we had given her in the afternoon. We relate this little circumstance simply to show the difference between the Falatahs and the Yarribeans, in point of gratitude for favours they may have received. The latter are very seldom thankful, and never acknowledge gratitude as a virtue; the indifference, unconcern, and even contempt which they often evince on receiving our presents, is a proof of this; and, with very few exceptions, we never observed a Yarribeian to be sincerely thankful for any thing.

In the morning I was able to sit on horseback; and as we were setting off, the governor came out to wish us farewell, and to present us with two thousand cowries for the purpose of assisting us on our journey. We have said that Bohoo is about twenty miles in circumference: perhaps we guessed considera-

bly within bounds, for as we rode out of the city we were astonished at its vast extent.

On the 8th of May our travellers set out from Bohoo on their way towards Katunga, the metropolis of the kingdom of Yarriba, where they arrived on the 13th of the same month. Stopping at the town of Leoquadda, they put up in a yard in the centre of which was a circular enclosure without a roof, within which was an alligator which had been confined there seven years. It was fed with rats only, and generally devoured five a day. On approaching Katunga, an escort was sent to meet them. As this escort came up, Lander sounded his bugle, at which the natives were astonished and pleased; but a black trumpeter, jealous of the performance, challenged a contest which terminated in his entire defeat. He was hooted and laughed at by his companions for his presumption, and gave up the trial in despair. He hung down his head, remained silent, looked extremely silly, and did not venture to put his horn to his mouth again until he imagined his defeat was forgotten.

The leader of the escort is described as a strange looking, powerful fellow, of gigantic stature, with eyes large, keen, piercing, and ever in motion, with broad nose squatted on both cheeks, his lips immensely large, exposing a fine set of teeth; the beard was black, thick, grisly, and covering all the lower part of his face reached to his bosom; the famous Blue Beard was nothing to him; and in gazing on his features one would almost be inclined to believe that all the most iniquitous and depraved passions of human nature were centered in his heart. Yet with so unlovely and forbidding an appearance, he was in reality as innocent and docile as a lamb. He wore on his head a small rush hat, in shape like a common earthen ware pan inverted; his breast was enveloped in a coarse piece of blue cloth; from his left shoulder hung a large quiver of arrows; and in his right hand he held a bow, which he brandished like a lance; a short pair of trowsers covered his thighs, and fantastically made leathern boots incased his feet and legs. His skin was of jetty blackness, his forehead high; but his tremendous beard, which was slightly tinged with gray, contributed, perhaps, more than any thing else, to impart that wildness and fierceness to his looks which at first inspired us with a kind of dread of our leader.

Thus escorted, our travellers entered the gates of Katunga. As is the custom, they staid under a tree just inside the walls, till the king and his eunuchs were informed of their arrival, and then, after a wearisome delay, rode to the residence of *Ebo*, the chief eunuch, who, next to the king, was the most influential man in the place.

We found this personage, they say, a great, fat, round, oily man, airing himself under the verandah of his dwelling. Other eunuchs of a similar appearance were sitting on the ground with him. After conversing together for a long time, we walked together to the king's house.

Information of our coming had been previously sent to the monarch, and we waited with much patience for a considerable period till he had put on his robes of state. Meantime, to amuse us and beguile the hour away, the head drummer and his assistants, with the most benevolent intention, commenced a concert of the most bewitching melody; and long drums, kettle drums, and horns were played with little intermission till Mansolah made his appearance, when all noises were suddenly hushed, and we were desired to draw nearer to pay our respects to his majesty. We did so after the English manner, much to the entertainment and diversion of the king, who endeavoured to imitate us, but it was easy to perceive that he is but a novice in the European mode of salutation, bowing and shaking hands. We have no doubt that it was owing to the rusticity and awkwardness of our address that Mansolah's risible faculties were so strongly excited; but he laughed so long and heartily, and his wives, and eunuchs, and subjects of all sorts, joined him with such good will, and such power of lungs, that we were constrained to unite our voices to the general burst of kindly feeling, although if we had been asked the cause of such jollity and obstreperous mirth, we should have been at a loss for an answer.

Mansolah's headpiece was something like a bishop's mitre, profusely ornamented with strings of coral, one of which answered the purpose of a riband, for it was tied under the chin to prevent the cap from blowing off. His tobe



was of green silk, crimson silk damask, and green silk velvet, which were all sewn together like pieces of patchwork. He wore English cotton stockings, and neat leathern sandals of native workmanship. A large piece of superfine light blue cloth, given the chief by Captain Clapperton, he used for a carpet. The eunuchs, and other individuals who were present at the interview, prostrated themselves before their prince, agreeably to the custom of the country, and rubbed their heads with earth two separate times, retreating at some distance to perform this humiliating and degrading ceremony, and then drawing near the royal person, to lie again with their faces in the dust. They saluted the ground also near which he was sitting, by kissing it fervently and repeatedly, and by placing each cheek on it. Then, and not till then, with their heads, and faces, and lips, and breasts, stained with the damp red soil, which still clung to them, they were allowed to seat themselves near their monarch, and to join in the conversation. Two or three of the inferior eunuchs, not satisfied with the servile prostration, began to sport and roll themselves on the ground; but this could not be effected without immense labour and difficulty, and panting and straining, for, like Sir John Falstaff, they could be compared to nothing so appropriately as huge hills of flesh. There they lay wallowing in the mire, like immense turtles floundering in the sea, till Ebo desired them to rise. We observed, among the individuals present, a very considerable number of bald headed old men, their hair, or rather wool, having most likely been rubbed off by repeated applications of earth, sand, gravel, filth, or whatever else may be at hand, when the prince happens to make his appearance.

The conference having ended, a kid, a calabash of *caffas*, and two thousand cowries in money were presented to us; and, cheered by a flourish of music, we laughed in concert, and shook hands with the king, and walked away towards our own dwelling, which had been repaired and thoroughly cleaned out for our sole use. Here we lay down to repose our aching limbs. In the evening the king returned our visit, and immediately took a fancy to my brother's bugle horn, which was readily given him. He was vastly pleased with the present, and by smiles and words returned us many thanks for it; said that he was quite delighted; and that it made his heart glad to see us; hoped we should make ourselves comfortable while we remained in Katunga; shook hands, made a bow, and, "smiling in heart and soul content," the sovereign departed, followed by a suite of wives, eunuchs, and other attendants.

The Landers, having advised with Ebo, did not think it best to inform the king of their intended journey to the Niger, and only stated to him that the King of England, anxious to procure the restoration of certain papers which belonged to a countryman of theirs, who perished at Boossa about twenty years before, which papers were supposed to be in possession of the Sultan of Yaoorie, had despatched them thither for the purpose of obtaining the papers and taking them back to England. Mansolah, without expressing any surprise at this information, very promptly observed that he would send a messenger to Kiama, Wow-wow, Boossa, and Yaoorie, to acquaint the rulers of those provinces with their intentions to pay them a visit, and that on the man's return they should have leave to depart.

Their stay at Katunga was comparatively pleasant: they were not disturbed by the jarring noise of women's tongues, which had annoyed and followed them at every stage of their journey from Badagry, since the apartments of the wives of Ebo, at whose residence they put up, were at some distance from theirs. Our male visitors too, they say, are few and select, and do not remain with us any very considerable time together. An order has been issued by the king, that if any impertinent individual troubles us at any time with his company when it is not desired, Ebo is at liberty to behead him; and no one shall have the effrontery, says Mansolah, to tax the eunuch with injustice or cruelty in the performance of his duties. This proclamation has had the desired effect; for dreading the even-handed Ebo, who is public executioner, as well as chief eunuch, the inhabitants of Katunga have hitherto repressed their curiosity, and have confined themselves to their own abodes.

The city of Katunga was, at this time, in a declining condition; whole streets

1) were almost deserted; the walls were gone to decay; and every thing portended approaching ruin. Still it was no inconsiderable city, as the following account of its markets may serve to show.

A market is held daily in different parts of Katunga, but twice a week it is much larger and better attended than on either of the other days. I visited one of the latter this morning, which is styled the "Queen's market;" but as it is shifted to another place towards evening, it is then called the "King's market." The sellers were by far more numerous than the buyers; and, on the whole, the articles exposed for sale by no means realized the expectations which we had formed of them. Among them we observed three or four different kinds of corn; beans, peas, and vegetables in abundance; the mi-cadania butter; ground or Guinea nuts; country cotton cloths, indigo, red clay, salt, and different varieties of pepper; besides trona, snuff and tobacco, knives, barbs, hooks, and needles, the latter of the rudest native manufacture. There were also finger-rings of tin and lead; and iron bracelets and armlets; old shells, old bones, and other venerable things, which European antiquaries would gaze on with rapture; besides native soap, little cakes of cheese and butter; an English common blue plate, a great variety of beads both of native and European manufacture, among the former of which we noticed the famous *Agra* bead, which at Cape Coast Castle, Accra, and other places, is sold for its weight in gold, and which has vainly been attempted to be imitated by the Italians and our own countrymen. Provisions also were offered for sale in abundance; and besides beef and mutton, which were made up into little round balls, weighing about an ounce and three-quarters each, and presented not the most delicate or tempting appearance, we observed an immense quantity of rats, mice, and lizards, dressed and undressed, all having their skins on, and arranged in rows.

I met with and purchased a very singular kind of stone in the market. The natives informed us that it was dug from the earth, in a country called *Iffie*, which is stated to be "four moons" journey from Katunga, where, according to their tradition, their first parents were created, and from whence all Africa has been peopled. Ignorant of mineralogy, as I am of most other sciences, I am unacquainted with the nature and properties of the stone alluded to, and therefore I grieve to say I am incapable of giving a scientific description of it. It consists of a variety of little transparent stones, white, green, and every shade of blue, all imbedded in a species of clayey earth, resembling rough mosaic work.

Our travellers remained at Katunga from the 13th of May until the 21st of the same month. During this time they had several interviews with Mansolah. The object of one of these interviews seems not a little singular.

I was desired by a messenger this morning, says John Lander, to visit the king at his residence, and on my arrival there, found a great number of people assembled together. The object of this summons was explained by Ebo, who said I had been sent for to see that at the present he (the eunuch) had received should be shown to the people without any reservation whatever. It was accordingly spread out on the floor, together with the king's. Even a bit of English brown soap, which we had just before given Ebo, was exhibited along with the other things; for so great a degree of jealousy exists among the eunuchs and others, arising from the apprehension that one might have received more than another, that Ebo himself, powerful as he is, would dread the effects of it on his own person, should he be found to have concealed a single thing. They all, in fact, endeavour to disarm censure by an appearance of openness and sincerity.

On Friday, the 21st of May, our travellers visited Mansolah for the last time. Instead of a visit from the king (to adopt their own words,) which we were yesterday told he was to honour us with, we were requested this morning to repair to his residence. Accordingly, having first saddled our horses and packed up the luggage, between six and seven o'clock, A. M. we walked together to the royal premises. On our arrival we were introduced without any ceremony, into a private yard, wherein the king had been patiently waiting our coming for some time previously. He was rather plainly dressed in the costume of the country, namely, a tobe, trousers, and sandals, with a cap very much resembling in shape those which were worn by elderly ladies in the time of Queen Eliza-

beth, and still retained by some in the more remote parts of England. On his right the eunuchs were reposing their huge limbs on the ground, with several of the elders of the people; and his left was graced by a circle of his young wives, behind whom sat the widows of more than one of his predecessors, many of whom appeared aged. A performer on a whistle was the only musician present, so that, during a very long interview, a little whistling now and then was the only amusement which the prince could afford us. A good deal of discussion ensued, and much serious whispering between the monarch and his wives, in the course of which both parties quitted the yard two or three times to hold a private conference, followed by the eunuchs with their hands clasped on their breasts. Mansolah at length scraped together two thousand cowries (about three shillings and sixpence of our money,) which he presented to the four men that had accompanied us from Badagry and Jenna, as messengers, guides, &c., to enable them to purchase provisions on their journey homeward. This sum had been collected from the king's wives, each having contributed a portion, because their lord and master did not happen to be in a liberal mood. Poor souls! they possess scarcely the shadow of royalty, much less the substance; the exterior forms of respect which they receive from the male portion of the people alone distinguishing them from their less illustrious countrywomen. They are compelled to work in order to provide themselves food and clothing, and besides which part of the earnings is applied to the king's use. To effect these objects they are necessitated to make long and painful journeys to distant parts of the empire, for the purpose of trading. They have, however, the privilege of travelling from town to town without being subjected to the usual duty, and can command the use of the governor's house wherever they go. The boasted industry of ancient queens and princesses in more classic regions sinks into nothing when compared to the laborious life which is led by the female branch of the royal family of Yarriba.

Mansolah, after some time, beckoned us to draw near him, for we were sitting at some distance on a bundle of sticks, and, with a most benevolent smile playing upon his wrinkled features, placed a goora-nut in the right hand of each of us, and then asked our Christian names. "Richard and John," we replied. "Richard-ee and John-ee," said the king, for he was unable to pronounce our Christian names without affixing a vowel to the end of them, "you may sit down again." We did so, and remained in that position till we were both completely wearied, when we desired Ebo to ask the king's permission for us to go home to breakfast, which was granted without reluctance. So, having shaken hands heartily with the good old man, and wished him a very long and happy reign, we bid him farewell for the last time, bowed to the ladies, and retired with all haste to our hut.

On leaving Katunga, our travellers' route lay through the towns of Lesquadda, Atoopa, and Keshee. Besides their own, carriers from Ketunga accompanied them for the purpose of aiding in carrying the luggage. They all suffered severely with the weight of their burdens, particularly their own carriers, who were more heavily laden than those from Katunga. Our travellers, therefore, had recourse to an artifice for the more equal distribution of the burdens. We lightened (they say) the burdens on our own men, and distributed a portion of what we had taken out of them into the boxes &c. of their already overladen Katunga associates, without, however, permitting the latter to know any thing of the circumstance. Among the carriers was a very little man called *Gazherie*, (small man,) on account of his diminutive stature; he was, notwithstanding, very muscular, and possessed uncommon strength, activity, and vigour of body, and bore a package containing our tent, which, though very heavy, was yet by far the lightest load of the whole. Conceiving that corporeal strength, rather than bulk or height, should, in this case, be taken into the account, a bag of shot, weighing 23 lbs., was extracted from Jowdie's burden, and clandestinely added to his. The little man trudged along merrily without dreaming of the fraud that had been practised upon him, till we arrived within a short distance of Lesquadda, when, imagining that one end of the tent was heavier than the other, he was induced to take it from his head, and presently discovered the cheat. He

was much enraged at being thus deceived, and called his companions around him to witness the fact, and said he was resolved to proceed no farther than Lesquadda. The consequence of all this was, a combination was formed between the carriers, and they after coming at Lesquadda, furiously resolved not to stir another step. We tried gentle means at first, but these having no effect, we resorted to their own mode of argument, namely, fierce looks, violent action, vociferous bawling, and expressive gesture, which intimidated them so much, that they snatched up their burdens without saying a word, and ran away with alacrity and good humour.

An extraordinary spectacle presented itself on the way to Atoopa—a middle aged woman sitting on the road side, the colour of whose skin was naturally as bright a red as a piece of our own scarlet cloth. We were informed that she was in good health; but we were in too great hurry to ask her any questions; or take a nearer view of her person; indeed our guide seemed much disinclined to go within a hundred yards of her. She was a most singular looking being.

On arriving at Keeshee, the governor sent us a present of a fine young bullock, a quantity of yams, and more than a gallon of excellent strong beer. In the centre of the town there is a high stony hill, almost covered with trees of stunted growth, to which in case of invasion the inhabitants fly for refuge. As soon as they have reached its summit, it is borne, say they, by a supernatural power, beyond the clouds, where it remains till the danger is over. Some years have elapsed since this miracle last took place, yet the story is told with a serious belief of its truth, and with the most amusing gravity.

A great number of emigrants from different countries reside here. In no town have we seen so many fine tall men and good looking women, as at this place; yet several individuals of both sexes are to be met with who have lost the sight of one eye, and others who have unseemly wens on the throat, as large as cocoanuts. We likewise saw a cripple here for the first time, and a female dwarf whose height scarcely exceeds thirty inches, and whose appearance bespeaks her to be between thirty and forty years of age. Her head is disproportionably large to the size of her body; her features, like her voice, are harsh, masculine, and unpleasant in the extreme. It would be ridiculous to be afraid of such a diminutive thing; yet there was an expression in her countenance, so peculiarly repulsive, unwomanly, and hideous, that on her approaching our hut, I felt a very unusual and disagreeable sensation steal over me. Descriptions of an elf, or a black dwarf in the Arabian Night's Entertainments, or modern European romances, would serve well to portray the form and lineaments of this singular little being.

This is a market day here, and I took a walk this evening to the place where the market is held. The crowd which gathered around me was very great. If I happened to stand still even for a moment, the people pressed by thousands to get close to me; and if I attempted to go on, they tumbled one over another to get out of my way, overturned standings and calabashes, threw down their owners and scattered their property about in all directions. Smiths welcomed me by clashing their iron tools against each other, and drummers by thumping violently upon one end of their instruments. A few women and children ran from me in a fright; but the majority less timid, approached as near as they could to catch a glimpse of the first white man they had ever seen. My appearance seemed to interest them amazingly, for they tittered and wished me well, and turned about to titter again. On returning, the crowd became more dense than ever, and drove all before them like a torrent. Dogs, goats, sheep, and poultry, were borne along against their will, which terrified them so much that nothing could be heard but noises of the most lamentable description; children screamed, dogs yelled, sheep and goats bleated most piteously, and fowls cackled and fluttered from among the crowd. Happy indeed was I to shelter myself from all this uproar in our own yard, whither the multitude dared not follow.

The widows of the deceased chief of Keeshee (this chief had recently died,) set apart a portion of the twenty-four hours to cry for their bereavement, and pray to their gods. They began this evening in the same sad, mournful tone which is commonly heard on similar occasions, all over the country. We asked our interpreter why the women grieved so bitterly. He answered quickly, "What

matter? they laugh directly." So I suppose they cry from habit rather than from feeling; and that they can shed tears and be merry in the same breath whenever they please.

On one occasion the crowd of visitors, at this place, which thronged upon our travellers, was so great and so irksome that they had recourse to the expedient of smoking them off, by kindling a fire at the door of their hut. It succeeded agreeably to their wishes.

A party of more agreeable visitors, which came to see them, consisted of Falatah women and girls from the village of *Acba*. These females, they say, are so modest and so retiring, and evince so much native delicacy in their whole behaviour that they excited in us the highest respect. Their personal attractions are no less winning. They have fine sparkling jetty eyes, with eyelashes dark and glossy as the raven's plume. Their features are agreeable although their complexions are tawny. Their general form is elegant; their hands small and delicate; and the peculiar cleanliness of their persons, and neatness of dress added to these, rendered their society altogether as desirable as that of their neighbours was disagreeable. On a second visit, these engaging female friends came with bowls of milk and foorah. This was in the morning. In the evening they came again with a few of their male companions, and remained a considerable time. Both sexes deputed themselves in the most modest and respectful manner. It appears that the Falatahs inhabiting *Acba*, though very numerous are but one family, for we are told that their ancestor separated himself from his friends, relatives and acquaintances, and exiling himself forever from his native country, travelled hither with his wives and children, his flocks and herds. The sons and daughters of his descendants intermarry only among their own kindred; and they are betrothed to each other in infancy and childhood. They appear to be a superior race.

The governor of Keeshee told many wonderful stories of the towns under his sway, his amazing power, great influence, and of the entire subjection in which his own people were kept by his own good government, of which latter, he gave a specimen by bawling to a group of children that had followed our steps into the yard, to go about their business. Every one in this country displays this ridiculous vanity; and in most of the towns we have visited, it was the first great care of their chiefs to impress on our minds an idea of their vast importance, which in many instances was refuted by their ragged tobes and squalid appearance. The governor was so old and infirm that he could not have many years to live. We gave him a lotion for a swelled foot which greatly elated one or two of his attendants, and their animated looks and gestures bespoke hearts overflowing with gratitude. The cause of this was soon explained. The next morning a young man, one of the number, visited us with a countenance so rueful, and spoke in a tone so low and melancholy, that his whole appearance was completely altered, insomuch that we were desirous to learn what evil had befallen him. He informed us that he would be doomed to die with two companions as soon as their governor's dissolution should take place; and as the old man has already one foot in the grave, the poor fellow's sadness was not to be wondered at. When this same individual and his associates observed me giving the lotion to their master yesterday they imagined it would prolong his existence, and consequently their own; and hence arose that burst of feeling. The people here imagine we can do any thing, but more especially that we are acquainted with and can cure all the complaints and disorders to which man is liable. The governor solicited a charm of us to preserve his house from the effects of fire and to cause him to become rich.

On the day of departure from Keeshee, May 26th, we arose before sunrise, and having taken a hasty breakfast, went to pay our respects to the governor, and thank him for his hospitality and kindness. On returning to our lodgings, we had the pleasure of receiving the morning salutation of our fair friends the Falatahs on bended knee. Resolved to have another and a last chat with the white strangers, these females had come for the purpose of offering us two calabashes of new milk. This and former little acts of kindness, which we have received from these dark-eyed maidens, effectually won our regard, because we

knew they were disinterestedly given; and the few minutes we had the happiness of spending in their company and that of their countrymen, redeemed many hours of listlessness and melancholy, which absence from our native country, and thoughts of home and friends, but too often excite in our breasts. It was therefore not without a feeling of sorrow that we bade them adieu. For my own part, (says John Lander,) when they blessed me in the name of Alla and their prophet, and implored blessings on my head, and when I gazed upon the faces of the simple hearted and innocent females who had so piously and fervently invoked the benediction, with the consciousness of beholding them no more in this life, my heart was touched with sorrow; for of all reflections, this is certainly the most melancholy and dispiriting!

"Ye who have known what 'tis to dote upon  
A few dear objects, will in sadness feel  
Such partings break the heart they fondly hoped to heal!"

Although we left Keeshee between six and seven in the morning, we were obliged to seat ourselves on a green turf in the outskirts of the town, and wait there till a quarter after nine, before the carriers with the luggage made their appearance. Here we were joined by the Borgoo *fatakie*, (a company of merchants,) and our ears were saluted with the hoarse, dull sounds of their drum, which was played by a ragged one-eyed Yarribeian long after we were on our journey. A company of merchants trading through the country has always a drummer in their pay, who walks at the head of the party, and performs on his instrument continually, be the journey ever so long, for the purpose of animating the slaves to quicken their steps.

Our route lay through a vast and lonely forest, infested by bands of robbers, and in which there is not a single human habitation. My brother went unarmed before the *fatakie*, and travelled alone, while I remained behind to defend the carriers in case of necessity. He had already rode some distance in advance of us, when about twenty very suspicious looking fellows, armed with lances and bows and arrows, suddenly made their appearance from behind the trees where they had concealed themselves, and stood in the middle of the path before the men with the luggage, who were so terrified, that they were preparing to drop their burdens and run away. My gun being loaded, I levelled it at them, and had nearly discharged it at the leader, which intimidated them all so much, that they retreated again into the heart of the forest. When the people of Yarriba observe any one approaching them on the road whose appearance inspires them with apprehensions as to the honesty of his intentions, they fling off their loads without waiting the result of the meeting, and take to their heels without venturing to look behind them. The robbers, therefore, when they saw our people, no doubt, expected to obtain an easy booty; not anticipating to find a white man among them, nor thinking that our carriers would have made a stand.

We journeyed fifteen miles through this dreaded forest, which occupied us five hours and three quarters, owing to the weakness of our horses and want of water, but above all, to the oppressive heat of the weather, from which we all suffered more or less. We then arrived at the *Moussa*, which is a rivulet separating the kingdom of Yarriba from Borgoo. Having satisfied our thirst and bathed, we crossed the stream, and entered a little village on the northern bank, where we halted for the day.

The crossing of the *Moussa* introduced our travellers into a country very different from Yarriba—inhabited by a different people, who speak a different language, profess a different religion, and whose manners, customs, amusements, and pursuits are altogether different. The route now led towards Kiama, which even in the approach presented a complete change of scene. Instead of smiling plains and cultivated hills it consisted of a huge tract of mountain-forest, crowded with wild animals of every description, and infested with numerous bands of robbers. Kiama belongs to the Kingdom, or rather cluster of states, called Borgoo. The former mission had understood Borgoo to comprise also Boussa and Wawa. This is stated by the Landers to be a mistake; and indeed these countries resemble much more the fertile plain of Eyeo or Yarriba. Borgoo,

on the contrary, though diversified by beautiful and fertile valleys, is generally mountainous and rugged, tenanted by a people bold and brave, warm both in friendship and enmity, and often addicted to lawless and predatory exploits. The narrative enumerates, as belonging to Borgoo, eight different states, among which Niki takes the lead. Its capital is described as one of the largest cities in Central Africa, and the sovereign as having seventy other towns dependant upon him; which, however, if we may believe the report made to our travellers, pay no other tribute besides one beautiful maiden during the lifetime of each of their chiefs.

While resting at a little village yet at some distance from Kiama, our travellers were met by an escort sent by the king to conduct them to the city. The musical jingling of little bells (they say) announced the approach of a body of horsemen, who in less than a minute galloped up to our hut, and saluted us one after another with a martial air, by brandishing their spears, to our great discomfiture, within a few feet of our faces. To display their horsemanship the more effectually, they caused their spirited steeds to prance and rear in our presence; and when they imagined we were convinced of their abilities, they dismounted to prostrate themselves before us, and acquaint us with the welfare of their prince. Setting out under the conduct of this escort, the path lay through a forest. At one place we remarked two immensely large trees, springing up almost close together; their mighty trunks and branches were firmly twisted and clasped round each other, like giants in the act of embracing, and presented an appearance highly novel and singular. Ant-hills were numerous on the road; and a few paces from it, we observed, as we rode along, little cone-shaped mud buildings, erected by the natives for the purpose of smelting iron ore, which is found in abundance in different parts of the country. At sunset we arrived at a village called *Benikenny*, which means in the language of the people a cunning man; and found there three women waiting our arrival, with corn and milk from the King of Kiama: this was very acceptable, for we had been without food thirteen hours.

Although the sun had gone down on leaving Benikenny, the moon and stars supplied us with a cooler and more agreeable light; and we journeyed on through the forest more slowly than before. In spite of our fatigue, we could not help admiring the serenity and beauty of the evening, nor be insensible to the delicious fragrance shed around from trees and shrubs. The appearance of our warlike and romantic escort was also highly amusing. They were clad in the fashion of the East, and sought their way between the trees on our right and left; but sometimes they fell in our rear, and then again dashed suddenly by us with astonishing swiftness, looking as wild as the scenery through which their chargers bounded. The effect was rendered more imposing by the reflection of the moonbeams from their polished spears, and the pieces of silver which are affixed to their caps, while the luminous firefly appeared in the air like rising and falling particles of flame.

About 8 o'clock Kiama appeared before us, and in a few minutes we entered the city, and rode directly to the king's house. He came out to receive us after we had been waiting outside a very short time, and welcomed us with much satisfaction and good-will. He is an elderly man, almost toothless, and has a beard as white as wool. We observed nothing remarkable in his dress or appearance. His first question was concerning the health of our sovereign, and his second and last respecting our own welfare. He seemed to be exceedingly well pleased at seeing me again. We then took our leave, and were conducted by one of his slaves to a hut, or rather an assemblage of huts, adjoining his own residence. But they were not entirely to our satisfaction, for many of them had only one aperture in each, which was scarcely three feet square; so that we could not get into them excepting on our hands and knees. They were, besides, so very close and warm, that we found great difficulty in breathing; and we preferred a hut which was cooler and better ventilated, though it had the inconvenience of a thoroughfare. No sooner were we securely housed, than half a dozen of the king's wives introduced themselves with huge calabashes of sour milk, fried pancakes, and beef stewed in rice, the first we have yet seen. Vari-

ous coloured mats of excellent workmanship were afterward brought for our use : and with thankful hearts and comfortable feelings we lay down to rest.

The day after their arrival at Kiama, the travellers, having selected a present for the king, repaired to his residence. The king's name was Yarro. Yarro, (we again adopt the words of their journal,) professes the Mohammedan faith, yet it is easy to perceive the very slender acquaintance he has obtained of the precepts of the Koran, by the confidence which he still places in the religion of his fathers, in placing fetishes to guard the entrance of his houses, and adorn their half-naked walls. In one of the huts we observed a stool of very curious workmanship. The form of it is nearly square; the two principal sides are each supported by four little wooden figures of men; and another of large dimensions, seated on a clumsy representation of a hippopotamus, is placed between them. These images were subsequently presented to us by Yarro, and we learned that the natives, before undertaking any water excursion, applied for protection from the hippopotami and other dangers of the river to the principal figure, which is represented as mounted on one of those creatures. This important personage is attended by his musicians, and guarded by soldiers, some armed with muskets, and others with bows and arrows, who formed the legs of the stool.

In an inner apartment we discovered Yarro sitting alone on buffalo hides; and we were desired to place ourselves near him. The walls of this apartment were adorned with very good prints of our most gracious sovereign George the Fourth, his late royal brother the Duke of York, Lord Nelson, the Duke of Wellington on horseback, together with an officer in the light dragoons, in company with a smartly dressed and happy looking English lady. Opposite to them were hung horse accoutrements; and on each side were dirty scraps of paper containing select sentences from the Koran. On the floor lay muskets, several handsomely ornamented lances, and other weapons, all confusedly heaped together by the side of a large granite stone used for pounding pepper. These were the most striking objects we observed in the king's hut; adjoining which were others, through whose diminutive doors Yarro's wives were straining their eyes to catch a glimpse of our persons.

The following incidents may serve to illustrate still farther the manners and habits which prevail at the court of this prince.

Our travellers say they were obliged to violate the Sabbath, by cleaning and polishing a sword and pistol, sent them for that purpose by the king, to be used at the approaching Mohammedan festival. Yarro shortly afterward sent us (they say) a turkey, and one of his women presented us with a roasted badger, a quantity of yams, &c., for the use of one of our people. This evening the king's wives unanimously bestowed a severe reprimand on their husband for neglecting to offer them a portion of a bottle of rum which we gave him yesterday; and they scolded so lustily that the noise was heard outside the wall surrounding their huts, which led us to make the discovery. To appease the indignation of these ladies, and to reconcile them to their loss, I presented them with a few beads and some other trifles; but we much doubt their efficacy.

We receive frequent visits from a number of Mohammedan *mallams* (priests) residing at Kiama. This afternoon they sent two young boys to pray for us. The boys dropped on their knees, and recited the lesson that they had been taught without committing a blunder; but a few needles was the only recompense we thought proper to make them, so that it is not likely their masters will desire any more prayers to be offered at the shrine of their prophet for Christians so illiberal and irreligious. Of all the vices of which Mohammedan priests are guilty, (and by all accounts they are not a few,) slander and defamation of character appear to be by far the most general. Never do we hear a mallam speak of his neighbours in terms of common respect. By his account they are all the vilest creatures under the sun, not one escaping the lash of his censure. "Avoid that man," said a complacent and comfortable-looking old Mohammedan last night, pointing to one of his companions as he quitted the hut, (he had just blessed him in the name of Alla,) "for, believe me, he will take every opportunity of deceiving you; and if you go so far as to trust him with any of your



property, he will cheat you of every cowrie." The venerable speaker had a quantity of gilt buttons, nearly new in his possession, which we had given him to sell, for we are frequently obliged to make such shifts for a meal, and when his invective was finished, he arose to take his leave: but the self-righteous priest had neglected, in the hurry of discourse, to secure a few buttons which he had purloined, for as he stood up they dropped from the folds of his garment on the floor. The man's confusion was immediately apparent, but we did not wish to push him further by increasing his shame, and we suffered him to go about his business, in the belief that the circumstance had wholly escaped our observation. Gilt buttons fetch a high price here (from two to three hundred cowries each;) and as we have a great quantity of them, it is likely from henceforth they will be of infinite service to us. Women use buttons to ornament their necks, fingers, and wrists; and they imagine that the brightest of them are made of gold.

The celebration of the "Bebun Salah," or "Great Prayer day," by the Mussulmans of Kiama took place during our travellers' stay there. All the Mussulmans with the king at their head repaired to a convenient spot about a mile without the city. The custom is to set out about sunrise, but on this occasion, owing to the threatening appearance of the weather, they did not assemble until between nine and ten o'clock. The worshipers arranged themselves in six lines or rows, the women forming the last, and sat down on as many ridges of earth, which had apparently been thrown up for the purpose. The chief mallam no sooner began a prayer, than the talking and noise of the multitude immediately ceased, and the deepest attention seemed to be paid by every one, though the substance of what he said could only be guessed at, because it was in Arabic, which none of them understood. The ceremony much resembled that which was performed at Badagry; and the forms which are generally practised, I believe, on all public religious meetings in Mohammedan countries, such as ablution, prostration, &c., were observed on this occasion. The king, however, did not rise, as he should have done, when the worshippers stood up, but satisfied himself by uttering the name of Alla, and by simple prostration only. When the usual form of prayer had been gone through, the head mallam placed himself on a hillock, and for about five minutes read to the people a few loose pages of the Koran, which he held in his hand. While thus engaged, two priests of inferior order knelt beside him to hold the hem of his tobe, and a third, in the same position, held the skirts from behind. After he had finished reading, the priest descended from the hillock, and with the help of his assistants, slaughtered a sheep which had been bound and brought to him for sacrifice. The blood of the animal was caught in a calabash; and the king, and the more devoted of his subjects washed their hands in it, and sprinkled some of it on the ground. This conclusion of the ceremony was announced by the discharge of a few old muskets; and with drums beating and fifes playing, the people returned to their respective homes. Most of them were smartly dressed in all the finery they could procure. About a hundred of the men rode on horseback, with lances and other weapons in their hands, which, with the gay trappings of their horses, gave them a respectable appearance.

In the afternoon, all the inhabitants of the town, and many from the little villages in its neighbourhood, assembled to witness the horse-racing, which takes place always on the anniversary of the "Bebun Salah," and to which every one had been looking forward with impatience. Previous to its commencement, the king, with his principal attendants, rode slowly round the town, more for the purpose of receiving the admiration and plaudits of his people, than to observe where distress more particularly prevailed, which was his avowed intention. A hint from the chief induced us to attend the course with our pistols, to salute him as he rode by; and as we felt a strong inclination to witness the amusements of the day, we were there rather sooner than was necessary, which afforded us, however, a fairer opportunity of observing the various groups of people which were flocking to the scene of amusement.

The race-course was bounded on the north by low granite hills; on the south by a forest; and on the east and west by tall shady trees, among which were habitations of the people. Under the shadow of these magnificent trees the

spectators were assembled, and testified their happiness by their noisy mirth and animated gestures. When we arrived the king had not made his appearance on the course; but his absence was fully compensated by the pleasure we derived from watching the anxious and animated countenances of the multitude, and in passing our opinions upon the taste of the women in the choice and adjustment of their fanciful and many-coloured dresses. The chief's wives and younger children sat near us in a group by themselves; and were distinguished from their companions by their superior dress. Manchester cloths of inferior quality, but of the most showy patterns, and dresses made of common English bed-furniture, were fastened round the waist of several sooty maidens, who, for the sake of fluttering a short hour in the gaze of their countrymen, had sacrificed in clothes the earnings of a twelvemonth's labour. All the women had ornamented their necks with strings of beads, and their wrists with bracelets of various patterns, some made of glass beads, some of brass, others of copper, and some again of a mixture of both metals: their ankles also were adorned with different sorts of rings, of neat workmanship.

The distant sound of drums gave notice of the king's approach, and every eye was immediately directed to the quarter from whence he was expected. The cavalcade shortly appeared, and four horsemen first drew up in front of the chief's house, which was near the centre of the course, and close to the spot where his wives and children and ourselves were sitting. Several men, bearing on their heads an immense quantity of arrows in huge quivers of leopard's skin, came next, followed by two persons, who, by their extraordinary antics and gestures we concluded to be buffoons. These last two were employed in throwing sticks into the air as they went on, and adroitly catching them in falling, besides performing many whimsical and ridiculous feats. Behind these, and immediately preceding the king, a group of little boys nearly naked, came dancing merrily along, flourishing cows' tails over their heads in all directions. The king rode onwards, followed by a number of fine-looking men on handsome steeds; and the motley cavalcade all drew up in front of his house, where they awaited his further orders without dismounting. This we thought was the proper time to give the first salute, so we accordingly fired three rounds; and our example was immediately followed by two soldiers, with muskets which were made at least a century and a half ago.

Preparations in the mean time had been going on for the race, and the horses with their riders made their appearance. The men were dressed in caps and loose tobies and trousers of every colour; boots of red morocco leather, and turbans of white and blue cotton. The horses were gayly caparisoned: strings of little brass bells covered their heads; their breasts were ornamented with bright red cloth and tassels of silk and cot on; a large quilted pad of neat embroidered patchwork was placed under the saddle of each; and little charms, enclosed in red and yellow cloth, were attached to the bridle with bits of tinsel. The Arab saddle and stirrup were in common use; and the whole group presented an imposing appearance.

The signal for starting was made, and the impatient animals sprang forward and set off at full gallop. The riders brandished their spears, the little boys flourished their cows' tails, the buffoons performed their antics, muskets were discharged, and the chief himself, mounted on the finest horse on the ground, watched the progress of the race, while tears of delight were starting from his eyes. The sun shone gloriously on the tobies of green, white, yellow, blue, and crimson, as they fluttered in the breeze; and with the fanciful caps, the glittering spears, the jingling of the horses' bells, the animated looks and warlike bearing of their riders, presented one of the most extraordinary and pleasing sights that we have ever witnessed. The race was well contested, and terminated only by the horses being fatigued and out of breath; but though every one was emulous to outstrip his companion, honour and fame were the only reward of the competitors.

A few naked boys, on ponies without saddles, then rode over the course, after which the second and last heat commenced. This was not by any means so good as the first, owing to the greater anxiety which the horsemen evinced to display

their skill in the use of the spear and the management of their animals. The king maintained his seat on horseback during these amusements, without even once dismounting to converse with his wives and children, who were sitting on each side of him. His dress was showy rather than rich, consisting of a red cap, enveloped in the large folds of a white muslin turban; two under tobes of blue and scarlet cloth, and an outer one of white muslin; red trousers, and boots of scarlet and yellow leather. His horse seemed distressed by the weight of his rider, and the various ornaments and trappings with which his head, breast, and body were bedecked. The chief's eldest and youngest sons were near his women and other children, mounted on two noble looking horses. The eldest of these youths was about eleven years of age. The youngest, being not more than three, was held on the back of his animal by a male attendant, as he was unable to sit upright in the saddle without this assistance. The child's dress was ill suited to his age. He wore on his head a tight cap of Manchester cotton, but it overhung the upper part of his face, and together with its ends, which flapped over each cheek, hid nearly the whole of his countenance from view; his robe and trousers were made exactly in the same fashion as those of a man, and two large belts of blue cotton, which crossed each other, confined the robe to his body. The little legs of the child were swallowed up in clumsy yellow boots, big enough for his father; and though he was rather pretty, his whimsical dress gave him altogether so odd an appearance, that he might have been taken for any thing but what he really was. A few of the women on the ground by the side of the king wore large white dresses, which covered their persons like a winding-sheet. Young virgins, according to custom, appeared in a state of nudity; many of them had wild flowers stuck behind their ears, and strings of beads, &c. round their loins; but want of clothing did not seem to damp their pleasure in the entertainment, for they appeared to enter into it with as much zest as any of their companions. Of the different coloured robes worn by the men, none looked so well as those of a deep crimson colour on some of the horsemen; but the clean white robes of the Mohammedan priests, of whom not less than a hundred were present on the occasion, were extremely neat and becoming. The sport terminated without the slightest accident, and the king's dismounting was a signal for the people to disperse.

We then paid our respects to the chief as usual, but our reception was formal and chilling, though nothing could have been more gratifying to him than our attendance on the present occasion. We had half a mind to be vexed at this mortifying repulse, but consoled ourselves with the reflection that we had no right to expect any thing more than common courtesy and politeness. Besides this, he was surrounded by the loveliest of his women and the most warlike of his subjects, and being a rigid Mohammedan when it suits his convenience, he might have considered us as the enemies of his religion. To have shown, therefore too great familiarity with us in the sight of his people would perhaps have been unbecoming the Chief of Kiama.

We have here endeavoured, to the best of our ability, to describe an African horse-race; but it is impossible to convey a correct idea of the singular and fantastic appearance of the numerous groups of people that met our view on all sides, or to describe their animation and delight; the martial equipment of the soldiers and their noble steeds, and the wild, romantic, and overpowering interest of the whole mass. Singing and dancing have been kept up all night, and the revellers will not think of retiring to rest till morning.

The king visited us at our hut the morning before our departure, attended by three or four of his younger wives. His object was to get something from us; therefore we considered it no compliment. Like the King of Yarriba, he has seen all the articles which we have given to his people, but unlike that monarch, he has converted to his own use whatever pleased him best. From a present intended for his son, he took the only piece of cloth which it contained, and which we are unable to replace. He then begged a little medicine for weak eyes; and was presented with a quantity of Epsom salts and a small syringe. He immediately began trying experiments on the instrument by spirting water into the faces of his wives, who did not appear to enjoy the diversion so well as himself.

On Saturday June 5th, our travellers bade adieu to Keama, and bent their course through the towns of Kakafungi, Coobly, and Zalee to Boossa on the Niger. When they were about half a mile from Keama, looking behind them, they observed a great fat woman running after them at her full speed. She soon overtook them, almost breathless with exertion. We then found (they say,) that the object of her care was to present us with a bowl of new milk, which she had neglected to bring in time for us to drink before we set out. From the violence of her exertions, her whole person was thrown into the utmost disorder imaginable. This woman is a favourite singer to the king, and had supplied us with milk and provisions two or three days before our departure, for which we gave her a few trifling articles in payment; these it appears had produced so sensible an effect upon her, that when taking leave of us last evening, she began to shed tears and sobbed aloud. This was now renewed, and we were obliged to spur on our horses to spare our feelings. We were afterwards told that the woman's sorrow was only feigned in our presence for the purpose of obtaining a reward, and that she always has abundance of tears at command.

On the way to Coobly, John Lander had a severe attack of fever, and on his arrival there was exceedingly ill. His brother Richard administered ten grains of calomel, after which he fell into a kind of stupor and an insensibility to surrounding objects, and though after a time his reason returned, he again soon became worse, and Richard expected every moment would be his last. He says, my brother, during the few intervals he had from delirium, seemed to be aware of his danger, and entered into arrangements respecting his family concerns. At this moment my feelings were of too painful a nature to be described. The unhappy fate of my late master, Captain Clapperton, came forcibly to my mind. I had followed him into this country, where he perished; I had attended him in his parting moments; I had performed the last mournful office for him which our nature requires, and the thought that I should have to go through the same sad ceremonies for my brother overwhelmed me with grief.

These sad forebodings, happily, were not realized. The disease took a new turn, and John was soon well enough to proceed on the journey which now lay towards Boossa. Before setting out the messengers arrived from Boossa, with a quantity of onions as a present from the queen, and with orders from the king to escort the travellers to the city of Boossa. An old woman applied at their lodgings for medicine that would produce her an entire new set of teeth; or said she, "If I can only be supplied with two large and strong ones, I shall be satisfied with them." She was becoming rather impertinent when Richard Lander recommended her to procure two iron ones from a blacksmith, which displeased her so much that she went away in a pet.

The city of Boossa stands on the Niger; it was supposed by Clapperton to be situated on an island in this river, but the Landers ascertained this opinion to be incorrect. On entering the city, they discharged their pieces as a signal of their arrival, and soon they were introduced to the king, whom they found sitting in an inner apartment in company with the *midikie*, his principal wife, or queen. They welcomed them to Boossa with every appearance of cordiality, and with rueful countenances, gravely assuring them, that they had both been weeping in the morning for the death of Captain Clapperton whose untimely end they would never cease to lament.

This king was regarded as the most powerful chief of Western Africa, as the Sultan of Bornou was of Northern Africa.

The dress of the king and queen when they returned our travellers' visit at their hut, is thus described. The king wore a white cotton tobe over another of blue and white, a cap of red cloth, and leathern sandals of the same colour. The *midikie* was clad in a common check shirt; a plain piece of blue cotton was fastened round her head, wholly concealing the hair; a larger piece of the same kind was thrown over the left shoulder, and a third tied round her waist, reached so far as the middle of the leg. Her feet were bare, as were likewise her arms up to the elbow; a brass ring ornamented each great toe, and eight silver bracelets each wrist, the least of them weighing little less than a quarter of a pound.

Besides these ornaments, the queen wore a necklace of coral and bits of gold, and small pieces of pipe coral were stuck in the lobe of each ear.

Boossa is celebrated as the place near which Park and his companions were destroyed, while sailing down the Niger. Our travellers say, this river, here in its widest part is not more than a stone's throw across at present. The rock on which we sat overlooks the spot where Mr. Park and his associates met their unhappy fate; we could not help meditating on that circumstance, and on the number of valuable lives which have been sacrificed in attempting to explore this river, and secretly implored the Almighty that we might be the humble means of setting at rest forever the great question of its course and termination.

While at Boossa the Landers entertained hopes of being able to recover some of the effects and especially the journal of Park. They were presented with a tobe, which, it was said, belonged to a white man who came from the north many years before, and had been purchased by the king's father. It was made of rich crimson damask, and was very heavy from the immense quantity of gold embroidery with which it was covered. As the time when the late king was said to have purchased this tobe corresponded very nearly to the supposed period of Park's death, and as no other white man had been known to have come from the north so far south as Boossa, the Landers believed it to be part of the spoil obtained from the canoe of that ill-fated traveller. Whether Mr. Park himself wore the tobe, or whether he intended it as a present to a native chief was uncertain. The chief who presented it to them had never worn the tobe, nor had his predecessor, from a superstitious feeling; besides, observed the king, "it might excite the cupidity of the neighbouring powers."

The king, on application being made to him for any books or papers of Mr. Park yet in his possession, returned for answer, that when Mr. Park was lost in the Niger, he was a very little boy, and that he knew not what had become of his effects; that the deplorable event occurred in the reign of the late king's predecessor, who died shortly after; and that all traces of the white man had been lost with him. This reply seemed to end the matter, but by repeating their request to the king, and by farther inquiries, the Landers at length thought they had attained the object of their hopes. One afternoon, (they say,) the king came to see us, followed by a man with a book under his arm, which was said to have been picked up in the Niger after the loss of our countryman. It was enveloped in a large cotton cloth, and our hearts beat high with expectation as the man was slowly unfolding it, for by its size we guessed it to be Mr. Park's journal; but our disappointment and chagrin were great, when, on opening the book, we discovered it to be an old nautical publication of the last century. The title-page was missing, but its contents were chiefly tables of logarithms. It was a thick royal quarto, which led us to conjecture that it was a journal; between the leaves we found a few loose papers of very little consequence indeed; one of them contained two or three observations on the height of the water in the Gambia; one was a tailor's bill on a Mr. Anderson; and another was addressed to Mr. Mungo Park, and contained an invitation to dinner,—the following is a copy of it:—

"Mr. and Mrs. Watson would be happy to have the pleasure of Mr. Park's company at dinner on Tuesday next, at half-past five o'clock.

"An answer is requested.

"*Strand, 9th Nov. 1804.*"

The king, as well as the owner of the book, looked as greatly mortified as ourselves, when they were told that the one produced was not that of which we were in quest, because the reward promised would not of course be obtained. As soon as our curiosity had been fully satisfied, the papers were carefully collected and placed again between the leaves, and the book as carefully folded in its envelope as before, and taken away by its owner, who values it as much as a household god. Thus all our hopes of obtaining Mr. Park's journal or papers, in this city, are entirely defeated. The inquiry, on our part, has not been prosecuted without much trouble and anxiety, and some little personal sacrifices

likewise, which, had they been ten times as great, we would gladly have made while a single hope remained of their being effectual.

On the 24th of June, our travellers with their attendants embarked upon the river the great object of their perilous adventures, in a canoe, and proceeded up the stream to Yaoorie, the extreme point of their journey towards the north. Their object seems to have been both to conciliate the king of Yaorie, and to obtain intelligence, if possible, of the papers of Mr. Park. The Niger is described as widening from half a mile, (its breadth near Boossa,) first to a mile, and at length to two miles, and passing through a rich and charming country. Beautiful, spreading, and spicy trees, adorned like a park, the scene on each side of the river; corn, nearly ripe, waved over the water's edge; large open villages appeared every half-hour; and herds of spotted cattle were observed grazing and enjoying the cool of the shade. The appearance of the river for several miles was no less enchanting than its borders; it was as smooth as a lake; canoes, laden with sheep and goats, were paddled by women down its almost imperceptible current; swallows and a variety of aquatic birds were sporting over its glassy surface, which was ornamented by a number of pretty islands. The heat of the weather was very distressing until the approach of evening when the travellers landing, fixed their tent on a plot of rising corn, and having nothing to eat went supperless to rest.

On re-embarking the next day, they again beheld with feelings of admiration, the Niger continuing the same delightful and magnificent appearance. They say, we had proceeded only a few hundred yards when the river gradually widened to two miles, and continued so as far as the eye could reach. It looked very much like an artificial canal; the banks having the appearance of a dwarf wall, with vegetation beyond. In most places the water was extremely shallow, but in others it was deep enough to float a frigate. During the first two hours of the day the scenery was as interesting and picturesque as can be imagined. The banks were literally covered with hamlets and villages; fine trees, bending under the weight of their dark and impenetrable foliage, everywhere relieved the eye from the glare of the sun's rays, and, contrasted with the lively verdure of the little hills and plains, produced the most pleasing effect. Afterward, however, there was a decided change; the banks, which before consisted of dark earth, clay, or sand, were now composed of black rugged rocks; large sandbanks and islands were scattered in the river, which diverted it into a variety of little channels, and effectually destroyed its appearance.

About eleven o'clock, dark clouds from the west foretold an approaching storm; and our boatmen used their utmost exertions in endeavouring to reach a village, or some place of security, before it should burst upon us; but in this hope we were disappointed, for in a very few minutes it blew a hurricane, accompanied by thunder and lightning of the most awful description, and the rain fell in torrents. It became, besides, so dark, that nothing could be clearly distinguished at the distance of only a few yards. We were wetted to the skin in a moment; and our canoe was in danger of sinking as we came abreast of a little fishing village, on an island, close to the water's edge. We jumped on shore as soon as possible, and ran without shoes or hats into the first hut we came to for protection from the storm. Here our unlooked-for intrusion frightened away a poor woman, who rushed out of the hut as we entered it; but we commenced throwing off our dripping clothes, and displacing a pot of fish which was stewing over a few expiring embers, heaped up all the dry wood we could find. Not till then did we discover that our situation was little better than it had been in the canoe; the hut had two large open doorways opposite each other, through which the wind swept the rain, and filled it with pools of water. This was too much for us, and sallying out immediately, half-dressed, we hurried towards a hut which we perceived at a short distance; but this was no better than that which we had left,—all seemed alike; and rushing back again through the pelting rain, we regained our deserted hut, and resigned ourselves to all its inconveniences. Our people shortly afterward came up to us, quite benumbed with cold and wet; and, notwithstanding their distress and our own comfortless condition, we could not forbear laughing at their comical and ragged appear-

ance. Meantime the hostess and her husband, with several of the other villagers, summoned up resolution enough to visit us; and by way of a peace-offering, they brought with them firewood and a small quantity of provisions. This enabled us to kindle two large fires in the hut, which, as the storm was abating, soon dried up the water; but we were unavoidably obliged to lie down in damp clothes. My brother and I sat up during the best part of the night, for we found it impossible to sleep, not only on account of myriads of mosquitoes, but the groaning and snoring of men, the barking and growling of dogs, an incessant drumming at an adjacent village, and the startling roar of a lion, which was prowling about our quarters near the whole of the night.

The tempest was succeeded by a cool evening, and a remarkably clear night. In the morning, on leaving the village, we were followed to the beach by a few of its inhabitants, and when the canoe was pushed off at seven o'clock, they cheered us loudly. These people are harmless and good-natured, but dirty in their persons and singular in their manners. Their language is different from that spoken at Boossa. Most of the villages on the islands, as far as Yaorie, it is said, are inhabited by the same race of people, and they are also scattered on the banks of the river. The women daub their hair with red clay, but they are too poor to purchase many personal ornaments, and the men use none whatever. They appear to have the necessaries of life in abundance; they are partial to agriculture, and cultivate large portions of land with corn, rice, and onions; besides which fishing is carried on by them on an extensive scale, and numbers of the men go three days' journey up the Niger to catch fish. Most of their huts are supported on clay pillars, which are wonderfully small; or on stone slabs not more than an inch in thickness. The walls of the huts are only two or three inches in thickness; but these have no large doorways like that which we occupied; and instead of them, they are furnished with a small single aperture near the roof, to which their owners are obliged to climb; and even then they cannot enter without great exertion. These huts approach nearer to the shape of a common English oven than any thing else we have ever seen.

We had passed the island whereon we slept last night but a few minutes, and had just entered into the main river, when we came to a spot where it spreads again into branches, and each channel was literally filled with dangerous rocks, sandbanks, and low islands covered with tall rank grass. The appearance of them was extremely disheartening. We were conducted up the main branch of the river, but were soon obliged to land with our people in order to lighten the canoe, which, after a deal of exertion, was lifted over a ridge of rocks into deeper water. During the greater part of the morning, indeed, our canoe was continually striking against concealed rocks, or running on hidden sandbanks, but sustained no apparent damage by the concussion; the only inconvenience we experienced from it was the fatiguing one of being obliged to get out and in whenever it was found necessary. It therefore afforded us much pleasure to be landed, about two o'clock in the afternoon, on the left bank of the river, for we were heartily tired of our morning's work, and felt highly gratified that it was over.

At a short distance from the water's edge the country was thickly studded with clusters of huts, which all together are called the village of *Sooloo*; and we took up our quarters in a large one, which is nearest the landing-place. The inhabitants resemble very much the islanders already spoken of; they cultivate much land, and catch vast quantities of fish; but though they live well, they are clothed very indifferently. The only ornaments they wear are made of the back-bone of a certain species of fish, which are tied round the loins and other parts of the body. Besides corn, &c., the inhabitants also grow immense quantities of onions, and they have large storehouses full of these ready to be exported to different parts of the continent. The price of an onion here is two cowries; at Katunga forty, and at Badagry they fetch so high a price as a hundred cowries each.

We were treated this afternoon with much hospitality by them, and they did all in their power to render our short stay as agreeable as possible.

Both of us awoke in the morning rather unwell, which was most likely occasioned by our exposure to the tempest of Friday. The old chief of the village accompanied us to the water's edge when we quitted our hut for the purpose of embarking, and enjoined the "king of the canoe" to be particularly careful of his charge. "Careful!" answered the man; "to be sure I will; do I not know that white men are more precious than a boat-load of eggs, and require as much care to be taken of them?" We entreated the same man a short time afterward to be more active and diligent in the management of his canoe, for he was rather inclined to be lazy, and suffered every one to go before ours; but he replied gravely, "Kings do not travel so fast as common men; I must convey you along as slowly as possible."

We had heard so unfavourable an account of the state of the river at one particular place which we should have to pass, that our people were compelled to disembark and walk along the banks a considerable way, till we had passed it, when we took them in again. We found the description to be in nowise exaggerated; it presented a most forbidding appearance, and yields only to the state of the Niger near Boossa, in difficulty and danger. On our arrival at this formidable place, we discovered a range of black rocks running directly across the stream, and the water, finding only one narrow passage, rushed through it with great impetuosity, overturning and carrying away every thing in its course. Our boatmen, with the assistance of a number of the natives, who planted themselves on the rocks on each side of the only channel, and in the stream at the stern of the canoe, lifted it by main force into smoother and safer water. The last difficulty with respect to rocks and sandbanks was now overcome, and in a very little time we came to the termination of all the islands, after which, it is said, there is not a single dangerous place up the Niger. The river here presented its noblest appearance; not a single rock nor sandbank was anywhere perceptible; its borders resumed their beauty, and a strong, refreshing breeze, which had blown during the whole of the morning, now gave it the motion of a slightly-agitated sea. In the course of the morning we passed two lovely little islands, clothed in verdure, which at a short distance looked as charming as the fabled gardens of Hesperia; indeed no spot on earth can excel them in beauty of appearance. These islands are inhabited by a few individuals.

About eleven A. M. we landed at the foot of a little village on the east bank of the river, where our horses and men had arrived before us. Here a little milk was presented to us by a Falatah in the service of the Sultan of Yaoorie, and we rested under a large tree an hour or two, awaiting the arrival of carriers from the city of Yaoorie, who had been sent for yesterday by one of the messengers that had charge of our horses. These men arrived at the village between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, and we immediately mounted and rode onwards.

We travelled over a sterile country, which was gradually rising at every step, and abounded plentifully in game. The weather was oppressively warm, and we were obliged to refresh ourselves by halting occasionally and resting in the shade. The soil, which at first was so indifferent and barren, improved greatly as we drew near Yaoorie; and immense patches of land, cultivated with a variety of corn, also with rice, indigo, cotton, &c., were visible on every side. Labourers were employed in these plantations, attended by a drummer, that they might be excited by the sound of his instrument to work well and briskly. On attaining the summit of a steep hill, we rode over a very narrow pathway, so much overhung by an impenetrable thorny shrub that there was not room for more than one man to walk. This led us to the wall of Yaoorie, and we entered the city through an amazingly strong passage, in which was an immense door covered with plates of iron, rudely fastened to the wood-work. We were almost exhausted with fatigue on our arrival, insomuch that we excused ourselves from visiting and paying our respects to the sultan, and we were conducted to a convenient habitation, which had been prepared for us.

The city of Yaoorie is the capital of Yaoorie, a large, flourishing, and united kingdom, under the dominion of an hereditary monarch, whose government is



an absolute despotism. The city is of prodigious extent, and is supposed to be as populous as any other on the whole continent. Its wall is high and very excellent, though made of clay alone, and may be between twenty and thirty miles in circuit; and it has eight vast entrance-gates or doors, well fortified after the manner of the country. Between the clusters of huts in the city, there is a considerable quantity of fertile land, which is left for cattle to graze on, or for the purposes of agriculture. There is a great variety of trees within the walls of the city, consisting of the lime, the palm, the ni-cadania, and the date; but the latter, though it appears very luxuriant, never was known to bear fruit. The palm tree adorns the banks of the Niger, and increases in quantity the farther we advance up the river; yet that variety of it which bears the cocoanut is nowhere to be seen, owing most likely to the distance from the sea. No estimation can be formed of the number of inhabitants, but it is surprisingly great.

The sultan's residence, as well as the houses of many of the principal inhabitants of the city, are two stories in height, have thick and clumsy stairs of clay leading to the upper apartments, which are rather lofty. The principal part of the houses are built in the circular or coozie fashion. The natives of Western and Central, and we believe, also of Northern Africa, moisten the floors of their huts and the inside of their walls with a solution of cow-dung and water, two or three times a day, or as often as they can find the materials. Though disagreeable to the smell of a European, this keeps the interior of a dwelling as cool as it is dark.

The inhabitants have some few manufactures, and grow indigo, tobacco, onions, different kinds of grain, and rice of a very superior quality; have horses, bullocks, goats, &c., and are industrious, yet they are poorly clad, and discontented with their condition.

The higher class of women wear their hair plaited very ingeniously, and dyed blue with indigo; their lips are stained yellow and blue, which gives them an inexpressibly odd appearance; and their eyes are blackened with powdered antimony, or something of the same nature and properties. The use of hennah is as general at Yaoorie as elsewhere; the more opulent females make use of this most beautiful dye in profusion; they simply apply the pounded leaves of the plant to the teeth, and to the finger and toe-nails; for the latter it is made into a kind of poultice, and in the evening is put on those parts, and remains till next morning. The poorer sort of females, from necessity probably, make use of neither of these ornaments, and save tattooing, they have no personal embellishments whatever.

Before visiting the sultan, the chief Arab of the city, or the sultan's prime minister, came to pay his respects to the travellers. He is described as a very old man, as dark as a native, and dressed in the costume of the country. His beard was long, and white as snow, and a singular tuft of hair which was directly under the lower lip did not look much unlike the tail of a white mouse. Though toothless, the old man was yet very communicative—and intelligent.

On the evening of the day after their arrival, the sultan sent the travellers a bullock, a fine large sheep of a peculiar species, the handsomest, they say, we ever saw; a great quantity of milk, and several hundred weight of rice; and the next evening they received a large turkey and a bowl of rice from the chief of the Arabs. The following is Lander's description of their first visit to the sultan, which took place on the second day after their arrival:—

This evening, by desire, we went to pay our respects to the sultan. We soon arrived at the palace, which is a very large building, or rather a group of buildings enclosed by a high wall; and dismounting, we were presently conducted through a low avenue formed by pillars, which was as dark as a subterraneous passage. This led to a large square yard, which we entered, and found it to communicate with the sultan's apartments, by the number of domestics that were hurrying about. Several people were sitting on the ground, but we were obliged to stand a long time, during which a profound silence was preserved, and no one was polite enough to offer us a mat to sit on. At length we received a summons to advance, and were introduced into another square, very much resembling a clean farm-yard. Here we discovered the sultan sitting alone in

the centre of the square, on a plain piece of carpeting, with a pillow on each side of him, and a neat brass pan in front. His appearance was not only mean, but absolutely squalid and dirty. He is a big-headed, corpulent, and jolly-looking man, well stricken in years; and though there is something harsh and forbidding in his countenance, yet he was generally smiling during the conference. The conversation commenced in the usual complimentary way; and then our object in visiting Yaoorie was briefly and indirectly hinted at. When we asked him whether he did not send a letter to the late Captain Clapperton while that officer was at Koofu, in which he had affirmed that he had certain books and papers in his possession which belonged to Mr. Park, he appeared very much confused. After thinking and hesitating a good while, he answered with an affected laugh. "How do you think that I could have the books of a person that was lost at Boossa?" and this was all he said on the subject. He subsequently wished to know the reason that Captain Clapperton refused to visit him when he passed through the country; but more especially why, after his death, I had not paid him that mark of respect on my return to the coast from Soccatoo. My reply to him was, that I had been told he was the greatest monarch in the country, and therefore I should have felt ashamed to have visited him with the trifling present which I had to offer, as he might consider it an insult to his dignity. A frown of disapprobation settled on his countenance at hearing this, and he sharply rejoined, that he was perfectly well acquainted with the nature and value of the presents which had been made to the various chiefs I had visited; but that if I had nothing to offer him, it was my duty, and should have been my first care, to have paid my respects to him at Yaoorie. Here the conversation was abruptly ended; the sultan was more than half-inclined to be angry with us; and we were not at all sorry to be reconducted to the open air.

The character of the sultan is much like that of most of the chiefs in Africa. He manifested the same childish fondness for presents, and resorted to the same petty stratagems and tricks to obtain them. He received his presents very coldly, probably, with the view of getting something more, purchased goods of the travellers, and then neglected payment, under the pretence that they asked too much for them, and on one occasion when having made application for the sale of some powder and red cloth, they were sent to him with a message that he was at liberty to give what he thought proper for them, he kept the goods without making the slightest acknowledgment, and also sent in the evening of the same day to beg a few needles. He deferred giving permission for their departure from day to day and week to week, under a variety of nonsensical excuses, with the intention of detaining them at Yaoorie, until he had drained them of every thing they had. One of the *inducements* urged upon the travellers for their longer stay, and as related in their own words, was as follows:

He has made us a present of a quantity of worthless feathers, which he had caused to be plucked from the body of a live ostrich; and because he entertained an opinion, that if others were added to them they would altogether form a very acceptable present to our gracious sovereign, he informed us that it would be necessary we should wait till such time as the ostrich should regain its plumage, in order for that part of its body which had not been previously plucked to undergo a similar operation; for the weather, he asserted, was much too cold for the bird to lose all its feathers at one and the same time. And further to encourage their growth, he would order that two thousand cowries' worth of butter (about twelve pounds weight) should be diligently rubbed into the skin of the animal. This money has actually been deducted by the sultan for this express purpose from the sum which he was indebted to us; because, he said, he did not approve of paying for the butter from his own pocket.

The sultan was guilty of similar tricks towards his own subjects, as well as towards most of the merchants who visit Yaoorie. He however at last, after complaining sadly of his poverty, begged our travellers to accept a female slave in lieu of the money he owed them, and which he declared his inability to pay. After a good deal of hesitation, they took the girl, and she became the wife of one of their attendants.

The sultan's daughters, (say our travellers,) are very numerous; and in accordance with the usual custom of the country, we have been obliged to make them a present of a button, or a string of beads, or some such trifle. Many of these ladies are not very young, for they have passed the meridian of life; but notwithstanding their seniority, they have had bitter disputes and quarrels with their sisters for the fancied better place which the latter have in our good graces, and the consequent kinder treatment which they have experienced at our hands. A breach is thus made in the affections of the royal sisters towards each other, and it may be years before domestic harmony is re-established among them. One or other of these females complains to us every day of having been engaged in wrangling or fighting with a sister, on the score of jealousy; and we are obliged to muster all our patience and condole with them in their little misfortunes, without, however, having the ability to relieve them.

Two or three of these daughters are our daily visitors, and they trifle away a good deal of time in our company. They sometimes bring with them a pleasant intoxicating liquor called *booza*, (a kind of beer,) which they offer us to drink; but they contrive to get tipsy with it themselves. These ladies are occasionally so troublesome that we are obliged to frighten them away with our pistols.

The heir apparent on one occasion paid the travellers a visit, but the chief of the Arabs entering, and seeing the young man in conversation with them, seemed surprised and displeased, and immediately ordered the young man to quit the apartment with his suite, which order the prince instantly obeyed, without a syllable of complaint at the peremptory command. The Arab afterwards on being solicited for an explanation of such arbitrary conduct, said that it was done in order to prevent the young man from soliciting poison which he might employ in the destruction of his father's life.

The travellers used every means while at Yaoorie that might possibly enable them to discover the papers of Park, or which might disclose additional facts in regard to his melancholy fate.

Park made his voyage down the Niger at about the same season of the year—the heat was excessive—the river low, and of course presenting the rocks and islands in its channel to obstruct his progress. He must have had a thousand difficulties to encounter; his canoe-men, who in all probability were his slaves, were said to be chained to the canoe, in order to prevent their running away; his pilot was unacquainted with the river any farther than Yaoorie, and was therefore discharged there, while Park with a companion, and three white boys, continued their voyage down the Niger, without any person whatever to point out the safest channel, or warn them of their danger. When the accident happened at Boossa by which they lost their lives, it is said they preferred being drowned to avoid as they imagined, a more dreadful death.

The chief of the Arabs informed our travellers, that Park did not visit Yaoorie, but remained in his canoe, and despatched a messenger in his stead to the sultan with a suitable present. The chief of the Arabs was sent to Park with presents in return, and by his description of Park's dress, he must have worn the laced robe which the travellers obtained at Boossa. He was said to have been drowned in this same dress. The Arab informed the Landers that he had in his possession a cutlass and a double-barrelled gun which was part of Mr. Park's present to the sultan. They expressed a wish to look at these weapons, and they were immediately sent for. The gun was very excellent, and handsomely mounted; and we offered our own fowling-piece in exchange for it, which was cheerfully agreed to.

After repeated applications to the sultan for the lost papers of Park, without obtaining any satisfactory reply, the travellers sent one of their attendants with a message that they wished to receive a final and decisive answer in regard to the papers, which were the sole object of their visit, and that they wished to quit Yaoorie immediately. This bold step seemed to startle the sultan, and he instantly despatched the old Arab to inform them that "he declared to God, in the most solemn manner, that he had never had in his possession, nor seen, any books or papers of the white travellers that perished at Boosa." The Arab likewise assured us that we were at liberty to proceed on our journey whenever we should think proper.

Thus, notwithstanding all the false hopes which the sultan artfully held out to us that Mr. Park's papers were actually in his possession, his letter to Captain Clapperton, which expressly stated this to be the case, and the pitiful shuffling which he has displayed to keep us so long in suspense with respect to any true information, it appears, without doubt, that he has not, and never has had, a single book or paper in the English language. His only motive for the dastardly conduct he has displayed could have been neither more nor less than the hope of getting us into his power by misrepresentation and falsehood, in order to obtain some of the European articles which we had in our possession. The sultan afterwards sent to inform us that he should be occupied three days in writing to the King of England an explanation of his conduct with respect to Mr. Park's papers; and he would therefore thank us to remain in Yaoorie till the expiration of that period.

At last, on the first of August, after having been detained at Yaoorie about five weeks, shut up in narrow and gloomy apartments, annoyed by night by myriads of gnats, cockroaches, black ants, and bats, and vexed by day by human visitors, whose society was scarcely less tolerable, the travellers received the joyful intelligence that they were at liberty to depart. Accordingly they paid their respects to the king, took their leave of him, and the next morning were on their return to Boossa.

On Monday, the 2d of August, our travellers left Yaoorie, and proceeding through the river Cubbie, returned, down the Niger, by a different channel, to Boossa. Their departure from the city is thus described:

All was hurry, bustle, noise, and confusion at a very early hour in the morning, in getting our things ready for starting; but in spite of our exertions we had to wait a long time outside our house, after the beasts had been laden, and our people had their burdens on their heads, for the sultan's long-expected letter to our most gracious sovereign. A mallan was at length perceived hurrying towards us with it; and after him came, mounted on a large bony horse, and extremely well dressed in the costume of his country, the venerable Arab chief, to honour us with his company a little way on our journey. His appearance was stately and patriarchal in the extreme. But this crafty old man was not our friend, for he had used us deceitfully, and misrepresented us and our goods to his master; and we had enjoyed an innocent kind of revenge, in administering to him, after repeated applications, a powerful dose of medicine, which, harmless in its effects, had yet been very troublesome to him. Indeed it was not till we had "jalaped" the sultan, his sister, and all the royal family, that we were permitted to take our farewell of Yaoorie. The city was literally covered with water on our passing through it, and the deep hollows formed by the rains were very numerous, and dangerous by being invisible; nevertheless, with care and patience, we all got outside the gates in safety.

It is pleasant, very pleasant, after an imprisonment of five weeks in a close, dark, and unwholesome chamber, subject to every kind of inconvenience and much anxiety, to be set at liberty; to know and feel that one is free; to admire again the beauties of God's creation, and enjoy once more the cheering freshness of the country. It is only in health that such feelings can either be excited or indulged. Objects ever so charming are looked on with indifference by an invalid. For our parts, we had entered Yaoorie in sickness, and had suffered much in that city; but we left it in all the strength and vigour of health. During our residence there, the growth of vegetation had been astonishingly rapid; the face of the country wore an aspect entirely different and improved; the trees and shrubs had put on a greener and lovelier "livery;" the grasses, stunted as they were before for want of moisture, had sprung up to the surprising height of ten or twelve feet; and the corn and rice had grown up with no less vigour.

Owing to the reputed badness of the path, that by which we had entered Yaoorie was rejected for a more northerly one, leading in almost a direct line to the river Cubbie. About a mile or two from the walls of Yaoorie the old Arab stopped suddenly, and we imitating his example, he offered up a short though animated Mohammedan prayer for our success, and bidding us an affectionate farewell, he turned his horse about and returned to the city.

In the anticipation of journeying to Guarie, we had purchased an ass of Ali, the Arab; and this animal, as well as the horses, suffered greatly from the attacks of a species of large fly, which is to them by day what mosquitoes are to mankind by night; and this evil, combined with the ruggedness and inequality of the road, which was intercepted by deep and rapid rivulets, caused us much delay and annoyance. About mid-day we arrived at the walls of a pretty considerable town, called Guada, and halted near a small creek of a river flowing from Cubbie, and entered the Niger a little lower down. Here, as soon as we had taken a slight refreshment, we sent our beasts across the Niger to proceed by land to Boossa, and embarked in two canoes, which were each paddled by four men. These canoes are about eighteen or twenty feet long, and formed from a single log of wood, unlike those of Coossa. When we got into the main body of the Cubbie river, the canoemen kept us exposed to the sun for a considerable time, waiting the arrival of two companions, because the men with whom we had been supplied were unable to manage both canoes by themselves. Though we entreated the four men to go a little way with us, or at least to convey us into a cool and shady place, which we pointed out to them, for protection from the sun's rays, they would not hearken to us; we found scolding, threats, and supplication to be all equally unavailing; they maintained the same calm, yet mortifying placidity of countenance, than which in such a case nothing can be more vexing. At length we were fain to hold our peace, and patiently resigned ourselves to the inconvenience.

The Cubbie river falls into the Niger about four miles from the creek where we had embarked; and on entering the Niger, we found it running from two to three miles an hour, and with trifling labour on the part of the canoemen, we could have journeyed very rapidly; but though we had taken on board their two companions, the whole of them were so obstinately indolent, that we travelled very slowly indeed, insomuch that we did not expect to arrive at the appointed halting-place for the night. The canoes, however, were passing along almost close to the shore, and we saw a woman at the water's edge who had a quantity of cheap country beer for sale, and thinking it might animate the men to a little more exertion, we purchased as much as they could drink, which in a few minutes completely metamorphosed them. The meekness, innocence, and composure of their listless countenances soon passed away; their heavy eyes sparkled with fire and animation; they trembled all over with anxiety to display their strength, dexterity, and vigour; and each being emulous to rival his companion, they snatched up their paddles, and by their united efforts the canoes glided through the water with inconceivable velocity, even to the danger of upsetting. Thus we proceeded down the river till the sun had set, and the moon was shining beautifully on the water, as we drew near to a small Cumbrie village on the borders of the river, where we landed and pitched our tent. The thermometer to-day has varied from  $75^{\circ}$  to  $92^{\circ}$ .

*Tuesday, August 3d.*—Arising at an early hour, we shot a partridge and Guinea-fowl, and breakfasted in the open air, under the intense scrutiny of a hundred black eyes; then, striking our tent, we hastened to the canoes which we had left secured, and embarked on the river while it was yet morning, and the air cool and pleasant. Though the lowering appearance of the firmament seemed to betoken a violent storm, the black clouds dispersed as the sun gathered strength, and he burst out on us, an hour after our departure, with peculiar heat and splendour.

On all the borders of the numerous branches of the river, as well as on its small islands, vast quantities of corn were growing; and it being near the time of harvest, it was nearly ripe, and waved over the water's edge very prettily. Platforms were every where erected to the height of, or rather above the corn, which grows as high as ten or twelve feet. People were stationed on these to scare away the numerous flights of small birds, which do great mischief, and would, without this precaution, destroy the hopes of the cultivator. A boy or girl, and in many cases a woman with a child at her breast, and even a whole family together, we observed on the platforms, amusing themselves in this manner, without the slightest shade or covering of any kind to shelter them from the fierceness

of the sunbeams. Standing erect and motionless, many of them looked like statues of black marble, rather than living human beings; but others, particularly the women, disregarding their duty, were industriously employed in plaiting straw, supplying the wants of their children, manufacturing mats, dressing provisions, &c. In order the more effectually to frighten away the birds, several of the watchers were furnished with slings and stones, in the use of which they seem to be very skilful; beside these, pieces of rope were fastened from the platform to a tree at some distance, to which large calabashes were suspended, with holes in them, through which sticks were passed, so that when the rope is pulled they make a loud clattering noise. The calabashes are sometimes fastened whole to the rope, containing about a handful of stones, which answer the purpose of making a noise when put in motion, as well as the sticks. To this is often added the hallooing and screaming of the watchers, which is dismal enough to frighten an evil spirit, and it rarely fails to produce the desired effect.

The inhabitants of many of the numerous walled towns and open villages on the banks of the Niger, and also of the islands, we find, are for the most part Cumbrie people—a poor, despised, abused, but industrious and hard-working race. They are but too often oppressed and persecuted by their more fortunate and powerful neighbours, who affirm that they are fitted by nature only for slaves, and are therefore invariably treated by them as such.

The Cumbrie also inhabit many parts of Houssa and other countries; they speak different languages, but they have all the same pursuits, superstitions, amusements, and peculiar manners, to which they firmly and scrupulously adhere, both in good and bad fortune, in sickness and in health, in freedom and slavery, at home and in foreign countries, notwithstanding the scorn and derision to which it subjects them; and they are known to cherish and maintain them to the end of life, with as much pertinacity as the Hebrew does his faith and national customs. Inheriting from their ancestors a peaceful, timid, passionless, incurious disposition, they fall an easy prey to all who choose to molest them; they bow their necks to the yoke of slavery without a murmur, and think it a matter of course; and perhaps no people in the world are to be found who are less susceptible of intense feeling and the finer emotions of the human mind, on being stolen away from their favourite amusements and pursuits, and from the bosom of their wives and families, than these Cumbrie people, who are held in such general disesteem. Thousands of them reside in the kingdom of Yaorie and its province of Engarski; and most of the slaves in the capital have been taken from among them.

The tribute, or rather rent, which they pay to the sultan for the land they cultivate, consists of a quantity of corn, about the size of a bundle as much as a man can carry, for every plot of land, whether it be large or small. When, however, the harvest fails, they are at liberty to give a certain number of cowries in lieu of the accustomed duty of corn. If the poor have no means of paying their rent when it becomes due, the sultan immediately despatches a body of horsemen to their villages, with a command to seize and carry away as many of the people as they may think proper. It sometimes happens, however, that the sultan of Yaorie pulls the reins of oppression with too tight a hand; and as cowards, when driven to desperation, often give specimens of extraordinary courage and resolution, so the negligent and despised Cumbrie, writhing under the lash of injuries which they have never deserved, defend themselves with extraordinary determination and bravery, and not unfrequently come off victorious from the conflict. The benefit which results to them from these advantages is an exemption from the payment of rent for two or three subsequent years.

During our residence at Yaorie, an expedition despatched by the sultan for the above purpose, returned unsuccessful from Engarski. The most unfavourable trait in the character of the Cumbrie is the extreme dirtiness they display in their habits generally, from which not one of them appears to be free. They are generally considered good agriculturists and expert fishermen: they grow abundance of corn and onions, but a great part of the former is disposed of to the natives of Boossa and Yaorie, to whose monarchs they are subject. Most of them are rather slovenly about their persons, and make use of few orna-

ments, and even these are of the commonest description. They bore immense holes in the lobe of the ear for the admission of bits of fine coloured wood; and the soft part of the septum of the nose is perforated in like manner, through which is thrust a long piece of blue glass. When the females have a mind to appear with unusual smartness and effect, a crocodile's tooth is inserted through both lips, and projects upwards as far as the nose. These useless, unbecoming, and singular ornaments, in part to the countenance an unnatural and barbarous expression, which is very far from agreeable, and produces an unpleasant and painful emotion in the mind of the beholder. In our intercourse with the Cumbrie, they appeared mild, innocent, and even amiable in their manners; and they behaved to us with all the civility, hospitality, and kindness of their natures, untinged by insincerity or lukewarmness.

The door-way to the sleeping huts of these people, to which we alluded on our passage up the river, is the only opening they have, and is closed by a mat which is suspended inside. They have no steps to enter by, but scramble into it as well as they can. The common coozie hut is used by them for ordinary purposes, such as cooking, &c., during the day, but never at night. These sleeping huts are about seven or eight feet wide, they are nearly circular, are made of clay, and thatched with the palm leaf; they are elevated above the ground so as to secure the inmates from the annoyance of ants, snakes, and the wet ground, and even for protection from the alligators which prowl about at night in search of prey. We were informed of instances where these creatures have carried off the legs and arms of natives, who have incautiously exposed themselves to their attacks. The huts will hold about half a dozen people. Sometimes the pillars supporting the huts are walled round, but this is not often done.

The natives frequently kill the alligators by means of a heavy spear about ten feet long. One end is furnished with a heavy piece of iron-wood to give it force, and the other with a sharp-pointed barbed iron. It is attached to the bow of their canoe by a piece of grass rope, which is fastened to the upper end, and is a formidable weapon. A smaller spear of the same description is used by these people in killing fish, in which occupation they are very expert.

As we proceeded down the Niger by a different channel from that by which we had ascended it to Yaorie, we had fresh opportunities of remarking the more striking features on its banks. The river, as might naturally have been expected, is much swollen, and its current more impetuous than when we passed up on our voyage to Yaorie; and many of the stones and rocks which then annoyed us are now under water, and completely hidden. In the earlier part of the evening we landed at a small Cumbrie village, and our canoes were pulled upon a sandy beach for the night in security. The thermometer has been at 95° to-day.

*Wednesday, August 4th.*—The inhabitants of the village wherein we slept last night had nothing to offer us to eat, either then or this morning; but we had the good fortune to shoot a partridge, and we had it dressed for breakfast. But it was, like many others, a most unsavoury repast, for we had nothing to eat with it, not even a little salt; the people of the village, as well as most of their countrymen, making use of a quantity of woodashes instead, which contains saline particles, because salt is too expensive an article for these simple villagers to purchase for their own consumption. We had every thing conveyed to the canoes at an early hour, and at seven o'clock, A. M., we were once more upon the Niger. The canoe-men, as well as our own people, had forecast and contrivance enough to supply themselves with a few ears of Indian corn last night, which they thought themselves warranted to pluck from a field at no great distance from their sleeping quarters; yet all of them complained of hunger this morning, and left the village in a very ill-humour. To satisfy their appetites, our canoes were pulled on shore repeatedly during the forenoon, for the men to steal some of the corn which overhung the margin of the river. They were, however, perceived by the more diligent of the watchers, but they did not take any measures to prevent them, because they saw that they were the sultan's servants, and the whole of these have the privilege of stealing as much corn from the Cumbrie as they have occasion for. One poor man had a canoe laden with

new corn, which was pounced upon by these hungry plunderers, who compelled its reluctant owner to transfer it from his canoe into their own, without remunerating him in anywise for the loss he thus sustained. Another individual who happened to be in a canoe was chased a considerable distance down the river, under the impression that he had likewise corn with him, the robbers endeavouring to palliate their conduct by saying, that as the man paid no tribute to the sultan, his effects were at all times liable to be seized. The man, however, exerted all his strength, and happily succeeded in making his escape.

About noon we observed a herd of Falatah cows grazing on the banks of the river; and in the water a little way from them we saw an immense crocodile floating on the surface like a long canoe, for which it was at first mistaken, and watching an opportunity to seize one of them, and destroy it by dragging it into the river. As soon as he was perceived by the canoe men, they paddled as softly as possible towards him, intending to wait at a short distance till the crocodile should have accomplished his object, when they agreed to pull rapidly towards the shore and reap the fruit of the reptile's amazing strength, by scaring him off from his prey, or destroying him with harpoons, for the skin of a crocodile is not considered impenetrable here. Their intentions, however, were frustrated by the sudden disappearance of the crocodile, which dived the moment he perceived the canoe so near him, making a loud plashing noise, and agitating the water in a remarkable manner in his descent. We waited in vain for him to rise again. A very short time after this the canoe men landed at *Warree*, which is the most celebrated market-town in the dependency of Engarski, and consists of several clusters of huts encircled by a dwarf clay wall. The market is attended by many thousands of people from different parts of the country, besides Yaorie, Boossa, and Wowow, yet nothing peculiar to Engarski is exposed for sale in it; and the cheapness at which the productions of the country are disposed of is most likely the principal inducement for buyers to resort to Warree. Vast numbers of canoes, filled with people and goods, were passing from one side of the Niger to the other during our limited stay outside the town, and the countenances of both buyers and sellers betrayed a very anxious and business-like expression. As soon as our curiosity was fully satisfied, we also crossed over to the Boossa side of the river, and landed at a small walled town called *Garnicassa*, which is inhabited by the Cumbrie, and situated about five miles north of the city of Boossa. At no great distance from this place and within sight of it, all the branches of the Niger meet and form a beautiful and magnificent body of water, at least seven or eight miles in width; and it is truly astonishing what becomes of it, for at Boossa the river is not more than a stone's throw across, and its depth is in proportion to its narrowness. But about an hour's walk from thence it again becomes a noble river, and maintains its width, it is said, even to Funda. This singular fact favours the opinion, that a large portion of the waters of the Niger is conveyed by subterraneous passages from the town of *Garnicassa* to a few miles below Boossa.

Shortly after our arrival, when we were making some allusion to the river to one of the inhabitants, a Falatah hearing us came forward and made the extraordinary assertion, that instead of running to Funda, it took a turn to the eastward, and disembogued itself into the lake Tshad in Bornou. But theories respecting the Niger are even more various and contrary in this country than the hypotheses of the learned of Europe on the subject. Scarcely two people are to be found that agree in the same opinion, and their suppositions are not confined to the course and termination, but include also the source of this mysterious river; yet, with all their talk, it is easy to perceive that the natives are all entirely ignorant of the matter.

The earlier part of the evening, after our arrival at *Garnicassa*, was calm, serene, and delightful; and the silvery moon shone with unusual resplendence. It was a favourable time for the inhabitants of the town to enjoy themselves; and accordingly they were thus employed in good earnest. Singing, dancing, and music-playing are the only diversions with which the generality of the Cumbrie are acquainted; and though this people are even more despised than the slothful Hottentots of the southern part of the continent,—though their rights



are unheeded and their liberties abused, yet these considerations do not seem to impress them with gloomy reflections; and they trifle away their leisure hours in play, with as much zest and thoughtless jollity as though they were the most favoured people in the world.

A sudden and confused noise of merriment awoke me from a pleasing kind of revery in which I was indulging in the moonshine. I went out instantly to ascertain the cause of such obstreperous mirth, and discovered a number of young girls, and married women with children on their backs, dancing, singing, romping, and clapping their hands, after the manner of the country; and a group of their male relatives standing beside them as judges and spectators of their proceedings. A female would spring suddenly from amid her companions, and after skipping and dancing with great animation till she became quite exhausted, would fall backwards into the arms of her associates, who, anxiously watching her movements, had put themselves into a suitable attitude to receive her. Another would then supply her place, and then another, till all the festive party had danced in turn; and this amusement was kept up with so much spirit, that screams of laughter and other violent tokens of delight continued as long as it lasted. The dance (if it deserves the name) commenced with the whole of the females, married and single. They first formed themselves into a circle, holding fast of each other's arms, and then they moved round very slowly without lifting their feet from the ground. This exercise seemed to have occasioned them much exertion and difficulty, if we might be allowed to judge from the violent and peculiar manner in which they shook and twisted their bodies, as well as from the failure of several of the younger girls, who were obliged to quit the ring almost as soon as it was formed. This slowness of motion was gradually succeeded by a sprightlier movement, till they ran round so swiftly, that the circle was suddenly broken, and many of the women were thrown with violence to the ground. The singing, or rather screaming, and clapping of hands, together with other noises, more vociferous and wild than these, were continued till the approach of morning, when a heavy shower drove every one home. Nothing, perhaps, in this country is more capable of producing a wild, romantic, and pleasing effect than such a spectacle as this, and at such a time. In front of us lay the celebrated Niger, reflecting from its unruffled surface the splendid canopy over our heads, with the radiant clouds of departing day. On each side of the river Nature had scattered with a lavish hand the most lovely of her gifts; and verdant trees cast their tall shadows on the water. Almost close to the place where we stood was a circle of naked savage women, all black as a coal, who were performing the oddest antics imaginable; and still nearer stood a wild-looking group of their male companions, resting on their tall spears and participating in the frolic with all their hearts. A three-cornered rush or straw hat, having a high peak, but without a brim, was the only article of dress worn by these men. Altogether, as we have already said, the scene was such as to fill the mind with the highest gratification and delight. To us it was irresistibly charming, and we contemplated it a long time with emotions of the most pleasing description.

*Thursday, August 5th.*—It rained incessantly till between eleven and twelve o'clock in the forenoon, when the sun made his appearance at intervals, and the weather became fine, which we promptly availed ourselves of, in pursuing our journey along the banks of the Niger to Boossa. The path was filled with water, and broken up by the force of the rains. After an hour's ride we drew near to the walls of the city, and soon arrived at the drummer's house, which had been our former residence. Here we found the midiki on her knees to receive and welcome us back again to Boossa in the name of the king. But we were not permitted to enter and take possession of our old apartments, for the queen conducted us to other huts, which form part of a cluster inhabited by Falatahs, and emigrants of both sexes from Yarriba and Nouffie, who are mostly slaves to the king. A quantity of milk and large calabashes of rice and fish, stewed in palm oil, were sent us a few minutes after our arrival; and in the evening we were visited by the monarch, who said he had been apprehensive that we required a little repose and quietness after our journey, and therefore he did not like to in-

trude on us before. He expressed the pleasure he felt on seeing us again, and welcomed us with the utmost cordiality. The midiki, who had accompanied him to our house, paid us a similar compliment. It has been told us that the drummer's wife had excited the envy of the queen by wearing round her neck a smart gilt button which we had given her; and that this is the only reason that we are not allowed to occupy our former lodgings in her house. Yet, to be even with her *fair* rival, the queen had extracted from her little sheepskin box, wherein they had been confined for a quarter of a century, a small number of round and flat golden ornaments, with which she has adorned her sable bosom, and thereby totally eclipsed the transitory splendour of the button belonging to the drummer's wife.

On our arrival at Boossa, the face and hands of my brother and self were much swollen and highly inflamed by exposure to the sun, and this circumstance, simple as it was, excited the queen's sympathy almost to tears.

*Friday, August 6th.*—In a conversation with the king this morning, he intimated that it would be necessary for us to visit Wowow, previous to our going to Funda, because the prince of that state, he said had already made war on Kiama on our account, and captured a few of its people. The king had been induced, from the representations of the midiki, who is sister to the chief of Wowow, to urge our taking this step; and as we dare not raise objections, we have promised to go thither in a day or two, although we are well aware that the little present we shall be necessitated to offer him will by no means answer his expectations. The king has himself repeated to us the promise which he made to our man, of furnishing us with a canoe sufficiently large to contain the whole of our people and ourselves, and whatever goods we may have left; and in order to bind him to his word, we have given him our tent and the horse which was lately his own; so that deprived of these, we shall not have the means of travelling on land, and shall therefore of necessity be obliged to proceed by water. To the queen also, whose influence over the mind and actions of her husband is unbounded, we have made a present much greater than our means warranted, with which she is more than pleased. We have further endeavoured to win her favour by kindness, compliment, and flattery; and these means are the most powerful and effective in the world. The simple-hearted females of this country are quite unable to resist them. Thus far every thing is favourable to our enterprise, yet doubts sometimes arise in our minds; and should a canoe be denied us after all that the monarch of this place has said, we are determined, when the time draws near for our departure, to take a canoe of our own accord, and steal away from Boossa by night. "Falatahs," said the king to-day with much seriousness, "reside on each side of the river in considerable numbers, and I begin to fear that they will endanger your personal safety." "But," answers Pascoe, our interpreter, "Englishmen are gods of the waters, and no evil can befall them in boats, even though all Africa, or the whole world, should fight against them." "I will, however," said the king in reply, "go down and ask the *becken rouah* (dark or black water, which the Niger is everywhere emphatically styled) whether it will be prudent and safe for the white men to embark on it or not, and I will be sure to acquaint you and them of my success, be it good or bad." To-morrow morning, we understand, he intends making this singular experiment; and we only hope that the Niger may return him a favourable answer to his question.

To-day, when we ascertained that it was the actual intention of the king to supply us with a canoe, we thought proper to present him, in the name of our sovereign, with one of those beautiful silver medals which were cast during the American war, for the purpose of distributing among those Indian chiefs who were favourable to the English interests. A large and valuable chain of the same metal was attached to it, and nothing which we had previously given the king seemed to have pleased him so much as this medal and chain; he regarded it indeed with childish admiration. We assured him that he might now consider himself as the King of England's most particular friend, and that he could not offer a more grateful return, than by favouring and assisting us in our plan of journeying to the salt-water by way of the Niger.

*Saturday, August 7th.*—Just after we had arisen this morning, the king came to us with joy beaming in his countenance, and quickly informed us that, according to his promise, he had been down to the Niger, with his mallam or priest, and that the result of his visit was highly favourable to our wishes as well as his own; “the river having promised to conduct us in safety to its termination.” One of our greatest apprehensions is by this means removed.

At length, all things being ready, our travellers departed for Wowow, and the next day arrived at that city. On entering it, they immediately galloped swiftly towards the king’s residence, and fired off a couple of pistols as a signal of their arrival. The king, they say, presently came out to see us; but as the messenger from Boossa was not at hand, and as it is the custom never to enter into any kind of conversation without him, the old chief awaited his coming with much patience for more than half an hour, nor could we approach him during that time. Indeed, no foreigner is permitted to do so, whatever may be his rank, unless in presence of the representative of the chief from whom he last came. A number of well dressed mallams walked before the king on his coming out, and a man bearing on his shoulder a heavy sword came after them; and last of all followed a long train of his wives and children, who squatted themselves on the ground, and filled up the doorway. In the wall on each side of the entrance of the town is a large niche, in one of which the king stood fixed and motionless, with his hands clasped under his tobe and supported on his bosom; and round a pole which had been placed erect in the other niche, a naked youth had entwined his legs, remaining in breathless anxiety to be a spectator of the approaching interview. No two human beings ever bore a more striking resemblance to statues than these; the deception was indeed complete. For ourselves, we had sent our horses to graze, and sat about a dozen paces from the doorway, under a large tree;—the mallams were sprawling on the earth between the king and us; and at a respectful distance on each side, groups of the inhabitants had assembled to gratify their curiosity.

While the king remained in the above position, without moving a single muscle, and which lasted till our messenger had made his appearance, a singing-woman drew near the person of her sovereign, and began to exercise her vocation in a tone of voice that displayed any thing but sweetness and melody, and so loud and shrill as to frighten away the birds from the trees near the spot. After this salutation, she fell on her knees, and repeatedly threw handfuls of earth over her left shoulder down her back. The Boossa messenger who had been so anxiously expected at length arrived, and the spell which had bound every one to the spot was dissolved in a moment. We were then conducted to the king, and formally introduced to him; but the grave, eccentric old man shook hands with us without taking them from the tobe in which they had been enveloped, or even condescending to look in our faces, for he never makes it a practice to raise his head above a certain height; fearing he may discover the person with whom he may be conversing, gazing full in his countenance, to which he has a very strange but unconquerable antipathy. The interview lasted but a moment, and we were hastily conducted to the house which was occupied by the late Captain Clapperton; and here we were soon visited by a number of the principal people of the city. In the course of the morning we received a quantity of eggs, milk, yams, and a fat sheep, as a present from the king.

Our travellers remained at Wowow until the 20th of August. The incidents which occurred during their sojourn there were very similar to those already related as having taken place at other African courts. The Mohammedan Sabbath was celebrated, as is usual, by public recreations and festivities, and followed by the customary horse-race. The race was commenced by eight or ten ponies, as handsome as they were swift, and the competition between them was most spirited. After the contest between them had been concluded, the king made his appearance at the lower end of the course, riding slowly towards the starting place, preceded by singing and dancing women, who bawled and capered before him. The horses were chiefly rode by little boys, one of whom was the king’s son: when they galloped past their sovereign they invariably doffed

their caps as a mark of respect. As soon as the race was over the king returned to his residence, and his example was presently followed by the prince and the other part of his household. But all these were obliged to return by a different path, because it is against the rules of etiquette for any one of the natives to attend the footsteps of his sovereign on the celebration of any public amusement.

The king received his present with great satisfaction, although he sent a messenger to the travellers after its reception to inquire if they had not brought any coral beads with them from England. The present consisted of two pair of silver bracelets, a piece of coarse muslin, sufficient for a couple of turbans, a tobacco pipe, two razors, a new gilt button, two small and inferior looking-glasses, a clasp knife, a pair of scissors, and two combs.

The king expressed great satisfaction that the travellers visited him, because he said it would convince his neighbours that the white men neither disliked nor despised him. "I am now infinitely happy," said he to them, "for surely I could not have left the world in peace if you had departed from the country without having visited the old king of Wowow." Guns were fired off in honour of their arrival; and the king and his wives, elated with joy, passed the day in dancing, laughing, and singing. The king informed the travellers that he would sell them a canoe, and assured them that he was convinced that they would return in safety to their own country by way of the Niger, which, he said, did not contain a single rock from *Inguazhilligee* to Funda.

The following extracts from the journal of the Landers, containing some account of the religion, customs, and condition of the kingdom of Wowow, may not be uninteresting to the readers of this book:—The religion is nominally Mahometan; but still much deference is paid to the ancient religion of the country. The travellers say:

This day a long and gay procession, formed by the female followers of the ancient religion of the country, passed through the town, walking and dancing alternately, with large spreading branches of trees in their hands. The priestess, at the time we saw her, had just swallowed fetish-water, and was carried on the shoulders of one of the devotees, who was assisted by two female companions, supporting the trembling hands and arms of their mistress. Her body was convulsed all over, and her features shockingly distorted, while she stared wildly and vacantly on the troop of enthusiasts and other objects which surrounded her. The priestess was then believed to be possessed with a demon; indeed, to us they all appeared to be so, for not one of them seemed in their sober senses, so indubitably fantastic were their actions, and so unseemly did they deport themselves. A younger woman was likewise borne on the shoulders of a friend, and carried along in the same manner as her mistress; but she was by no means so uncouth a figure, nor was her agitation so great as that of the priestess, by whom she was preceded. The whole of the women forming this strange procession might amount to between ninety and a hundred; they were clad in their "holyday best;" their motions were regulated at times by the sound of drums and fifes, and to this music they joined their wild shrill voices. They were arranged in couples, and with the branches of trees shaking in the air, presented one of the most extraordinary and grotesque spectacles that the human mind can conceive.

The King of Wowow is making new roads, and repairing and widening old ones leading to and from the city. This is the only instance we have yet seen wherein even the slightest attention has been paid by a chief to the state of the public pathway, during the whole of the journey from Badagry to Yaoorie; and the reason urged by the ruler of this place for undertaking the business is somewhat singular, though shrewd and just. "If," says he, "an enemy were to come towards my gates with a hostile intention, and find the roads broken up or overgrown with weeds, would they not say among themselves, 'Oh, this King of Wowow is a careless, slothful, cowardly governor; his town contains but few inhabitants, for see, the path is green and untrodden by human feet; let us go and attack it, for it will easily fall into our hands?' But," he continued, "should they find it of convenient width, smooth, and free from grass, they would immediately say, 'This road is trodden by the feet of many people; the town must

be populous, strong, and flourishing, and its monarch watchful and brave; if we venture to make an assault, we foresee that we shall be overpowered and slain; it is better for us all to turn back while we are yet undiscovered and unharmed, lest some evil fall upon us when it is too late to retreat."

Thus the talkative old king argues with his people, that they may throw off that laziness which is natural to them, and be animated to industry and labour in the common cause.

A greater quantity of yams is cultivated in the vicinity of Wowow than is grown in all the other principalities of Borgoo put together. It is a common question on the path when the natives meet a stranger, "What! are you going to Wowow to eat yams?" And the King of Boossa jocosely observed to us in parting, "That after we had tasted the yams of his relative, he was apprehensive we should be inclined to remain a longer period in Wowow than he had proposed, for that they were a powerful inducement."

Rice and corn are also cultivated to an unlimited extent here, and two species of beans, so that the necessaries of life are very plentiful and cheap. Reaping has commenced, and the wet season, it is said, is nearly over. As in most other places, indigo and cotton are yearly produced at Wowow in abundance.

*Sunday, August 15th.*—Yesterday and this morning I was seized with giddiness of the head and other symptoms, which are the usual precursors of a fever in this country. We had left our medicine-chest behind at Boossa, and as I was apprehensive that I should be laid up in this city, if I remained in it longer, my brother agreed with me in opinion, that it would be advisable for me to return without delay to Boossa, and leave him here to settle the business respecting the canoe, &c. I therefore got on horseback as soon as the vertigo had passed away, and without stopping to bid adieu to the king, immediately departed on my journey with two attendants. My brother furnished me afterwards with the following account of the events which fell under his own observation during the time we were absent from each other.

"A very few minutes after my brother had departed from Wowow, the prince sent me a young bullock and a number of yams; and his brother likewise presented me with a quantity of milk, rice, and a fatted goat.

"About mid-day the female worshippers of the ancient gods, who have already been alluded to, performed a second mystical ceremony, which is enjoined by their religion, and afterward paraded the streets in the same order as on the former occasion. When it was over and the procession had dispersed, without intimating their intention, several of them paid me a visit attended by musicians with drums, flutes, and guitars, and a great number of little boys and girls. I was sitting in a shed outside our hut at the time, with a sheet spread before me to keep off the eyes of the curious; and when it was pulled up by the priestess herself, who was fantastically dressed in man's apparel, and when, with her large rolling eyes, and phrensied countenance and manner, she performed her antics before me, uttering at the same time a piercing yell, more dismal than a dog's at midnight, I started and shuddered a moment, for I was quite unprepared to witness such an object. But the poor enthusiast had no evil intention, for she fell down on her knees, gazed at me with tears in her eyes, and with a look of tenderness, held out her hand as a token of friendship, blessed me, and then arose and went out to make room for her principal attendants, who shrieked like her, and offered their hands in the same manner. Our Boossa messenger, and other individuals, who had come in before this most singular method of salutation was ended, subsequently received the benediction of the devotees, which was bestowed on them by the elder of the females. The method of doing it was novel and peculiar; in the first place, the man was placed in a stooping position, the female then twisted his left arm, and pulled it over the back with all her might; it was then let go, to the great relief of the man; and she placed both her hands on his shoulders, which she pressed down with great energy, muttering between her teeth during the time the blessing which he had sought; but this was so inaudible that it could not be understood. It was not the woman, said the bystanders, but a spirit within her that spoke, and that influenced her and her companions in all

their actions. So the people went away confirmed in this belief, and quite happy.

"The religion which these enthusiasts profess, and which was not long since the prevailing religion of the country, is still held in great reverence here; so much so indeed, that the king's daughters were early initiated into its mysteries, and invariably attend the celebration of all its superstitious rites and ordinances; in fact, the priestess herself is one of them. Their parent also is still favourable towards the religion of his fathers, which is blended with Arab fables and traditions, (for the Mohammedan creed in its purity is unknown here,) and these form the foundation and superstructure of his faith.

"The priestess and her followers believe in the existence of a God, and a heaven wherein he resides; that this glorious and almighty Being superintends the destinies of man in this life, and in a future one rewards or punishes him according to his deserts. Yet of a hell, or a place of eternal torment, they have no idea whatever. The souls of good men, say they, are translated into a tranquil, happy, and beautiful region, wherein but one monkey is permitted to reside, and wherein they reside for ever; whereas the wicked, before they can be allowed to participate in so much felicity and enjoyment, are forced to endure sorrow, pain, and punishment:—a variety of tortures are in store for them, such as scourging and beating, till it is considered sufficient punishment has been inflicted for their misdeeds, when they are exalted to a happier state of being.

"Others, who waver between the Mohammedan religion and the ancient faith, believe that at the end of the world a voice will sound from heaven to invite all black men to the world of bliss, but that these will be too much unconcerned and too lazy to embrace the offer; a second voice will then proclaim the same invitation to white men, who will spring up with alacrity and transport, and enter the celestial regions before them, with books in their hands. They profess to believe also, that two men were originally created, one black and the other white, from whom the whole world is descended.

"The professors of the ancient superstition sacrifice a bullock, a sheep, or a black goat to their divinities, but they shudder at the very idea of a human offering. Instead of agreeing with us that the world will be destroyed by fire, they suppose that its Divine Maker will roll it up like a parchment scroll, and put it aside for a future occasion.

"It is somewhat remarkable that in Haussa they have a tradition that the name of our great forefather was *Adam* (pronounced exactly in the same manner as we pronounce the word.) *Da Adam*, in the same language, signifies an object when observed indistinctly at a distance, bearing the least resemblance to a man. The mother of the human race is called *Ameenatoo* in Haussa.

The more respectable classes of society in Wowow and Boossa, after their decease, are buried in the yard of the house in which they resided when alive; while the people in the common walks of life are interred in a spot of ground selected for the purpose in a thick wood, which is at some distance from the city, and answering to our own places of burial. The friends of the former, as soon as they are made acquainted with his dissolution, resort to his house, and make lamentation for him for the space of seven days, wearing during that period their very worst apparel. But the relatives of a poor man attend his remains to the burying ground, and abide in the wood till their grief is assuaged and the time of mourning expired.

"Marriage among free people is exceedingly simple, and is attended with little mirth or festive recreation of any kind. The intended husband is allowed to have nothing to do in the affair, though it concerns him so nearly, and the parents of the girl are equally out of the question. When the parties become attached to each other, the female goes immediately to acquaint her *grandmother* of the circumstance, and coaxes the old woman to give her consent for her to live henceforward with her suitor, for she alone has the power of giving the maiden away. If it happens, however that she has no grandmother, the girl is at liberty to act as she pleases. Several days are always allowed for the old woman to reflect and ponder over the whole matter in her mind; and this interval is generally embraced by the man in making her trifling presents, and doing her

other little acts of kindness, in the hope of gaining her over to his interests. When a free man forms an affection for a female who is a slave, and he has money sufficient for the purpose, he goes to her master, whoever he may be, unbosoms his mind to him, and informs him of his intention of taking the woman to wife, if he will give him permission. Should the owner of the girl approve of the connexion, the suitor pays him twenty thousand cowries for his consent to the match, though a smaller sum is oftentimes offered and accepted; and the object of his affections from that time becomes his spouse. Yet the children which she may bear him cannot be retained by the father, but are considered the exclusive property of the wife's master, who lays claim to them and takes them away as soon as they are able to run about. Nor does the marriage ceremony break the bonds of the woman's slavery, for she is liable to be called upon whenever the master thinks proper, when she is obliged to serve him in the same manner as if she had remained in a single state. The union of slaves among each other depends entirely upon the will and pleasure of their owners.

"A man is at liberty to return his wife to her parents at any time, and without adducing any reason for his dislike and dissatisfaction. When this is his intention, he treats his spouse with disrespect and unkindness, which she soon understands the meaning of, and of her own accord she goes back to her friends, and tells them of what has occurred. These subsequently repair in a body to the husband's house, and question him in a formal manner whether it is his desire that his wife should continue to abide with them. If so, the connexion is forthwith dissolved, and she is again considered in the light of an unmarried woman. The children (if any) the mother is by no means permitted to take along with her, but they are left behind with their father, who delivers them over to the care of his other women.

"The King of Wowow daily inquires after my health, and sends me a quantity of yams, milk, and eggs, every morning. Although this old chief has received a present infinitely smaller than we have given any other ruler, yet his treatment of us has been more generous than that of all of them together. His brother, also, and one or two other respectable individuals, have been equally kind, and have endeavoured all in their power to render our stay among them perfectly agreeable. They expect nothing in return for their hospitality, for we have nothing but a few needles to offer them, and we have told them so again and again; nevertheless, their attention and kindness do not diminish.

"*Tuesday, August 17th.*—I was taken extremely unwell this morning with an indiscrible and very unpleasant sensation in the head, which made me so lifeless and stupid that I could scarcely keep my eyes open for the remainder of the day, and obliged me to lie on my mat till evening, where I dozed away the hours more uncomfortably than I can describe. It is very remarkable that hitherto in the evening preceding the day on which we have been taken ill we have ever been surprisingly brisk and lively, with an unnatural flow of spirits; and we are so well aware of this that we always anticipate what is sure to follow, when we find ourselves in this merry mood, namely, an attack of illness on the ensuing morning.

"The messenger sent by the king to procure us a canoe is not yet returned from Inguazhilligee; another was despatched after him yesterday, and this morning a third, it is said, has left the town on the same errand; so at least people have informed us. The object of the first of these men is not confined to his visiting the ferry; but if he could not meet with a canoe to his satisfaction there, he has been desired to proceed farther down the Quorra until he should see one that should answer our purpose. He is also to examine and report the appearance of a reef of rocks like that at Boossa, which runs across the river below Inguazhilligee, and collect monies and duties owing to his master. It is therefore not much to be wondered at that he is not yet returned to Wowow. In the evening one of our men arrived from my brother at Boossa; he informed me by letter of his convalescence, and of his intention of returning to this city yesterday, which however had been frustrated by desire of the king. The letter stated further that the midiki would settle with her brother, the prince of Wowow, for the canoe which he has promised to sell us; and therefore that I was at liberty to

take my leave of him whenever I might think proper. Also in the evening I received an intimation from the king to remain in the city till his messenger, who is hourly expected, shall have returned from the banks of the Niger. Indeed it is more than unlikely, if my present indisposition continue, that I shall be able to undergo the fatigues of a journey to Boossa, for a day or two at least; so that this restraint of the king I shall scarcely feel."

At Wowow our travellers gained further intelligence in regard to the books and papers of Mr. Park, but were not able to recover any thing of value. It appeared that one of the inhabitants had picked up in the Niger several books, at the period of Mr. Park's death, and that he kept them carefully concealed till the arrival of Captain Clapperton at Wowow, when, finding that that officer made no inquiry for such books, he neglected to pay any further attention to them, and to use his own words, "they dropped or fell to pieces." A young man by the name of *Abba* with whom the travellers became acquainted at Wowow, informed them, that the late king of Wowow, father to the then king, became possessed of much of Mr. Park's property, among which was a great quantity of guns and ammunition, particularly, musket balls, which they saw. Before this monarch's dissolution he left them to be divided among his sons, and our travellers were able to recover nothing but a large pillow or cushion, containing an old Arabic manuscript.

August 20th, John Lander bid farewell to the king of Wowow, and returned to join his brother, who it will be recollected, had gone to Boossa. On his journey thither, which required about two days, he encamped at night at a little village, whose inhabitants entertained the most frightful notions of the character of white men.

"In the evening, when the sun was going down, and when the birds, recovering from the sultry heat of the day, had begun to warble in the coolness of evening, the elders of the village assembled under the spreading branches of a noble tree to spend an hour or two in familiar chat, in pursuance of their common practice. To promote their cheerfulness and assist their conversation, large calabashes of strong home-brewed beer were placed by the side of them. Having swallowed two or three large draughts, the old men drew close to each other, and the venerable chronicler of the hamlet, in an under tone, started a conversation respecting their guest, the fearful white man of the west; and various and horrible were the conjectures of each on the cannibalism of his countrymen; their mysterious supernatural powers, and their partiality for the blood of black men in particular. Their conversation became more serious as the beer began to operate on the old men, and as the dusk of evening came on they drew still closer together; their legs, which had before been stretched out carelessly and comfortably at full length on the ground, were now gathered up under them; and every now and then they ventured to look back over their shoulders to steal a glance at me, for I was not far off, but this only seemed to inspire them with greater fear than before. The younger natives were about this time returning to the village from their usual occupations by the river-side and in the fields, and they stopped to join the company of the old men. The latter were almost naked, and the young men and girls were perfectly so, as well as the children of both sexes which had been attracted to the party, and stood listening to the tales of horror which were related. One of our men had been sitting all the while with them, partaking of their beer, and had been silent till he conceived it almost time to retire, when he endeavoured to undeceive them in regard to their opinion of the unnatural propensities of white men, and to overthrow all the visions of bloody adventures which they had imbibed in their infancy, and cherished in their old age, and which had this evening been strengthened almost to realities by my presence, assisted by the effects of the beer they had drunk. But their love for the marvellous could not so easily be eradicated from their minds, and they turned a deaf ear to his remarks. The children shunned my hut as if it contained a serpent or a scorpion, and one or two of them that met me by accident, started, then looked anxiously, eagerly, and entreatingly at me for a moment, as if overcome by terror, and then shrieked aloud and ran away."



At Boossa it was our travellers intention to embark again on the Niger, and explore that river with a view of finally settling the question of its entrance to the ocean. To aid the travellers in this enterprise, the midiki or queen of Boossa had undertaken to purchase a canoe of her brother, the king of Wowow, and now the king of Boossa, despatched a messenger to visit all the towns and villages on the Nouffie side of the Quorra, or Niger, as far as the Falatah town of *Rabba*, and to request their chiefs and governors, in the name of the King of Boossa, to suffer them to pass down the river without inquiry or molestation. It was, therefore, necessary to wait at Boossa until these objects should have been accomplished. During the time of this detention, another Mohammedan festival occurred, celebrated with greater pomp and ceremony, and joyous festivity than even any of the former already described. After races with which these festivals always end, were concluded, the people, both strangers and inhabitants, collected together before the king's house, for the purpose of hearing an oration from their monarch; for, in pursuance of an ancient and established practice, the King of Boossa annually harangues his people on the celebration of this festival. The sovereign is at least a head taller than any of his subjects, so that he was a remarkable and conspicuous object to every one of his audience. If such a comparison may be ventured on, the commencement of his speech was in its nature not unlike that delivered on the opening of parliament by his majesty of England. The King of Boossa began by assuring his people of the internal tranquillity of the empire, and of the friendly disposition of foreign powers towards him. He then exhorted his hearers to attend to the cultivation of the soil, to work diligently, and live temperately; and concluded with an injunction for them all to be abstemious in the use of beer. He declared that too much indulgence in it was the source of much evil and wretchedness, and the cause of most of the quarrels and disturbances that had taken place in the city. "Go; retire to rest soberly and cheerfully," said the king, "and do as I have requested you, when you will be an example to your neighbours, and win the good opinion and applause of mankind." The king's speech lasted for three quarters of an hour. He spoke vehemently and with much eloquence; his language was forcible and impressive, and his action appropriate and commanding; and he dismissed the assembly with a graceful and noble air. Instead of a sceptre, the monarch flourished a lion's tail.

The day after the races was devoted almost exclusively to dancing and singing and other trifling diversions which are more generally relished by people of all ranks, and of both sexes. At an early hour in the morning, the people of the city, with musicians in their train, assembled in large groups, and continued parading the streets all day, and singing and dancing were kept up without intermission till four o'clock in the afternoon. Nothing could surpass the hilarity and general good-humour which prevailed among the people during the day. The features of every one were animated with joy. There was no ordinary mirth; for being naturally of a warm-hearted, sanguine disposition, they entered into the sports of the day with a fervency which displayed itself in all manner of extraordinary tricks, gestures, and movements. This was a holy-day for all, from the king to the meanest of his subjects. The old seemed to have forgotten their weight of years, the young knew no restraint, and those who before had talked of love in secret, now openly exchanged with each other

"Quips and cranks, and wanton wiles,  
Nods and becks, and wreathed smiles."

A short relaxation from this tumultuous pastime was now obtained by some in making preparations for joining the king's party, which was fast collecting at his house. Such diversions as theirs, so highly exciting and gratifying, are nevertheless wearisome to the strongest frame, and in this sultry climate must be particularly so to them. When they had all assembled, they presented a singularly grotesque and striking appearance. A cluster of between sixty and seventy Falatahs, men, women, and children, were some standing and some sitting in front of the doorway leading to the interior apartments. Their dresses were re-

markably clean, neat, varied, and becoming; the long black hair of the women was ingeniously and prettily braided, and confined in nets and caps; and their flowing garments of striped cotton swept along the ground: the men wore red caps, loose white tobes, and full trousers; and their little children were pleasingly clad, and decorated with all the finery and ornaments which their parents had been able to bestow on them. These well-looking Falatahs formed the most interesting and agreeable assemblage of the whole; they had likewise more vivacity in their looks, and more quickness of action, than any of their companions. To the right of them, in an enclosure of mud, was seated the Queen of Boossa, dressed loosely, though not inelegantly, in rich English silks, as spectatress of the amusements; behind her were the king's other wives, and her own female slaves, who were pretty numerous. They formed also a cleanly, decent group, inferior only to the former. On each side of the Falatahs and behind them was a great number of other spectators, of all ranks, many of whom were standing, and many sitting on the turf and reclining against the trunks of trees. Most of the men were clad in the Mohammedan costume, with cap, tobe, and trousers; and the majority of the women were dressed in neat and durable country-cloths, which were carelessly thrown over the left shoulder, and reached to the ground, leaving the right arm and shoulder, and part of the right leg, uncovered. A few among them, however, wore common Manchester cottons, of a large, showy, and vulgar pattern, which were infinitely surpassed by their own country cloth.

Although the king had not made his appearance, the amusements were carried on with much animation; and the dancers, far from being tired, seemed to imbibe fresh vigour and renewed activity; while the drummers, eight in number, with a fifer as an assistant, continued playing to them. A man first started from the crowd with a bundle of rushes in his hand, like a German broom, which he flourished over his head with inconceivable dexterity. After dancing awhile, he was joined by two Falatah women, who imitated his actions, and partook of his glee. One of them held a little girl by the hand; and the whole four individuals, man, women, and child, continued the dancing till they were completely fatigued, when they were succeeded by another party of three or four, and then another in like manner, so that there was not a moment's pause in the dance at any time. They kept good time with the music and singing. But instead of the quick, lively motion which is generally observed on similar occasions, the dancers moved with a slow and measured step, in which there was nothing unbecoming or improper, and all seemed consistent with the rules of delicacy. For want of a proper fan, the females used neat round mats of various colours; and it afforded us no little entertainment to see them placed before the mouth whenever they wished to hide their faces, or attempt to conceal their laughter.

Meanwhile the king was expected by every one with much anxiety and impatience, for as yet he had not been present to witness the diversions of his people; and it was not till past four in the afternoon that he showed himself from one of his huts. His arrival was welcomed by a spirited rally upon the drums, while he took his seat on a stool between the queen's station and the group of Falatahs, and perceiving us among the crowd, he invited us to place ourselves near his person. Several attendants who had followed their master stood on each side of him, forming, if it may so be called, a "guard of honour." One of these men held two large bundles of spears, whose points or barbs were confined in caps of burnished brass, on which he rested his head with much solemnity, and with a slight inclination of the body; while from his temples was suspended a huge and enormous hat, made either of grass or rushes, which reached to the ground, and covered him like a shield. Others held loose bundles of spears, fans, and arrows, with the two prodigious Arab trumpets which have before been casually alluded to. Thus attended, the king entered into the spirit of the performances with a merry heart, and a determination to be pleased with them. He appeared to be by far the most delighted spectator of the whole, and signified his approbation by encouraging words and glances to those who danced or sung to his satisfaction. A cheerful smile animated his countenance during the whole time, and caused his features to assume an expression of good-

humour which it is a particular custom in him never to display so fully except on occasions of public festivity and enjoyment, though he is one of the pleasantest and best-tempered men that we have met with in Africa.

There was an elderly female who danced alone before the king, and by the peculiarity of her looks, and her ludicrous and uncommon gestures, afforded us very great amusement. This woman is a tall, awkward, masculine, and uncommonly figure; yet she endeavoured to look so serious, at the same time with so arch a countenance, and with a half-averted glance smiled with so much artfulness and loving-kindness on her sovereign and his attendants, dancing at the same time with such an extraordinary motion of her person, that she obtained universal applause. This was a fair challenge to the king; and as soon as she had finished, the monarch himself arose and stepped into the ring to display his acquirements in the art. Every one stood on his legs, out of respect to their sovereign, as well to applaud his dancing as to obtain a fairer opportunity of beholding his person; and a great press was made by the crowd in consequence, that they might gain a better view of him. The king moved with much stiffness and stateliness, which is at all times unbecoming in a dance; but the populace expressed their admiration of his abilities in shouts of joy, and certainly his attempts to please and amuse them deserved the full extent of applause. To us, however, it does not appear that Nature, which has been so bountiful to this beloved monarch in other respects, has fitted him for so active an amusement as this; for though his size approaches to the majestic, though he walks and rides with equal ease, and though the exercise by no means requires the greatest flexibility of body, his dance, to us at least, was a complete failure; for he has a foot which may be compared to that of a dromedary in point of size, and his toe is anything but "light and fantastic." When his first dance, which was much the same as that performed by his people, was concluded, the king began a second, by imitating the canter of a native horse when going to war. This, as may be supposed, was an inexpressibly odd and whimsical experiment, but it lasted a short time only; for in a very few minutes he disappeared from the spectators by cantering into one of his huts, followed by the cheers of admiration and the acclamations of every one present.

The sun had now set, and with the departure of the prince the singing and dancing ceased for the evening; nevertheless all the people patiently awaited his return to the spot. Now, of all the celebrated dancers in the country, none can excel or equal the King of Wowow in grace, elegance, and vivacity; and the fame of his skill in this amusement, which is thought so much of in this country, is gone abroad into all lands; every one, even his enemies, acknowledge his superiority in this polite accomplishment; and the envious and malicious are compelled to own that he is without a rival from Bornou to the sea. Yet, notwithstanding his renown as a dancer, the chief is a very aged man, having a most solemn and forbidding aspect; and though he has evidently, to use a common expression, one foot in the grave, he is as active as a boy, and indulges largely in this his favourite amusement every Friday. It was in order for us to witness his elegant dancing, we have been told, that he pressed us with so much earnestness and importunity to spend the holidays at Wowow, which we should certainly have consented to but for the discouragement our project received from the King of Boossa, who was envious of his celebrity, and therefore compelled, rather than enticed us to remain here, that we might see his personal accomplishments to advantage, witness the public gayety and festivities of his people, and in his imagination be struck with astonishment and admiration at his own perfection in the art of dancing.

The Boossa people did not wait long for the reappearance of their monarch; for shortly after he came out to them, followed by a boy with two calabashes full of covies, which were to be distributed among the multitude. But first of all the king took up a handful, and gave to each of the singers, dancers, and musicians that had contributed so essentially to his entertainment; nor was the tall old woman forgotten, who had danced alone before him, for she received a double allowance. We were rather pleased at this, for she is our next-door neighbour, a poor old woman, who is very chatty and flippant, and has fallen in love with

one of our young men, named Antonio. This having been done to the apparent satisfaction of all parties, the remainder of the cowries were scattered by the king's own hand among the crowd to be scrambled for, which occasioned the most animating and amusing sight that can be conceived. Parents and children, brothers and sisters, strangers and friends, were scrambling and tumbling over each other, some on their faces and some on their knees, both giving and receiving cuffs and kicks in the scuffle to get at the money. This scramble lasted about ten minutes, when the party before the king's house broke up; but the good-natured monarch, to show his affection for his subjects, whom he indeed regards with as much tenderness as if they were his children, was unwilling to send them to their homes without giving them another last treat, so he danced sideways half-way up the race-course and back again to his residence with much stateliness. This was indeed a royal attempt; the midiki smiled with delight that she had *such* a spouse; the people were louder than ever in their shouts of approbation; all was noise, tumult, and confusion; their sovereign was more beloved than ever he had been; and as the evening closed in, silence was gradually restored, and the people retired to their homes. This was the last of the holidays, and the proceedings of this day have concluded their festivities.

About ten o'clock at night, when we were sleeping on our mats, we were suddenly awoke by a great cry of distress from innumerable voices, attended by a horrid clashing and clattering noise, which the hour of the night tended to make more terrific. Before we had time to recover from our surprise, old Pascoe rushed breathless into our hut, and informed us with a trembling voice that "the sun was dragging the moon across the heavens." Wondering what could be the meaning of so strange and ridiculous a story, we ran out of the hut half-dressed, and we discovered that the moon was totally eclipsed. A number of people were gathered together in our yard, in dreadful apprehension that the world was at an end, and that this was but the "beginning of sorrows." We learned from them that the Mohammedan priests residing in the city, having personified the sun and moon, had told the king and the people that the eclipse was occasioned through the obstinacy and disobedience of the latter luminary. They said that for a long time previously the moon had been displeased with the path she had been compelled to take through the heavens, because it was filled with thorns and briars, and obstructed with a thousand other difficulties; and therefore that, having watched for a favourable opportunity, she had this evening deserted her usual track, and entered into that of the sun. She had not, however, travelled far up the sky, on the forbidden road, before the circumstance was discovered by the sun, who immediately hastened to her in his anger, and punished her dereliction by clothing her in darkness, forcing her back to her own territories, and forbidding her to shed her light upon the earth. This story, whimsical as it may seem, was received with implicit confidence in its truth by the king and queen, and most of the people of Boossa; and the cause of the noises which we had heard, and which were still continuing with renewed vehemence, was explained to us by the fact that they were all "assembled together in the hope of being able to frighten away the sun to his proper sphere, and leave the moon to enlighten the world as at other times." This is much after the manner of many savage nations.

While our informant was yet speaking to us, a messenger arrived at our yard from the king, to tell us the above tale, and with an invitation to come to see him immediately. Therefore, slipping on the remainder of our clothes, we followed the man to the residence of his sovereign from outside of which the cries proceeded, and here we found the king and his timid partner sitting on the ground. Their usual good spirits and cheerful behaviour had forsaken them entirely; both appeared overwhelmed with apprehension, and trembled at every joint. Like all their subjects, in the hurry of fear and the suddenness of the alarm, they had come out of their dwellings half dressed, the head and legs, and the upper part of their persons, being entirely exposed. We soon succeeded in quelling their fears, or at least in diminishing their apprehension. The king then observed, that neither himself nor the oldest of his subjects recollected seeing but one eclipse of the moon besides the one he was gazing at; that it had

occurred exactly when the Falatahs began to be formidable in the country, and that it had forewarned them of all the wars, disasters, and calamities which subsequently took place.

We had seated ourselves opposite to the king and queen, and within two or three feet of them, where we could readily observe the moon and the people without inconvenience, and carry on the conversation at the same time. If the royal couple shuddered with terror on beholding the darkened moon, we were scarcely less affected by the savage gestures of those within a few yards of us, and by their repeated cries, so wild, so loud, and so piercing, that an indescribable sensation of horror stole over us, and rendered us almost as nervous as those whom we had come to comfort. The earlier part of the evening had been mild, serene, and remarkably pleasant; the moon had arisen with uncommon lustre, and being at the full, her appearance was extremely delightful. It was the conclusion of the holydays, and many of the people were enjoying the delicious coolness of a serene night, and resting from the laborious exertions of the day; but when the moon became gradually obscured, fear overcame every one. As the eclipse increased, they became more terrified. All ran in great distress to inform their sovereign of the circumstance, for there was not a single cloud to cause so deep a shadow, and they could not comprehend the nature or meaning of an eclipse. The king was as easily frightened as his people, being equally simple and ignorant; he would not therefore suffer them to depart. Numbers sometimes beget courage and confidence, he thought; so he commanded them to remain near his person, and to do all in their power to restore the lost glory of the moon.

In front of the king's house, and almost close to it, are a few magnificent cotton-trees, round which the soil had been freed from grass, &c., for the celebration of the games. On this spot were the terrified people assembled, with every instrument capable of making a noise which could be procured in the whole town. They had formed themselves into a large treble circle, and continued running round with amazing velocity, crying, shouting, and groaning with all their might. They tossed and flung their heads about, twisted their bodies into all manner of contortions, jumped into the air, stamped with their feet on the ground, and flourished their hands above their heads. No scene in the romance of Robinson Crusoe was so wild and savage as this; and a large wood-fire, with a few men spitted and roasting before it, was alone wanting to render it complete! Little boys and girls were outside the ring, running to and fro, clashing empty calabashes against each other, and crying bitterly; groups of men were blowing on trumpets, which produced a harsh and discordant sound; some were employed in beating old drums; others again were blowing on bullocks' horns; and in the short intervals between the rapid succession of all these fiend-like noises, was heard one more dismal than the rest, proceeding from an iron tube, accompanied by the clinking of chains. Indeed, every thing that *could* increase the uproar was put in requisition on this memorable occasion; nor did it cease till midnight, when the eclipse had passed away. Never have we witnessed so extraordinary a scene as this. The diminished light, when the eclipse was complete, was just sufficient to enable us to distinguish the various groups of people, and contributed in no small degree to render the scene still more imposing. If a European, a stranger to Africa, were to be placed on a sudden in the midst of the terror-struck people, he would imagine himself to be among a legion of demons, holding a revel over a fallen spirit; so peculiarly unearthly, wild, and horrifying was the appearance of the dancing group, and the clamour which they made. It was perhaps fortunate for us that we had an almanac with us, which foretold the eclipse; for although we neglected to inform the king of this circumstance, we were yet enabled to tell him and his people the exact time of its disappearance. This succeeded in some measure in suppressing their fears, for they would believe any thing we might tell them; and perhaps, also, it has procured for us a lasting reputation "and a name." "Oh," said the king, "there will be sorrow and crying this night from Wowow to Yaorie. The people will have no one to comfort or condole with them; they will fancy this eclipse to be the harbinger of something very dread-

ful; and they will be in distress and trouble till the moon shall have regained her brightness." It was nearly one o'clock when we left the king and queen, to return to our hut; every thing was then calm and silent, and we lay down to rest in peace.

At length, the messenger sent to explore, returned with favourable intelligence, the canoes were procured, and all things made ready for our travellers' departure from Boossa. The omens too were favourable, for one of them happening to upset a large bowl of milk sent them from the king's house, they applied to have it replenished. But the king instead of gratifying them, expressed himself quite overjoyed at the circumstance, and asserted that it was the most happy omen in the world. So they were obliged to go without their breakfast, and be content with their portended good fortune.

The travellers provided themselves with provisions enough for three weeks or a month; they consisted of three large bags of corn, one of beans, two fowls, two sheep, and rice, honey, corn, onions, and two large pots of vegetable butter given them by the king and midiki. It now only remained to take their leave of these royal personages, and just as they were on the point of departure they arrived at our travellers' hut. They brought with them two pots of honey and a large quantity of gorra-nuts, strongly recommending to present the latter to the Rabba chieftain, for that nothing could so effectually conciliate his favour, procure his friendship and command his confidence. When mutual compliments were passed, (the travellers say,) we expressed our acknowledgments to both of them with sincerity and earnestness for the benevolence, hospitality, and attention with which they had uniformly treated us; and we assured them that should we be so fortunate as to return to England, it would be our first care to acquaint our countrymen of all their kindness to us, which we should remember as long as we lived. We then shook hands heartily, and concluded by wishing them a continuance of the simple blessings and felicity they enjoyed. They were both touched with sorrow at our words, for they were the last which they would hear us utter; tears were glistening in their eyes, and with mournful countenances they walked out of our hut, and repaired to their own abode in order to make a powerful spell for our preservation and success.

The travellers then embarked on the Niger in two canoes, and immediately proceeded down the river. Their canoes proved leaky, and on the same day they put in at a small island called *Melatie*, in order to repair them. The chief of the village, a decent, elderly looking man, came down to salute them at the water side, and would not suffer them to depart, till he had prevailed on them to drink beer with him and fire off their guns, when he compelled them to accept a fine kid, which they were too polite to reject.

In about half an hour the canoe was repaired, and the travellers were again on their way. The bed of the river was full of rocks, some of which being only a few inches below the surface, caused the water to make a loud rushing noise, which warned the canoeman of his danger. Owing to the skilfulness of their canoemen, they succeeded in getting over these rocks in safety. At two o'clock of the day of their departure, they passed the boundaries of Boossa, and entered the dominions of the king of Nouffie. Passing an island called "Any Man's Land," because uninhabited, and the towns of Congie, Inguazhilligee, they put into a market town on a large and beautiful island called *Patashie*. Here, they say, about twenty or thirty paces from the river, we discovered a great quantity of huge bones and skulls of hippopotami, piled on a high platform erected for the purpose. These, we understand, are preserved on much the same principle as foxes' tails are kept by many country gentlemen in England. Soon they were introduced to the chief, a little, round, fat, jolly looking old man, who gave them a hearty welcome, furnished them with comfortable quarters, and with provisions. *Patashie* is a large, rich island, unspeakably beautiful, and embellished with groves of palm and other noble trees. Its distance from Boossa is about fifty miles. It abounds with horses, asses, bullocks, sheep, goats, poultry, corn, and yams.

Our hut, the travellers say, has this day exhibited a scene of revelry and mirth more becoming a native inn than a private dwelling. The chief of the island,

accompanied by our four messengers from Boossa and Nouffie, our canoemen, and several of his own people, all dressed "in their holyday best," paid us a visit in the morning, and remained with us till evening, with the exception of a short space in the middle of the day; during all which time they were employed in swallowing palm wine, which is procured in the island in great plenty, and in telling nonsensical stories. We were glad when they said it was time to depart, and having shaken hands with the ardour of drunkards, they took their leave, staggered out of the hut, and all went laughing away.

It is rather singular that though the chief is a sooty black, he has bright, blue eyes. We received from him about noon a fine goat, and messes of pounded yam and meat stewed in palm oil. These were brought in well-carved wooden dishes of huge dimensions.

The chief of the island of Teah which lies near Patashie, came to visit the travellers. He expressed the utmost delight at having seen white men before he died, and declared it was a pleasure which neither his father, mother, nor uncle had ever enjoyed, and a gratification which his ancestors had never hoped for, he should therefore cherish the remembrance of it as long as he lived. The travellers showed the chief a watch and a mariner's compass for his inspection, and their uses were explained to him. He became at first very uneasy, and afterward perfectly wild with amazement. No one in the world could express more naturally or forcibly the emotion of wonder, or the passion of fear, which the countenance of this old man displayed as he looked at the watch; nor could he be persuaded for a long time but that it was in possession of life and being, and had the power of moving.

It will be recollected that the king of Wowow was to furnish our travellers with a large canoe, in exchange for which they let him have their horses, valued at sixty pounds. This large canoe he had not furnished; but only one of very inferior dimensions and leaky, so that fearing they should be unable to proceed on their voyage, they despatched a messenger from Patashie to Wowow, to demand the large canoe. The messenger returned with news not at all to their liking. The king was angry, because they had not returned to visit him agreeably to their promise. The messenger said his sovereign had most certainly procured for them a canoe which was laid up for them at *Lever*; but that if they wished, or rather if they were determined, they might have their horses back again. The monarch too wished the travellers to show him the respect of coming to take their leave of him before quitting the country, or if both could not come, at least one of them. This request was complied with, Richard Lander accompanying the Wowow messenger on his return to that city.

On arriving at Wowow, Richard felt too much fatigued to wait upon the king immediately, and desired to be excused from calling to pay his respects until the next day. On the next day when he had prepared himself to go, he was informed that the king wished to be excused from seeing him as he had taken a ride to view his gardens in the morning, and the exercise had so much tired him that he felt no inclination to receive visitors until the next day.

The next day, says Richard Lander, the king granted me an audience, and then he said with the greatest indifference, "I have not been able to procure you the canoe which I promised to get; but I have no doubt that the ruler of Patashie will be able to supply you with one to your satisfaction, for which I will send an express to that island without delay, whom I will furnish with the necessary instructions to effect an immediate purchase. Thus ended the expedition to Wowow, and Richard was obliged to return as he went. Before his departure the king showed him, in compliance with his request, the whole of his collection of charms, which were written on sheets of paper glued or pasted together. Among them was a small edition of "Watt's Hymns," on one of the blank leaves of which was written, "*Alexander Anderson, Royal Military Hospital, Gosport, 1804.*" Mr. Anderson was the attendant of Park.

While waiting at Patashie for their canoes to be brought round from another part of the island, to the place of embarkation, hundreds of people collected to look at the travellers, as they stood near the water's edge, and among them a native pagan priest, dressed more fantastically than any merry Andrew in Chris-

tendom. His clothing was manufactured almost solely of fine soft grass. His head and shoulders and part of his body were hid underneath an enormous thing in shape like the roof of a hut, with a fringe and tassels of stained grass. A tobe made also of grass, excellently woven and of various colours, encircled his body, and reached as far as the knee; and the man wore likewise trousers of the same material, and plaited in the same manner, but unstained, and of the colour of dried grass. They were turned up at the ankles, though a deep fringe hung to the ground. He approached several individuals that were sitting on the turf, and stooping over them, enveloped the upper part of their persons in his uncouth head-dress; shook it over them, which produced a strange rustling noise; screamed in a most frightful and unearthly tone; and then arose to perform the same barbarous ceremony to others.

Proceeding down the river from Patashie, they found it obstructed with rocks, but the current bore them rapidly along, and contriving to avoid the reefs, in about three hours, they reached *Lever*. Our surprise was great, indeed, (say the travellers,) when instead of the proper person who we expected would have received us, we were welcomed on shore by a man called *Ducoo*, a Bornonesc, who represented himself as the agent and confidential friend of the prince of Rabba. *Ducoo* treated us with the courtly politeness of a Frenchman, and was equally lavish in his compliments and his offers of service; he walked with us to the chief of the town, to whom he took the liberty of introducing us almost before he himself knew, who or what we were; went himself and procured excellent lodgings for us, returned and sat down in our company to tell us some droll stories, and impart to us in confidence some very disagreeable news; then hastily rose up, went out, and came back again with a sheep and other provisions, which he had obtained by compulsion from the chief, and finally remained with us till long after the moon had risen, when he left us to our repose.

Disappointed in their expectations of obtaining a canoe at *Lever* our travellers found that they had been very prettily cajoled, and out-manœuvred, by the monarchs of Boossa and Wowow. They had lost their horses, were now probably a subject of mockery and jest, and without any prospect of being able to proceed on their voyage.

In this exigency, they formed the design of detaining the two canoes lent them by the chief of Patashie, which they claimed under the pretext of their having been intended for them by the chief of Wowow, though they well knew, he had not paid for them and probably never would. The Patashie canoe-men stoutly resisted the claim, but *Ducoo* soon put them to silence, by threatening to cut off the head of him who should presume from that time to set foot in either of the canoes, and to give effect to his menace, he stationed two of his men with drawn swords to guard the boats.

This same *Ducoo*, however, soon attempted to carry into execution a plot which he had formed for carrying away the canoes. One day the travellers were suddenly informed that the Falatahs were carrying away their largest canoe. One of them instantly hastened to the water side, where indeed he observed the canoe filled with Falatahs, who were waiting the signal for starting. He ordered them to get out of the canoe immediately or take the consequences. They were about to obey, when *Ducoo* stepping up laid his hand on his shoulder, and desiring him to be cool, said that he had taken the liberty of launching the canoe for the use of his friends the Falatahs, and that after they had crossed over on the other side, it should be brought back.

In the mean time the other Lander had also repaired to the water's side with a pistol which so terrified the Falatahs that those who were on shore jumped hastily into another canoe, and all of them stole away as fast as they could, in great trepidation, for they fancied their end had come.

But the matter of the canoes did not end here. In a few days a messenger arrived from Teah, claiming them as the property of the chief of that island, who said that he had lent them to his friend the chief of Patashie. The messenger was told to take the canoes if they would, but *Ducoo* thwarted them in their design, and ordered the canoes to be pulled up on shore, at the distance of two hundred yards from the water's edge.



The travellers having been desired to prepare themselves for their departure from *Lever*, had got their baggage ready, and were only waiting to take their leave of the chief, when one of his messengers entered their hut, and told them that they would be unable to go until the next day, Ducoo having dissuaded his master the chief from his original design. They submitted to the disappointment as well as they could, but obtained a solemn promise that they should not be detained longer than the next day. The next day, however, they were again told that they would have to wait yet another day when they should certainly go. Their patience was now completely exhausted, and repairing in a rage to the hut of the chief, they found him sitting with Ducoo engaged in high dispute. The travellers expressed their determination to leave *Lever* presently, in defiance of them and all their power. Ducoo on hearing this, smiled at them with the most insolent effrontery, and informed them that they were entirely in his power, and that they would quit the town when *he* thought proper. The travellers quickly undeceived him on this point, declaring that if he or either of his men should attempt to hinder them, they would feel no more hesitation in shooting him, than if he had been a partridge, or a Guinea hen. This conduct had the desired effect; Ducoo became quite crest-fallen, and the travellers were suffered to depart.

In their course down the Niger, they passed through Bajiebo, Leechee, important towns, but no incident of much interest occurred to them until their arrival at the island of Belee. They indeed saw at Bajiebo, a curious kind of canoes which they describe as follows. We have seen to-day several large canoes, the bottom of which is made of a single tree, and built up with planks to a considerable height. In many of them, sheds, or houses, as they are called, have been erected, which are thatched with straw, and in which fires are kindled, food prepared, and people sleep, and indeed live altogether. The roof is circular, and formed in much the same manner as the upper part of a covered wagon in England. These sheds are of the most essential service to the natives, as, with their assistance, merchants are enabled to travel with some degree of comfort, with their wives and household, several days journey up and down the Niger, without being under the necessity of landing, except to purchase provisions.

The river just below Bajiebo spreads itself into two noble branches, forming an island in the midst, small but surpassingly beautiful. The banks were embellished with mighty trees and elegant shrubs, which were clad in thick and luxuriant foliage, some of lively green and others of darker hues; and little birds were singing merrily among their branches. Magnificent festoons of creeping plants, always green, hung from the tops of the tallest trees, and drooping to the water's edge, formed immense natural grottoes, pleasing and grateful to the eye and seemed to be fit abodes for the Naiads of the river.

Further down the river, and soon after leaving the island of Madje, the travellers suddenly came in sight of an elevated rock, called by the natives *Mount Kesa*. It forms a small island, and is, probably, not less than three hundred feet in height. It is excessively steep, and rising out of the river as it does, its appearance is irresistibly imposing and majestic beyond description. Its base is fringed by venerable trees and less magnificent vegetation, which also strives to spring forth from its barren and almost naked sides. The height of *Mount Kesa*, its solitary position, and the peculiarity of its form, distinguish it from every other, and render it an object of more than common interest. It is greatly venerated by the natives, who believe that a benevolent genius makes it his favourite abode, and dispenses around him a benign and heavenly influence, alleviating misfortune, relieving want, turning mourning into joy, and especially affording the weary traveller a refuge from the storm, where he reposes in the delights of security, and revels in the comforts of ease.

At the island of Belee, the travellers were informed that a distinguished personage, the *King of the Dark Water*, was intending to pay them a visit there, and they concluded to await his arrival.

Exposed to a thousand inconveniences and annoyances on the island, they had stepped into their canoes, and were lying at a little distance from the shore, un-

der the branches of a large tree, when they heard a number of men singing and keeping time to the motion of the paddles, but could see no one. In a few minutes a canoe came in sight, propelled by a very few men, and soon another arger canoe, propelled by about twenty very fine young men, whose voices hey had heard, and who were still continuing their song. The *King of the Dark Water* was with them. The canoe was of extraordinary length and uncommon neatness. In the centre a mat awning was erected, and variously decorated, and on the front of it hung a large piece of scarlet cloth, ornamented with bits of gold lace stretched on different parts of it. In the bow were three or four little boys of equal size, clad with neatness and propriety, and in the stern sat a company of comely-looking musicians, consisting of several drummers and a trumpeter.

As soon as this canoe reached the landing place, the Water King came out from beneath the awning, and, followed by the musicians and a suite of attendants, walked to the hut where all public business was transacted, and whither, in a few minutes, we ourselves were desired to repair. The chief of the island, with his elders and the more respectable of the people, were seated, on our entrance, on each side of their important visiter, and my brother and I, as a mark of distinction, were invited to place ourselves in front of him. When the usual compliments had passed on both sides, he informed us, with much solemnity, of his rank and title, said that the cause of his coming was to do us honour, and repeated what had been previously told us by the king's son. This done, he presented us with a pot of excellent honey, two thousand cowries in money, besides a large quantity of goora nuts. Having nothing further to say or do, we shook hands with his sable majesty, whose name was Suliken Rouah, expressed our acknowledgments for his handsome present, and returned to our boats.

The king of the Dark Water was a fine looking man, well stricken in years; his skin as black as a coal; his features coarse but benevolent, and his stature advantageous and commanding. He was dressed in a full Bornouese or Arab cloak, of inferior blue cloth, underneath which was a variegated tobe of figured satin, country cloth, and crimson silk damask, all patched together; he likewise wore a cap of red cloth, Haussa trousers, and sandals of coloured leather. Two pretty little boys acted in the capacity of pages, each furnished with an ornamented cow's tail, and standing one on his right hand, the other on his left, to brush away flies and other insects from his person, and supply him with goora nuts and tobacco. The king was also accompanied by six of his wives, fine, handsome, jet-black girls, dressed in neat country caps edged with red silk. Native cloths, of cotton and silk, were fastened round their waists, beneath which they wore a sort of short frock. The usual custom of staining their fingers and toe-nails with henna, appears to be general among them; their wrists were ornamented with neat silver bracelets, and their necks with coral necklaces.

To such a man as the Water King, with such a suite and such a title, the greatest honour is expected to be paid, and we therefore showed our respect by saluting him with a discharge from two or three muskets, and by waiting patiently his return from the council-hut wherein he stayed two whole hours, during which we were sitting in our canoes, exposed to a very hot sun, for we had removed them from under the tree by the side of his own.

It was exactly mid-day when Suliken Rouah re-embarked in his princely canoe, and quitted the island of Belee. Determined for once to make an attempt at a more respectable appearance, for heretofore it had been extremely mean and homely, we hastily constructed an awning of our sheets. Above the awning we elevated a slender staff, on the top of which we fastened our national colours, the union flag, which was kindly given us by a gentleman on the coast, who was commandant of Anamaboo. When unfurled and waving in the wind, it looked extremely pretty, and it made our hearts glow with pride and enthusiasm, as we looked on this solitary little banner. I put on an old naval uniform coat which I had with me for state occasions, and my brother also dressed himself in as grotesque and gaudy a manner as our resources would afford. Our eight attendants also put on new white Mohammedan tobes, so that our capoe, with its white awning surmounted by the union flag, our canoemen in new

dresses, and ourselves appearing as officers, contributed not a little to the effect of the whole scene. The august King of the Dark Water, with his retinue in twenty canoes, condescendingly gave us the precedence, and ours was the first that moved off from land, and led the way down the river towards Rabba.

For a little time we continued to take the lead, but the chief soon went before us, for two reasons: first, that he might have an opportunity of looking at us; and secondly, that we might have a fairer chance of seeing him in all his state, for which purpose he had placed himself outside his awning on an elevated and conspicuous seat. However, he only wished to get a few yards before us, for the canoemen soon lifted their paddles out of the water, and the boat fell back to its former situation. This going before and falling behind was done repeatedly. The musicians in the large canoe performed merrily on their instruments, and about twenty persons now sung at intervals in recitative, keeping excellent time with their paddles.

A brisk wind sprung up the river full in our faces, relieving us from the extreme heat of the weather, which was remarkably fine; the scene before us was very animating, and the whole of us were in high glee and spirits. Other canoes joined us; and never did the British flag lead so extraordinary a squadron. The King of the Dark Water might be mistaken for a river god; and his wives, now and then showing their pretty black faces from under the awning, cast many an arch look at us with their sparkling, jetty eyes. It was not long before our reverry was interrupted by a great noise from the adjacent bank; and on turning we perceived the banks of an island called *Lagozhi*, which were lined with numbers of people admiring our flag, and watching us very earnestly, by which we guessed that this was the place of our destination. The island is so uncommonly low that the houses and trees appeared as if they were standing in the water, as indeed many of them actually were. Here we arrived, and landed between one and two, P. M., having enjoyed a pleasant excursion, of eight or nine miles. Ours being the first canoe, before we landed on the island we waited for the king to precede us, and the moment he set his foot on the shore, we fired a salute of four muskets and three pistols. Suliken Rouah was rather alarmed at this, and demanded whether we were going to make war on him. He was soon relieved from his fear, by being told that it was an honour that we had been in the habit of paying to all the princes we had met in our travels; which he no sooner understood than he expressed himself much gratified by our attention. Suliken Rouah went in person in quest of a dwelling house, and led us to one which, though miserably bad, was one of the best which the island afforded. In the evening four large calabashes of stewed rice, with fowls, and no less than ten gallons of *pitto*, or country beer, were sent us.

Lagozhi, the domain of the King of the Dark Water, is estimated to be about fifteen miles long and three broad. It is exceedingly low; the greater part of it was overflowed at the time of our travellers's visit to it. The inhabitants are of course much addicted to the water. They exhibit great pride in the care and management of their canoes; the Niger is covered with these little vessels, and to be skilful in the management of them is the greatest boast of the people. The chief of the island has about six hundred canoes. The inhabitants are fond of aquatic occupations to excess; in fact, they are almost amphibious, so prone are they to be continually sporting in bogs or dabbling in water. But they do not confine themselves to the river the year round; they cultivate the soil, and also excel in certain kinds of manufactures. Their cloth, tobies, and trousers, would not disgrace a European manufactory; they are worn and valued by kings, chiefs, and great men, and are the admiration of the neighbouring nations, which vainly attempt to imitate them. The travellers saw there a variety of caps, worn solely by females, and made of cotton, interwoven with silk, of the most exquisite workmanship. The people also manufacture wooden bowls and dishes, mats, shoes, sandals, cotton, brass and iron stirrups, bits for bridles, hoes, chains, fetters, &c.

The character of the people is excellent. They seem quite independent of all authority except that of the legitimate *King of the Dark Water*, and their own interests induce them to obey him alone. They have liberty stamped on their

features, and lightness and activity are observable in all their actions. They are hospitable to strangers, amicable to their neighbours, peaceful and social among themselves, rendered bold by freedom, affluent by industry and frugality healthy by exercise and labour, and happy from a combination of all these blessings. Their numbers cannot well be estimated, but it must be immense.

On the shore opposite Zagozhi, at the distance of about two miles, stands *Rabba*, apparently as viewed from that island, an immensely large, populous and flourishing town. It is the residence of the chief of the Falatahs, and very celebrated as a market. Soon after our travellers' arrival at Zagozhi, messengers arrived from this chief, bringing with them a present of two fine sheep, and a great quantity of rice. They informed the travellers that the king would not put them to the trouble of going to see them, as the town was full of Arabs whose begging propensities would be very inconvenient to them, intelligence at which they heartily rejoiced. By these messengers the travellers sent in return their present to the king, or sultan, Mallam Dendo. The king appeared satisfied with his present at first, but suddenly one morning not long after, he sent for Pascoe, the interpreter and servant of the Landers, in a great hurry, with a message that he was impatiently awaiting his arrival at Rabba, having something of importance to communicate. The travellers were surprized at this unexpected summons, and waited Pascoe's return with much anxiety. When he came back he looked very wistfully, and with considerable agitation of voice and manner, informed them, that Mallam Dendo had expressed the greatest dissatisfaction with the things sent him as a present, declaring them, with the exception of the looking-glass, to be perfectly worthless, and fit only for a child; that he well knew they could have sent him something better, and that if they persisted in refusing to do so, he would demand their guns, pistols, and powder, before he would permit them to leave Zagozhi. To this demand they resolved not to submit; for, say they, it brought to our recollection the fable of the lion deprived of his teeth and claws. But having reflected deliberately on their situation, they were convinced that something must be done by way of conciliation, if they had any thought of leaving that part of the country and prosecuting their enterprize. At length they bethought themselves of Mr. Park's tobe, given to them by the King of Boossa, and they resolved to send it. Accordingly, they despatched their man Ibrahim with it to Rabba. The king received the tobe with the most rapturous admiration. It had made him their friend forever. He regretted that the Falatahs had no canoes, but were they possessed of any, he would present them with as many as they should want, and accelerate their departure from Zagozhi with all his influence. "Ask the white men," said he, "what they would desire, and if Rabba can supply them with it, they shall always have it. Well," he continued, "I must purchase this tobe, I will not accept it as a gift, that would be against my principles, and besides it would be wrong for me to be guilty of such injustice. Now, I shall be something like a king," he added, turning the tobe inside and out; "let no man know of it; my neighbours will behold me with envy; and as for my own people, I will surprise them some morning by putting it on when they are going to war; it will dazzle their eyes. How great will be their astonishment!"

The travellers afterwards received from the chief of Rabba the most uniform kindness; he exerted himself to obtain for them of the Water King, a canoe sufficiently large to carry their whole company, made them handsome presents, and on being solicited, by a messenger, sent from the king of Nouffie, to detain the travellers at Zagozhi until they would consent to make his master a present of a certain number of dollars, or something equivalent to them in value, he treated the message and its bearer with contempt, and answered, energetically, "Tell your sovereign that I would rebuke him for this expression of his sentiments; that I will never consent to his wishes, that I reject his proposal with disdain. What! shall the white men, who have come from such distant lands to visit our country, who have spent their substance among us, and made us presents, before we had leisure to do any good for them, shall they be treated so inhumanly? Never. They have worn their shoes from their feet, and their clothes from their persons, by their long journeys, they have thrown themselves

on our hospitality ; shall we treat them as robbers, and cast them from us like dogs? Surely not.

The Falatahs at Rabba, as well as elsewhere, endeavoured to claim a relationship with Europeans, though the people are either of a swarthy complexion or as black as soot. White men, how sorry soever their appearance may be, are considered, not only by the Falatahs, but also by the native blacks, as a superior order of beings, in every respect more excellent than themselves. "At Yaoorie," say our travellers, "we overheard a conversation between two men, who were quarrelling in the very height of passion. "What!" exclaimed one of them to his fellow, "thou pitiful son of a black ant! dost thou presume to say that a horse was my father? Look at these Christians! for as they are, I am; and such were my ancestors; answer me not, I say, for I am a white man!" The speaker was a negro, and his skin the colour of charcoal."

The travellers after experiencing considerable difficulty at length succeeded in purchasing a larger and more commodious canoe, though they had been cheated in the bargain, the canoe being found leaky and patched in a thousand places, bade farewell to the Water King, and embarked on board their canoe. The hundreds of spectators who stood gazing at them, fired two muskets, accompanied with three cheers; and launching out into the river they were soon out of sight.

Passing by many important towns and villages, and beautiful and highly cultivated islands, they proceeded on their way without stopping until they reached the village of *Dacannie*, a distance of about one hundred miles. Indeed they were unable to land on account of the marshy nature of the banks of the river. The men becoming too fatigued to labour any longer, they suffered the canoe to drift along with the current, when, on a sudden, an incredible number of hippopotami arose very near them, and came plunging all round the canoe, and placed them in imminent danger. Thinking to frighten them off, they say, we fired a shot or two at them, but the noise only called up from the water, and out of the fens, about as many more of their unwieldy companions, and we were more closely beset than before. Our people, who had never in all their lives been exposed in a canoe to such huge and formidable beasts, trembled with fear, and absolutely wept aloud; and their terror was not a little increased by the dreadful peals of thunder which rattled over their heads, and by the awful darkness which prevailed, broken at intervals by flashes of lightning whose glare was truly awful. Our people told us that these formidable animals frequently upset canoes in the river, when every one in them is sure to perish. These came so close to us that we could reach them with the butt-end of a gun. When I fired at the first, which I must have hit, every one of them came to the surface of the water, and pursued us so fast that it was with the greatest difficulty we could keep before them. Having fired a second time, the report of the gun was followed by a loud roaring noise, and we seemed to increase our distance from them. No doubt, at first, when we interrupted them, they were only sporting, and wallowing in the river for their own amusement, but had they upset our canoe we should have paid dearly for it.

Finding we could not induce our people to land, we agreed to continue on all night. The eastern horizon became very dark, and the lightning more and more vivid; indeed, we did not recollect ever having seen such strong forked lightning before in our lives. At eleven, P. M., it blew somewhat stronger than a gale, and at midnight the storm was at its height. The wind swept the water furiously over the side of the canoe, so that she was in danger of filling. Driven about by the wind, our frail bark became unmanageable, but at length we got near a bank which in some measure protected us, and we were fortunate enough to lay hold of a thorny tree against which we were driven, and which was growing nearly in the centre of the stream. Presently we fastened the canoe to its branches, and wrapping our cloaks round our persons, and with our legs dangling half over the sides of the little vessel, we lay down to sleep. And though the thunder continued to roar, and the rain beat in our faces, and our canoe lay rocking like a cradle, still my brother slept soundly. The wind kept blowing hard from the eastward till after midnight, when it became calm. The

rain then descended in torrents, accompanied with thunder and lightning of the most awful description. We lay in our canoe drenched with rain, and our little vessel was filling so fast, that two people were obliged to be constantly baling out the water to keep her afloat. The water elephants, as the natives term the hippopotami, frequently came snorting near us, but fortunately did not touch our canoe. The rain continued until three in the morning, when it became clear, and we saw the stars sparkling like gems over our heads.

Again getting under way, in about two hours, they put into a small village called *Dacannie*. After drying their clothes, and partaking of some slight refreshments, they again proceeded down the river, until about mid-day, when they arrived at a small island called *Gungo*. The banks now became high and beautifully cultivated, palm trees grew in profusion, and the towns and villages were not more than two or three miles from each other. We observed, they say, some hundreds of large canoes, with a hut in their middle, passing along the river, some crossing and recrossing to the opposite banks, while others were pursuing their course along them. They mostly seemed to consist of families of people, for while the men were paddling, the women and girls were singing to a guitar with their little delicate voices, and produced a very pretty effect. When we passed close to any of their canoes, they would suddenly stop their music, and exclaim, *Ki, ki, ma nence acca chicken zhilagee!* Oh dear, oh dear! *what do I see in that canoe?* at the same time expressing the utmost astonishment both in their features and gestures.

We had not been on the water more than half an hour after leaving *Gungo*, before the wind rose to a gale, causing the river to be agitated like a sea, and our canoe to be tossed about like a cocoanut shell. It also rained heavily, inasmuch that in a moment we were wetted to the skin, and our canoe soon became half filled with water. We were then in the middle of the river and in danger of sinking. Our men struggled hard so pull the canoe among the rushes on the right bank, for the purpose of holding on by them till the wind and rain should abate, and the water become smooth. It was not without great exertion that this was effected, for the wind was against us, the water was in commotion, and our fragile little vessel, as a sailor would express it, "shipped several seas." No sooner had we got into the morass, and were congratulating ourselves on our deliverance, than a frightful crocodile, of prodigious size, sprang forth from his retreat, close to the canoe, and plunged underneath it with extraordinary violence, to the amazement and terror of us all: we had evidently disturbed him from his sleep. Had he touched our canoe, he would have upset it. The rain in addition to the water that washed in from the river over the bows of the canoe, employed three persons constantly baling to keep her afloat. The wind and rain having subsided, we left our retreat about half past eight, and kept on down the river.

About ten in the morning we arrived opposite a large village, which is situated on a low, flat island; and the current at this place rushing with the impetuosity of a torrent over a broad sand-bank, and notwithstanding we exerted all our powers to avoid it, we were completely foiled: the canoe became unmanageable; we were carried along with irresistible velocity; and in less than two minutes she struck against the roof of a hut which was covered with water. By the sudden and forcible shock, one of our men was thrown with violence overboard, but the others, more fortunate, clung to the boughs of a tree. Though the current was so exceedingly rapid, the water was very shallow, and the man was enabled to join his companions shortly afterward: he appeared more frightened than hurt. The village was nearly washed away with the exception of about a dozen houses, so high were the waters of the river.

The next place at which the travellers touched was the island of *Fofa*. The consternation of the people at seeing them was very great, and it was with some difficulty that they could obtain lodgings and food.

Leaving *Fofa*, they passed the river *Coodonia*, a stream of considerable size, which enters the Niger from the northward, and next arrived at *Egga*, a large town about three miles from the bank of the river. The travellers proceeded up to the town through a creek leading to the landing place. The town was

upwards of two miles in length, and our travellers were struck with the immense number of large, bulky canoes, which lay off it, filled with trading commodities, and all kinds of merchandize common to the country. They also had huts in them, and had blood smeared on their sterns, and feathers stuck in it as a charm or preservative against robbers, and the evil disposed. The town was found to be of prodigious extent, and the population immense. Like other towns on the bank of the river, it was frequently inundated, and a large portion of it was at that time overflowed with water.

The chief received the travellers with great cordiality. He was seated on a cow's hide spread on the ground, smoking from a pipe about three yards long, and surrounded by a number of Falatahs, and several old mallams. The travellers were requested to sit near him. He looked at them with surprise, from head to foot, told them they were strange looking people, and well-worth seeing. They were indeed objects of great curiosity to all the people of Egga, who came flocking by hundreds to the door of their hut, so that they were obliged to blockade the door ways, and station a guard to keep them off. The chief paid them a visit and begged that they would allow his wives and principal people to come and see them. They could not but comply with the request. The curiosity of the people to see them became so intense that they dared not stir out of doors, and were obliged to take their exercise by walking round and round in their hut, like wild beasts in a cage. They seemed to be regarded, in fact, in the same light as the fiercest tigers in England; for if they approached near the door, the people would retreat in the greatest trepidation, and on their retiring to the back of the hut, they would again approach in silence and with caution. The travellers one day determined to satisfy their curiosity, and accordingly walked about outside their hut for two hours.

The people of Egga endeavoured to persuade them not to proceed on their way, until they could procure for them a convoy of traders going to attend a famous market called *Bocqua*, and under whose protection they might be secure from the attacks of the bloody and ferocious people who inhabited the banks of the Niger between Egga and that city. Their representations of the dangers to which the travellers would be exposed so frightened their attendants, that at first all but two, refused to accompany them. Finding, however, that they could not get their wages for their past services, if they stopped here, and seeing the travellers determined, they concluded to go with them. Bidding farewell to the chief of Egga, and firing off three muskets as a parting salute, they proceeded on their way. A few miles below the town, they saw a sea-gull which flew over their heads, a most gratifying sight, as it reminded them that they were drawing near the object of their wishes and their hopes. They also beheld about half a dozen white pelicans, which were sailing gracefully on the water. As they passed along, the banks at first appeared like a low swampy country, and then succeeded a region of great fertility and beauty, with large open villages on both banks of the river for many miles. However, they did not stop until reaching a small hamlet, situated on an island, where as the sun was declining, and the men were fatigued, they intended to sleep. The inhabitants, they say, no sooner saw us than they raised the war cry, and every man and woman armed themselves with swords and dirks, bows and arrows, assuming a threatening and alarming position. We called out lustily to them in the Hausa language, but they were unable to understand either our words or gestures. Fortunately, in a few minutes, a woman, who could converse a little in the Hausa tongue, came down to us at the water-side, and we informed her that we were friends and Christians, travelling down the river to our native country. This she repeated to them around her, and partially succeeded in removing their suspicions.

The people, however, being either unable or unwilling to accommodate them with a lodging, they again set out, and continued on their way until they came to a large town on the western bank, called *Kacunda*. The people were at first alarmed at their appearance, but an old Mohammedan priest, relieved them of their fears, and entertained the travellers in his own hut, with a friendly hospitality.

Kacunda is the capital of a kingdom of the same name. Its government is despotic; it maintains little intercourse with any other considerable nation, but confines its trade almost exclusively to divers people inhabiting the banks of the Niger to the southward. The natives are tall, well-formed, and muscular. Strings of red cornelian stone cut into something like the shape of a heart and highly polished, constituted their chief ornaments. Their only dress was a piece of cotton cloth round the loins.

The chief who resided at some distance from the place where the travellers landed, did not see them, but sent his brother to welcome them, with presents of goora nuts, a goat, some yams, and an immense quantity of beer. They in turn gave him a present for the chief, and also several little things which he fancied, and which seemed to have the effect of securing for them his friendship. He gave them a dreadful account of the natives down the river, and, to use their own words, "would not have us think of going among them, but return by the way we had come." He said to us, with much emphasis, "If you go down the river, you will surely fall into their hands and be murdered." "Go, we must," I said, if we live or die by it, and that also to-morrow."

At Egga, they had heard similar stories in regard to the manners of the people down the Niger. They were said to be public robbers, living under no king, acknowledging no human authority, in a word, a community of ferocious outlaws. But nothing could daunt the resolution of the Landers, or deter them from the execution of their purpose. But to avoid the danger as far as possible, they resolved, agreeably to the suggestion of their friend, the brother of the chief of Kacunda, to perform the voyage in the night season until they should have passed the most dangerous town. They loaded their four muskets and two pistols with ball and slugs, made every possible preparation for their defence, exhorted their men to fidelity and courage, commended themselves to the keeping of Divine Providence, and at half past four in the afternoon, moved off from Kacunda, amid the vigorous and animated exertions of their men, in gallant style. They soon passed a large town, from which issued a great and confused noise as of a multitude quarreling, and saw other towns on the western bank, but cautiously avoided them all. The next morning they passed a huge and naked white rock, in the form of a perfect dome, arising from the centre of the river, about twenty feet in height, and covered with an immense number of white birds, in consequence of which they named it Bird Rock. It stands three or four miles from the town of Bocqua. As the travellers passed it, they were very nearly lost in a whirlpool, and it was with the utmost difficulty they could prevent the canoe from being carried away and dashed against the rocks.

Shortly after, seeing a convenient place for landing, the men being languid and weary with hunger and exertion, they halted on the right bank of the river. Three of the men went in search of fire wood, and as they were straggling about in the bush, a village suddenly opened before them, and they entered one of the huts to procure a little fire. It happened to contain only women; but they were terrified beyond measure, at the sudden intrusion of strange looking men, whose language they could not understand, and whose business they did not know, and they all ran into the woods. The men very composedly taking some of the burning embers from the fire, returned in a few minutes to their masters, and related the circumstance of their having discovered a village, and also told them how the women had run away from them as soon as they saw them. This they thought lightly of, and immediately sent Pascoe, Abraham, and Jowdie, in company, to obtain some fire, and to purchase a few yams. In about ten minutes they returned in haste, telling us, to use the travellers own words, "that they had been to the village, and had asked for some fire, but that the people did not understand them, and that instead of attending to their wishes, they looked terrified, and had suddenly disappeared. In consequence of their threatening attitudes, our people had left the village, and rejoined us with all the haste they could. We did not, however, think that they would attack us, and we proceeded to make our fires and then laid ourselves down.

Totally unconscious of danger, we were reclining on our mats, when in about twenty minutes after our men had returned, one of them shouted with a loud



voice, "War is coming! O, war is coming!" and ran towards us with a scream of terror, telling us that the natives were hastening to attack us. We started up at this unusual exclamation, and looking about us, beheld a large party of men almost naked, running in a very irregular manner, and with uncouth gestures, towards our little encampment. They were all variously armed with muskets, bows and arrows, knives, cutlasses, barbs, long spears, and other instruments of destruction; and as we gazed upon this band of wild men, with their ferocious looks, and hostile appearance, which was not a little heightened on observing the weapons in their hands.

Our party was much scattered, but fortunately we could see them coming to us at some distance, and we had time to collect our men. We resolved, however, to prevent bloodshed if possible, our number were too few to leave us a chance of escaping by any other way. The natives were approaching us fast, and had by this time arrived almost close to our palm tree. Not a moment was to be lost. We desired Pascoe and all our people to follow behind us at a short distance, with the loaded muskets and pistols; and we enjoined them strictly not to fire, unless they first fired at us. One of the natives, who proved to be the chief, we perceived a little in advance of his companions; and throwing down our pistols, which we had snatched up in the first moment of surprise, my brother and I walked very composedly towards him. As we approached him, we made all the signs and motions we could with our arms, to deter him and his people from firing on us. His quiver was dangling at his side; his bow was bent, and an arrow which was pointed at our breasts, already trembled on the string, when we were within a few yards of his person. This was a highly critical moment—the next might be our last. But the hand of Providence averted the blow; for just as the chief was about to pull the fatal cord, a man that was nearest him rushed forward and stayed his arm. At that instant we stood before him, and instantly held out our hands; all of them trembled like aspen leaves; the chief looked up full in our faces, kneeling on the ground, light seemed to flash from his dark, rolling eyes, his body was convulsed all over, as though he were enduring the utmost torture, and with a timorous, yet undefinable expression of countenance, in which all the passions of our nature were strangely blended, he drooped his head, eagerly grasped our proffered hands, and burst into tears. This was a sign of friendship; harmony followed, and war and bloodshed were thought of no more. The following explanation of his conduct was afterwards given by the chief. "A few minutes after you first landed, one of my people came to me, and said that a number of strange people had arrived at the market place. I sent him back again to get as near to you as he could, to hear what you intended doing. He soon after returned to me, and said that you spoke in a language which he could not understand. Not doubting that it was your intention to attack my village at night, and carry off my people, I desired them to get ready to fight. We were all prepared and eager to kill you, and came down breathing vengeance and slaughter, supposing that you were my enemies, and had landed from the opposite side of the river. But when you came to meet us unarmed, and we saw your white faces, we were all so frightened that we could not pull our bows, nor move hand or foot; and when you drew near me, and extended your hands towards me, I felt my heart faint within me, and believed that you were *Children of Heaven*, and had dropped from the skies. And now said he, "white men, all I want is your forgiveness." That you shall have most heartily, we said, as we shook hands with the old chief; and having taken care to assure him that we had not come from so good a place as he had imagined, we congratulated ourselves, as well as him that this affair had so happily ended. For our parts we had reason to feel the most unspeakable pleasure, and we offered up internally to our merciful Creator, a prayer of thanksgiving and praise, for the Almighty had indeed, to use the words of the Psalmist, delivered our souls from death, and our feet from falling, and preserved us from any terror by night, and from the arrow that flieth by day; from the pestilence that walketh in darkness, and from the destruction that wasteth at noon day. We were grateful that our blood had not been shed, and that we had been prevented from spilling the blood of others. Our guns were all loaded

with balls and slugs, our men were ready to present them, and a single arrow from a bow would have been the signal of immediate destruction. It was a narrow escape, and God grant we may never be so near a cruel death again. It was happy for us that our white faces and calm behaviour produced the effect it did on these people. In another minute our bodies would have been as full of arrows as a porcupine's is full of quills.

This place which the travellers had thus accidentally discovered, proved to be the famous market place, *Bocqua*, of which they had heard so much before. During their short stay here they were treated with the greatest hospitality; and received from the chief and people valuable presents, both of provisions and money. The stories which the travellers had heard in regard to the character of the inhabitants on the Niger below, were here substantially repeated.

The evening of the day after their departure from *Bocqua*, they descried a canoe, and pulled towards it; but those that were in it, frightened on seeing them, jumped out and hid themselves in the forest. In two or three minutes they perceived on the left bank a few dilapidated huts, and pulled their canoe ashore, intending to remain there for the night. A number of women first observed them, and hurried away to an adjacent village, where they saw them providing themselves with muskets and other uncivil weapons, and very formidable Amazons they appeared to be. We did not seem to regard them, but jumping on shore with our mats, sat down under the branches of a large cocoanut tree. We had not been long seated before a number of people made their appearance, running hastily towards us with swords and muskets in their hands. Seeing that we were sitting down quietly, they hesitated, and stopping at a short distance from us, wished to know what we wanted at their town. We had recourse to our usual method of expressing ourselves by signs, and the natives finding that we were really harmless beings, ventured to draw nearer, and very soon became reconciled to us.

The chief of this place, which was called *Abbazacca*, a tall, Herculean, awkward figure, with a sullen and most forbidding countenance, on receiving his presents began to grumble, and told us plainly that he would not let us leave his village till something better was given to him. To enforce his threats, fourteen of his slaves stood around him armed with muskets, whose appearance alone, he thought would be sufficient to intimidate us into compliance. We by no means wished to have any disturbance, and therefore endeavoured to persuade him that we had nothing more to give him. I directed all our travelling things to be taken out of the boxes before him, and had them put back again and locked up. This would not satisfy him, and he desired them to be searched again, and that he himself might be allowed to examine them. Our patience was now quite exhausted: "Tell the chief," said I to our interpreter, "the boxes shall be opened no more, and let him stop my people from loading the canoe if he dare." My brother and I had armed ourselves with the loaded pistols and with the swords, as well as all our people, and on telling the chief what we had done, we ordered them to proceed loading the canoe, which they obeyed directly. The chief stood amazed and did not offer to interfere. This old rascal had muttered and grumbled at every thing which was offered him; this was of no use, and that of no value. After having gone the length he did, and having shown his insolent airs, without producing the expected impression, he feared that he should get nothing at all, and therefore accepted the present we had offered him at first.

This same chief resolved upon accompanying the travellers in his canoe to a large town about a day's journey from this place, and of which he said, his brother was governor. Leaving *Abbazacca*, and proceeding on their voyage, at two in the afternoon, they came abreast of a village called *Damuggoo*. We had no sooner made our appearance, they say, than we were lustily hailed by a little squinting fellow, dressed in an English soldier's jacket, who kept crying out as loud as his lungs would permit him, "Holloa, you Englishmen! you come here." However, we were not inclined to obey his summons, and as the current swept them along past the village, took no notice of the little man. Shortly, however, a dozen canoes overtook them, and desired them to turn back, as

they had forgotten to pay their respects to the king. They complied with the request.

The man in the red jacket proved to be a messenger from the king of Bonny, sent here to buy slaves. The king of Damuggoo treated them with great kindness, expressed the greatest satisfaction at having been permitted to behold white men, and being informed that they were ambassadors from the great king of the white men, resolved to hold a rejoicing in their honour. The ceremonies commenced by a volley of musketry being fired off by command of the chief, and the travellers were afterwards saluted by a discharge from the swivels. This was a signal for the inhabitants to come forward and follow the example of their monarch, which they did with so much spirit and effect that a continual firing was kept up till between eleven and twelve o'clock, from which time the people paraded the town for the remainder of the night, dancing, singing, and making merry.

The religion of Damuggoos is pagan. The people worship fetishes, and several fetish ceremonies were performed by the king and his people, to ensure the safety of the travellers on their passage down the river to the sea. The government is despotic. The chief, though benevolent in appearance, was severe in his punishments. Our travellers being seriously incommoded by the crowds of people who thronged their hut, and unable to keep them away, complained to the king, who told them to cut off their heads. The people carry on a trade with the Bocqua market, taking thither powder, muskets, soap, Manchester cottons, and other articles of European manufacture, and great quantities of rum, or rather of rum and water, for not more than one third of it is genuine spirit, and exchanging them for ivory and slaves which are sold to the European traders.

On their departure from Damuggoo, the king sent a canoe manned with his own men, which in company with their own canoe, should assist in conveying them and their attendants to the sea. Every thing being ready, the travellers were seated in their canoe, waiting for the boatmen and impatient for their arrival, when they saw the king coming with a train of followers. The mallam and all his principal people were with him, bringing numerous jars of palm wine. A mat was spread near the water side, whereon the chief sat himself, and we were instantly desired to place ourselves, one on each side of his person. The palm wine and some rum were then produced; and as we were about to take a long farewell of our hospitable host, we drank of his offering, rather than give offence by a refusal. The palm wine circulated freely in the bowls, and the natives of the village, who witnessed all proceedings with no little anxiety, seemed to be greatly delighted at seeing their chief so familiar with white men. A fatted goat was given us as a parting gift, and a small decanter of rum was thrust in my brother's bosom as a cordial during the night. The fetish having been sufficiently invoked, and all having got into the canoe, we glided down the stream with delightful rapidity, without stopping any where, or meeting with further hindrances till midnight. The canoemen entertained us with their native songs, keeping time with their paddles, and every thing contributed to render the passage pleasant. But alas! this happiness was to be of short duration.

The travellers had proceeded down the river about a day's journey, when they came to a large market town called Kirree. A great number of canoes were lying near the bank. They appeared to be very large, and had flags lying on long bamboo canes. We took no notice of them, but passed on, and in a short time afterward we saw about fifty canoes before us, coming up the river. They appeared to be very large and full of men, and the appearance of them at a distance was very pleasing. They had each three long bamboo canes, with flags flying from them, one fixed at each end of the canoe, and the other in the middle. As we approached each other, I observed the British Union flag in several, while others, which were white, had figures on them of a man's leg, chairs, tables, decanters, glasses, and all kinds of such devices. The people in them, who were very numerous, were dressed in European clothing, with the exception of trousers.

I felt quite overjoyed by the sight of these people, more particularly so when I saw our flag and European apparel among them, and congratulated myself

that they were from the sea-coast. But all my fond anticipations vanished in a moment as the first canoe met us. A great stout fellow, of a most forbidding countenance, beckoned to me to come to him, but seeing him and all his people so well armed, I was not much inclined to trust myself among them, and paid no attention to him. The next moment I heard the sound of a drum, and in an instant several men mounted a platform and levelled their muskets at us. There was nothing to be done now but to obey; as for running away it was out of the question, our square loaded canoe was incapable of it; and to fight with fifty war canoes, for such we found them, containing each above forty people, most of whom were as well armed as ourselves, would have been throwing away my own and my canoeemen's lives very foolishly. In addition to the muskets, each canoe had a long gun in its bow that would carry a shot of four or six pounds, besides being provided with a good stock of swords and boarding pikes.

By this time our canoes were side by side, and with astonishing rapidity our luggage found its way into those of our opponents. This mode of proceeding I did not relish at all; so as my gun was loaded with two balls and four slugs, I took deliberate aim at the leader, and he would have paid for his temerity with his life in one moment more, had not three of his people sprung on me and forced the gun from my hands. My jacket and shoes were as quickly plundered from me, and observing some other fellows at the same time taking away Pascoe's wife, I lost all command over myself, and was determined to sell my life as dearly as I could. I encouraged my men to arm themselves with their paddles and defend themselves to the last. I instantly seized hold of Pascoe's wife, and with the assistance of one of my men dragged her from the fellow's grasp; Pascoe at the same time levelled a blow at his head with one of our iron-wood paddles, that sent him reeling backwards, and we saw him no more.

Our canoe having been so completely relieved of her cargo, which had consisted only of our luggage, we had plenty of room in her for battle, and being each of us provided with a paddle, we determined, as we had got clear of our adversary, to cut down the first fellow who should dare to board us. This was not attempted; and as none of the other canoes had offered to interfere, I was in hopes of finding some friends among them, but at all events was determined to follow the people who had plundered us to the market, where they seemed to be going. We accordingly pulled after them as fast as we could. My men, now that the fray was over, began to think of their forlorn condition. All their things were gone, and as they gave up all hopes of regaining them, or being able to revenge themselves on the robbers, they gave vent to their rage in tears and execrations. I desired them to be quiet, and endeavoured all in my power to pacify them by telling them that if we were spared to reach the sea in safety, I would pay them for every thing they had lost.

We were following the canoe that had attacked us, as fast as we possibly could to regain our things, if possible, when some people hailed us from a large canoe, which I found afterward belonged to the new Calebar river. One of the people, who was apparently a person of consequence, called out lustily to me, "Holloa, white man, you French, you English?" "Yes, English," I answered immediately. "Come here in my canoe," he said, and our two canoes approached each other rapidly. I accordingly got into his canoe, and he put three of his men into mine to assist in pulling her to the market. The people of the canoe treated me with much kindness, and the chief of her who had hailed me, gave me a glass of rum. There were several females also in the canoe, who appeared to take a great deal of interest in my safety.

On looking around me I now observed my brother coming towards us in the Damuggoo canoe, and the same villain who had plundered me was the first to pursue him. As we had been absent from each other all the morning, and the foregoing transactions relate only to myself, the following narrative of my brother will give the reader an account of his proceedings to the time I saw him, and the disaster which soon after followed.

My brother left the village nearly two hours before me, and therefore he was far in advance when the Damuggoo canoe, in which I had remained, was pushed off the land. Wishing to overtake him, for he had no guide, the men exerted

themselves wonderfully, to make amends for the time which they had trifled away, and it was really astonishing to see the rapidity with which the canoe was impelled through the water.

The morning was cool, serene, and delightful, and the sun had just emerged from a mass of dense clouds, which were fringed with a silvery light. On each side of the river, gentle and undulating hills rose one behind the other, covered with verdure, and here and there varied by groves of dark, green trees, which served to render the prospect yet more agreeable. The smooth, transparent surface of the river, disturbed only by the motions of our paddles, so calm, so peaceful in its gentle course, reflected with unerring truth the enchanting landscape from either side, and lent its friendly aid to hasten us to our long-wished for destination.

After we had been in the canoe perhaps an hour, one of the men who happened to be standing in the bow, fancied that he could descry, in another canoe, then at a considerable distance before us, a sheep and goat which my brother had taken away with him in the morning. All doubt as to the identity of the animals having been removed from his own mind, and those of his companions, though for my own part I must own that my vision was not near keen enough to allow me to agree with them in opinion, we gave chase to the suspected canoe. The men summoned all their resolution and strength to the task, and, like an arrow from a bow, our narrow vessel darted through the water. We gained rapidly on the chase, and the people, perceiving our object, and mistrusting our intentions, kept near the shore, and laboured hard to get away from us. They then entered a branch of the river, and sheltered themselves among a number of canoes that were lying alongside a large market place, situated on the right bank. This did not damp the spirit of our men, or deter them from following the pursued: we succeeded in discovering their hiding place; and at length, after much wrangling and many threats, the robbers, (for such they proved to be,) were compelled to restore the animals. But how my brother could have suffered two men to plunder his canoe, puzzled me exceedingly, and I was totally at a loss to account for it. Nothing could exceed my surprise, on approaching the market, to observe, as I thought, large European flags, affixed to poles, and waving over almost every canoe that was there. On a closer examination, I discovered them to be only imitations, though they were executed with uncommon skill and neatness. British colours apparently were the most prevalent, and among these the Union flag seemed to be the general favourite. Nor did my former surprise diminish in the least when I landed, on finding that the market people were clad in European apparel, though, with the odd fancy which is remarkable among Indians who have any intercourse with Europeans, none of them were dressed in a complete suit of clothes. One wore a hat only, with a Manchester cotton tied round his waist, another a shirt, another a jacket, &c. As all natives with the exception of kings, are forbidden by law to wear trousers, a common pocket handkerchief was generally substituted for that article of dress. The multitude formed the most motley group that we have ever seen; nothing on earth could be more grotesque or ridiculous. Many of the men had a smattering of the English and French tongues.

The object for which we had stopped at the market, having been effected to our satisfaction, we pulled out again into the main body of the river, and here we saw several canoes of amazing size coming towards us from the southward. Totally unsuspecting of danger of any kind from this quarter, astonishment at such a sight was the only emotion that entered my mind; and we resolved to pass in the midst of these canoes, that we might more conveniently look on each side of us, for the purpose of ascertaining whether they contained any thing belonging to us. At the next moment another squadron of the same description of vessels, came in sight, in one of which I could discover my brother by his white shirt, and I fancied that he was returning to demand restitution of the animals of which he had been plundered, therefore I felt perfectly easy in my mind.

When we drew nearer, it was apparent that these were all war-canoes, of prodigious dimensions; immense flags of various colours were displayed in them, a six-pounder was lashed to the bow of each, and they were filled with

women and children, and armed men, whose weapons were in their hands. Such was their size, that each of them was paddled by nearly forty people. In pursuance of our arrangement we passed through the midst of them, but could see nothing; and we had advanced a few yards when on looking behind us, we discovered that the war-canoes had been turned round and were swiftly pursuing us. Appearances were hostile; the apprehension of danger suddenly flashed across my mind; we endeavoured and struggled hard to escape; but fear had taken possession of the minds of my companions, and as they were unable to exert themselves we did not get on; all was vain. Our canoe was overtaken in a moment, and nearly sent under water by the violence with which her pursuer dashed against her; a second crash threw two or three of the Damuggoo people overboard, and by the shock of the third, she capsized and sunk. All this seemed the work of enchantment, so quickly did events succeed each other; yet in this interval, a couple of ill-looking fellows had jumped into our canoe, and in the confusion which prevailed, began emptying it of its contents with astonishing celerity.

On finding myself in the water, my first care was, very naturally, to get out again; and therefore looking round on a hundred ruffians, in whose countenances I could discover not a single trace of gentleness or pity, I swam to a large canoe apart from the others, in which I observed two females and some little ones, for in their breasts, thought I, compassion and tenderness must surely dwell. Perceiving my design, a sturdy man of gigantic stature, such as little children dream of, black as a coal, and with a most hideous countenance, suddenly sprang towards me, and stooping down, laid hold of my arm, and snatched me with a violent jerk out of the water, letting me fall like a log into the canoe, without speaking a word.

Issoon recovered, and sat up with my companions, the women and children, and discovered them wiping tears from their faces. In momentary expectation of a barbarous and painful death, 'for what else,' said I to myself, 'can all this lead to?' the scene around me produced little impression on my mind; my thoughts were wandering far away, and this day I thought was to be my last. I was meditating in this manner, heedless of all that was going on around me, and reckless of what came next, when I looked up and saw my brother at a little distance, gazing steadfastly upon me; when he saw that I observed him, he held up his arm with a sorrowful look, and pointed his finger to the skies. O! how distinctly and eloquently were all the emotions of his soul at that moment depicted in his countenance! Who could not understand him? He would have said, "Trust in God!" I was touched with grief. Thoughts of home and friends rushed upon my mind, and almost overpowered me. My heart hovered over the scenes of infancy and boyhood. O how vividly did early impressions return to my soul! But such feelings could be indulged only for a moment. Recollecting myself, I bade them, as I thought, an everlasting adieu; and weaning my heart and thoughts from all worldly associations, with fervour I invoked the God of my life, before whose awful throne I imagined we should shortly appear, for fortitude and consolation in the hour of trial. My heart became subdued and softened; my mind regained its serenity and composure; and though there was nothing but tumult and distraction without, within all was tranquillity and resignation.

On account of the eagerness and anxiety with which every one endeavoured to get near us in order to share the expected plunder, and the confusion which prevailed in consequence, many of the war-canoes clashed against each other with such violence, that three or four of them were upset at one time, and the scene which ensued baffles all description. Men, women and children, clinging to their floating property, were struggling in the river, and screaming and crying out as loud as they were able, to be saved from drowning. Those that were more fortunate, were beating their countrymen off from getting into their canoes, by striking their heads and hands with paddles, as they laid hold of the sides and nearly upset them. When the noise and disorder had in some measure ceased, my brother's canoe and that which I was in were by the side of each other, and he instantly took his shirt from his back, and threw it over me, for I

was naked. I then stepped into his canoe; for whatever might be our fate, it would be a mournful kind of pleasure to comfort and console one another in the hour of trial and suffering. But I had no sooner done so, than I was dragged back again by a powerful arm, which I could not resist, and commanded, by furious gestures, to sit still, on my peril.

Unwilling to aggravate our condition by obstinacy or bravado, which would have been vain and ridiculous, I made no reply, but did as I was desired, and silently watched the motions of our keepers. Now there were still other canoes passing by on their way to the market-place, and among them was one of extraordinary size. Fancying it to be neutral, and hoping to make a diversion in our favour, I beckoned to those who were in it, and saluted them in the most friendly manner. But their savage bosoms were impenetrable to feeling. Surely, they are destitute of all the amiable charities of life. I almost doubted whether they were human beings. Their hideous features were darkened by a terrible scowl; they mocked me, clapped their hands, and thumped upon a sullen drum; then with a loud and scornful laugh, the barbarians dashed their paddles into the water and went their way. This was a severe mortification; I felt confused and abashed; and my heart seemed to shrink within itself. I made no more such trials.

Seeing my brother swimming in the river, and people clinging on to what they could, I endeavoured all in my power to induce the people of my canoe to go to him. But all I could do was in vain. Fearing that those in the water might upset the canoe by getting into her, or that she would be overloaded with them, they kept aloof, and let them take their chance. My feelings at that moment were not to be described; I saw my brother nearly exhausted, and could render him no assistance, in addition to our luggage being plundered and sunk, and I had just formed the resolution of jumping into the water after him when I saw him picked up.

The canoes near me, as well as mine, hastened to a small island in the river, at a short distance from the market, and my brother arrived soon afterward. In a short time the Damuggoo people made their appearance, having like ourselves, lost every thing that they had, of their own property as well as their master's, this was in consequence of the confusion which had taken place; for these people, no doubt, had they been recognized, would not have been molested. We were all obliged to remain in our respective canoes, and made a sorry appearance in consequence of the treatment we had received, which was increased by the tears and lamentations of our own canoe-men, as well as of those of Damuggoo, and neither my brother nor myself were in a condition to offer them any consolation.

We had been laying at the island; but now the war-canoes were all formed into a line, and paddled into the market-place before alluded to, which is called *Kirree*, and which was likewise the place of their destination. Here we were informed that a *palaver* would be held, to take the whole affair into consideration; and about ten in the morning a multitude of men landed from the canoes, to hold a council of war, if so it may be termed. For our parts we were not suffered to go on shore; but constrained to remain in the canoes, without a covering for the head, and exposed to the heat of a burning sun. A person in a Mohammedan dress came to us, and endeavoured to cheer us, by saying that our hearts must not be sore,—that at the palaver which would be held, we had plenty of friends to speak for us. That all the people in the Mohammedan dresses, who had come from Funda to attend the market, were our friends, besides a great number of females, who were well dressed in silk of different colours. These women wore large ivory anklets of about four or five pounds weight, and bracelets of the same material, but not so large. About twenty canoes full of Damuggoo people had arrived from the various towns near Damuggoo. These persons having heard how we had been treated, also became our friends, so that we now began to think there was a chance of escaping, and this intelligence put us into better spirits.

A short time before noon, the river being pretty clear, several guns were fired as a signal for all the canoes to repair to the market and attend the palaver.

Eager to learn the result of the discussion at the assembly, in which we were so intimately concerned, but without the means of gaining any intelligence, we passed the hours in fearful suspense, yielding by turns to the pleasing illusions of hope, and the gloomy forebodings of despair.

The heat of the sun was excessive, and having no shirt even to protect my shoulders from the scorching rays, I contrived to borrow an old cloth from one of the canoemen, who spoke a little English. Some of the market-women came down to our canoe, and looked on us with much concern and pity, spreading their hands out, as much as to say, God has saved you from a cruel death. They then retired, and in a few minutes afterward returned, bringing with them a bunch of plantains and two cocoanuts. This was an acceptable offering, and we gladly took it and divided it among our people and ourselves.

A stir was now made in the market place, and a search commenced through all the canoes for our goods, some of which were found, although the greater part of them were at the bottom of the river. These were landed and placed in the middle of the market place. We were now invited by the mallams to land, and told to look at our goods and see if they were all there. To my great satisfaction, I immediately recognized the box containing our books, and one of my brother's journals. The medicine chest was by its side, but both were filled with water. A large carpet bag, containing all our wearing apparel, was lying cut open, and deprived of all its contents with the exception of a shirt, a pair of trousers and a waistcoat. Many valuable articles which it had contained were gone. The whole of my journal, with the exception of a note book with remarks from Rabba to this place, was lost. Four guns, one of which had been the property of Mr. Park, four cutlasses and two pistols were gone. Nine elephant's tusks, the finest I had seen in the country, which had been given me by the kings of Wowow and Boossa, a quantity of ostrich feathers, some handsome leopard skins, a great variety of seeds, all our buttons, cowries, and needles, which were necessary for us to purchase provisions with, all were missing, and said to have been sunk in the river. The two boxes and the bag were all that could be found.

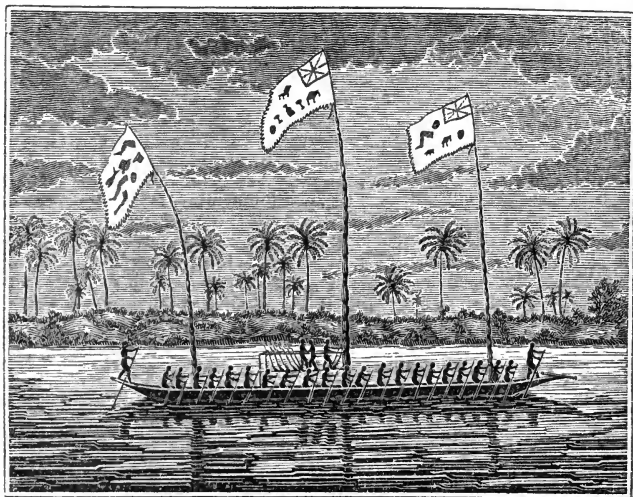
We had been desired to seat ourselves, which as soon as we had done, a circle gathered round us and began questioning us; but at that moment the sound of screams and the clashing of arms reached the spot; and the multitude, catching fire at the noise, drew their swords, and leaving us to ourselves, ran away to the place whence it proceeded. The poor women were hurrying with their little property towards the river from all directions, and imagining that we ourselves might be trampled under foot, were we to remain longer sitting on the ground, we joined the flying fugitives and all rushed into the water, jumped into the canoes, and pushed off the land, whither our pursuers dared not follow us. The origin of all this was a desire for more plunder on the part of the Eboe people. Seeing the few things of ours in the market place, which had been taken from their canoes, they made a rush to the place to recover them. The natives, who were Kirree people, stood ready for them, armed with swords, daggers, and guns; and the savage Eboes, finding themselves foiled in the attempt, retreated to their canoes without risking an attack, although we fully expected to have been spectators of a furious and bloody battle. The noise and uproar which this produced were dreadful and beyond all description.

This after all was a fortunate circumstance, inasmuch as my brother and I, having unconsciously jumped into the same canoe, found ourselves in each other's company, and were thus afforded, for a short time at least, the pleasure of conversing without interruption; and he then related to me all that had happened to him since the morning. Like me, he had no foresight of mischief, or apprehensions of danger, and therefore he took no means whatever of shunning the immense canoes which he perceived were approaching him with their large flags. But on the contrary, these striking and uncommon appendages, to which neither of us had been accustomed, served to excite his curiosity and win his admiration rather than awaken any fear or suspicion of danger.

The palaver not having yet concluded, we had full leisure to contemplate the scene around us. We had moved a little way from the banks of the river: in



front of us was the market-place, which was crammed with people, from all parts of the neighbouring country, of different tribes, a great multitude of wild men, of ferocious aspect, and savage, uncouth manners. To these belonged the choice of either giving us life and liberty, or dooming us to death or slavery. In the latter determination, their minds might be swayed by suspicion or caprice, or influenced by hatred; in the former, they might be guided by the hopes of gain, or biassed by the fears of punishment,—for many of them had come from the sea-coast, and such an adventure as ours could not long remain concealed from the knowledge of our countrymen. The shore for a long way was lined with their canoes, having the colours of various European nations waving from long poles, which were fastened to the seats. Several of these had as many as three flags in each; they were all of immense size, and fringed with blue cotton (baft) cut into scallops. Besides these there were others of the strangest and most



EBOE CANOE.

grotesque patterns, such as representations of wild beasts, men's legs, wine-glasses, decanters, and things of still more whimsical shapes. Whence the barbarians procured these emblematical banners we cannot tell; but we understand that each tribe has its own peculiar flags, which are unfurled whenever they undertake any enterprise of importance. Canoes were likewise stationed near an island or sand-bank in the middle of the river, which we considered to be neutral, as their owners did not seem to interfere with the proceedings of the day. But there happened to be among the savages a few well dressed Moham-medan priests, who had come late to the market from the northward. These were decidedly our friends. Many times they blessed us with uplifted hands and compassionate countenances, exclaiming, "*Alla Sullikee!*" (God is King!) Nor did they confine themselves to simple expressions of pity or concern; but as we subsequently learned, they joined the assembly, and spoke in our favour with warmth and energy, taxing those who had assailed us with cowardice, cruelty, and wrong, and proposing to have them beheaded on the spot as a just punishment for their crime. This was bold language, but it produced a salutary effect on the minds of the hearers.

At about three in the afternoon we were ordered to return to the small island from whence we had come, and the setting of the sun being the signal for the council to dissolve, we were again sent for to the market. The people had been

engaged in deliberation and discussion during the whole of the day, and with throbbing hearts we received their resolution in nearly the following words:—"That the king of the country being absent, they had taken upon themselves, to consider the occurrence which had taken place in the morning, and to give judgment accordingly. Those of our things which had been saved from the water should be returned to us, and the person that had first commenced the attack on my brother should lose his head, as a just retribution for his offence, having acted without his chief's permission; that with regard to us, we must consider ourselves prisoners, and consent to be conducted on the following morning to *Obie*, king of the Eboe country, before whom we should undergo an examination, and whose will and pleasure concerning our persons would then be explained." We received the intelligence with feelings of rapture, and with bursting hearts we offered up thanks to our Divine Creator for his signal preservation of us throughout this disastrous day.

It was, perhaps, fortunate for us, that we had no article of value which the natives were at all solicitous about; and to this circumstance, added to the envy of those who had joined in the conquest, but who had not shared the plunder, may chiefly be attributed, under Providence, the preservation of our lives.

The object of the barbarians in coming so far from home was never correctly explained to us; but we have no doubt that it was from motives of plunder, which, had our party been larger, was to have been carried into effect on an extensive scale. But the capture of two white men, supposed to have valuable goods with them, seems to have disconcerted all their plans for the present by producing division and distrust among them. However, it was apparent to us that all these savage warriors had left their country not only to plunder whatever might happen to fall in their way, but likewise to attend two or three markets near *Kirree*, for the purpose of trading with the natives whenever they might fancy themselves not sufficiently powerful to take away their property without fighting and bloodshed. It was also evident at *Kirree* that more than one party of these robbers had made several attempts at plunder, and it was equally notorious that they had been many times repulsed. Hence the dreadful screaming at the market, and the state of hurry, tumult, and alarm, that prevailed therein during the whole of the day.

In the evening, when every thing was quiet, fires were kindled in all the canoes, for dressing provisions, and there being a vast number of them, the Niger was illuminated by streams of yellow light, which produced a highly romantic, but melancholy effect. It was a time fitted for adoration and thanksgiving to the beneficent Creator and Monarch of all. But, alas! how few here are bending the knee to him; how few are lifting up their hearts to his mercy seat!

The *Kirree* people are a savage-looking race. They are amazingly strong and athletic, and are also well proportioned. Their only clothing is the skin either of a leopard or tiger fastened round their waist. Their hair is plaited and plastered with red clay in abundance, and their face is full of incisions in every part of it; these are cut into the flesh so as to produce deep furrows, each incision being about a quarter of an inch long, and died with indigo. It is scarcely possible to make out a feature of their faces, and I have never seen Indians more disfigured. The Eboe women have handsome features, and we could not help thinking it a pity that such savage looking fellows as the men should be blessed with so handsome a race of females. The mark of the Eboe people is the point of an arrow pricked in each temple, the end being next to the eye. We are informed that the leading man who attacked us in the river this morning is confined in double irons, and condemned to die by the people who are our friends at this place. It is said they have taken our treatment up with so much determination to do us justice, that if the king of Eboe, whose subject he is, refuses to put him to death, no more of his canoes will be allowed to come to this country to trade. His wives have been crying round him, and making great lamentation.

The next morning, agreeable to the decision already related, the Landers bade adieu to *Kirree*, the scene of all their sorrows, and accompanied by six large war canoes, again took their station in the canoe with the *Damuggoo* people. Their condition was now very different from what it had ever been before, for they

were prisoners—and bound to the court, they had reason to believe, of a most fierce and savage king, at whose hands they were to receive their sentence of liberty or slavery, life or death. They had lost their clothing, their money, their goods, they had not even any thing with which they could purchase a meal, and their sable guardians knowing this, neglected to take into consideration the state of their stomachs. A piece of roasted yam to each, washed down with a little water, was all they could obtain to satisfy their hunger.

They had been on the river about two days and a half, when one of the Eboe men in their canoe, exclaimed, "There is my country!" pointing to a clump of very high trees at some distance before them, and after passing a low fertile island they quickly came to it. The town was yet a good way down the river. In a short time, however, they came to an extensive morass, intersected by little channels in every direction, and by one of these got into clear water in front of the town. Here, they say, we found hundreds of canoes, some of them even larger than any we had previously met with. They were furnished with sheds and awnings, and afforded commodious habitations for a vast number of people, who constantly resided in them. Perhaps, one of these canoes which was made of a single trunk, afforded accommodations for seventy individuals.

When we came along side these canoes, two or three huge brawny fellows, in broken English, asked how we did, in a tone which Stentor might have envied; and the shaking of hands with our powerful friends was really a punishment on account of the violent squeezes which we were compelled to suffer. The chief of these men called himself *Gun*, though *Blunderbuss*, or *Thunder* would have been an appropriate name; and without solicitation, he informed us that though he was not a great man, yet he was "a little military king;" that his brother's name was *King Boy*, and his father's *King Forday*, who with *King Jacket* governed all the *Brass* country. But what was infinitely more interesting to us than this ridiculous list of kings, was the information he gave us, that, besides a Spanish schooner, an English vessel called the "*Thomas of Liverpool*," was lying in the *first Brass river*, which Mr. Gun said was frequented by Liverpool traders for palm oil.

On arriving at the palace, and having crossed the yard, in which we saw nothing remarkable, we entered by a wooden door into another which was far superior. This formed an oblong square; it was cleanly swept, and each of its sides was furnished with an excellent portico. Near the door-way we saw with surprise a large heavy cannon lying on the ground. From this enclosure we were led into a third. Here we were desired to place ourselves among a crowd of half-dressed armed men, who were huddled together, some sitting and others standing, and awaiting the coming of the prince. Our friend Gun was among them, and he immediately claimed priority of acquaintance with us. He chatted with amazing volubility, and in less than two minutes he was on the most familiar footing, slapping us, resting his heavy arms on our shoulders, laughing loud at every word we said, looking knowingly, and occasionally applying the palm of his hand to our backs with the most feeling energy, as a token of his approbation. We wished him to answer questions which concerned us nearly, but the only satisfaction we received was contained in the expression, "O yes, to be sure!" and this was repeated so often, with an emphasis so peculiar, and with a grin so irresistibly ludicrous, that in spite of our disappointment we were lustily entertained by him.

In this manner was the time beguiled, till we heard a door suddenly open on our right, and the dreaded *Obie*, king of the Eboe country, stood before us! And yet there was nothing so very dreadful in his appearance, after all, for he was a sprightly young man, with a mild open countenance, and an eye which indicated quickness, intelligence, and good-nature, rather than the ferocity which, we had been told, he possessed in an eminent degree. He received us with a smile of welcome, and shook hands with infinite cordiality, often complimenting us with the word "yes!" to which his knowledge of English is confined, and which, no doubt, he had been tutored to pronounce for the occasion. Several attendants followed their sovereign, most of whom were unarmed, and

almost naked; and three little boys were likewise in attendance, whose office it was to fan him when desired.

His dress somewhat resembled that which was worn, on state occasions, by the monarch of Yarriba. Its appearance was altogether *brilliant*, and from the vast profusion of coral ornaments with which he was decorated, Obie might have been not inappropriately styled, "the coral King." He was seated on a throne of clay; a cap shaped like a sugar loaf, and thickly covered with strings of coral and pieces of broken looking-glass, graced his head; strings of the same materials encircled his neck, some of them reaching almost to his knees. He wore a short Spanish surtout of red cloth, much too small, ornamented with gold epaulettes, and overspread in front with gold lace. Thirteen or fourteen bracelets were fastened to each wrist with old copper buttons; his trousers composed of the same material as his coat, stuck as closely to the skin, and reached no lower than the middle part of his legs, were ornamented at the lower part with precisely the same number of strings of beads as encircled his wrists; besides which a string of little brass bells encircled each leg above the ankles, but the feet were naked. Thus splendidly clothed, Obie, smiling at his own magnificence, shook his feet for the bells to tinkle, sat down with the utmost self-complacency, and looked around him.

Our story was related to the king in full by the Bonny messenger who had accompanied us from Damuggoo, who also dwelt upon the losses which the people of that place and his own had met with at Kirree. If we may be allowed to form an opinion, it was a fine piece of savage eloquence. The man's looks and gestures were natural, animated, forcible, and strictly in keeping with the feeling, power, and energy with which his expressions were poured forth. The inflections of his voice, also, were truly admirable. This singular speech lasted, as nearly as we could guess, two whole hours, and produced a visible effect upon all present. As soon as it was over we were invited by Obie to take some refreshment; being in truth extremely hungry, we thankfully accepted the offer, and fish and yams swimming in oil were forthwith brought us on English plates, the king retiring in the meanwhile, from motives of delicacy.

The next day, about noon, we were informed that our attendance was required at the king's house, Obie being fully prepared, it was said, to resume the hearing of our case. A common English chair placed in the court, and covered with red cloth, stood ready for the king's use. On the left of the chair stood about fifty of the king's attendants, and to the right of it Bonny, Brass, and the Damuggoo people with our own were assembled. In less than half an hour, the men having in the mean time been regaled with a large quantity of palm wine, the monarch dressed in every respect as the day before, entered the yard. His fat, round cheeks were swelling with good humour, real or assumed, as he shook hands with a sprightly air, and instantly sat himself down to receive the prostrations and addresses of his subjects.

The business of the day was entered into with spirit, and a violent altercation soon arose between the Brass and Bonny people, but scarcely any part of the conversation was interpreted to us. Sufficient, however, was explained to put us in a very bad humour; for notwithstanding the opinion we had formed of the benevolence of the chief, we were assured that we should never leave the country unless ransomed at a high price! The discussion was violent and strong, and the council did not break up till a late hour in the afternoon. They came to no decision, but were to meet again the next day.

The next day Obie, with a serious countenance, announced his decision. He said that there was no necessity for further discussion respecting the white men, his mind was already made up on the subject; and for the first time he briefly explained himself to this effect:—That circumstances having thrown us in the way of his subjects, by the laws and usages of the country, he was not only entitled to our persons, but had equal right to those of our attendants; that he should take no further advantage of his good fortune than by exchanging us for as much English goods as would amount to twenty slaves; that he should prevent our leaving the town, till such time as our countrymen at Brass or Bonny

should pay for our ransom. Concerning the goods of which we had been robbed at Kirree, he would use his utmost exertions to get them restored. He lamented that circumstance more than any one, but denied that a single subject of his had any thing to do with it, and attributed it to the rashness and brutality of a certain people who inhabited a country nearly opposite to his own, whose monarch was his particular friend; therefore he apprehended little difficulty in seeing justice done us; 'but then,' said he, 'it is necessary that you should wait here for an indefinite time, till a council of that nation be held, when the plunderers will be examined and your claims established.'

The king was assured that there was not the slightest necessity for our detention, that our countrymen would pay the ransom the moment they should see us, but not before. But it was all in vain; it was of no use either to implore or remonstrate. This determination, however, it will be seen was subsequently altered.

One evening after this Obie, in his showy coral dress, but barefooted, came to visit us in our hut, to inspect our books, and examine the contents of our medicine chest. His approach was announced by the jingling of the little bells which encircled his feet. He appeared greatly pleased with every thing he saw, and looked aghast when informed of the powerful properties of some of the medicines, which ended in a fit of laughter. He expressed a strong desire to have a little, especially of the purgatives; and as we treated the Sultan of Yaoorie and family, so we treated him. Obie was evidently fearful of our books, having been informed that they could "tell all things!" and appeared to shrink with horror at one which was offered him, shaking his head, saying that he must not accept it, for that it was good only for white men, "whose God was not his god!"

The next day on being introduced to the palace, we found King Boy in the inner yard, and from his significant physiognomy, we conjectured that he had something of consequence to communicate. Obie received us with his usual politeness and jocularly, but instantly directed his attention and discourse to King Boy, who maintained an earnest and pretty animated conversation with him for some time. As we were frequently pointed out, and named, we had no doubt whatever that it was chiefly concerning ourselves, which opinion was soon after confirmed.

Shortly after the termination of the palaver how transported we were to hear King Boy explain himself in broken English to this effect: "In the conversation which I have just had with Obie, I have been induced to offer him the goods which he demands for your ransom, on the faith that they be hereafter repaid me by the master of the brig Thomas which is now lying in the first Brass River, and that the value of fifteen bars, or slaves, be added thereto in European goods, and likewise a cask of rum, as a remuneration for the hazard and trouble which I shall inevitably incur in transporting you to Brass. If you consent to these conditions, and on these only, I consent to redeem you; you will forthwith give me a bill on Captain Lake for the receipt of the articles to the value of thirty-five bars, after which, you will be at liberty to leave this place, and go along with me whenever you may think proper, agreeably to the understanding at present existing between Obie and myself.

This was heavenly news indeed, and we immediately gave the bill on Mr. Lake, rejoiced at the opportunity which seemed so providentially opened to us of getting down to the sea. Obie perceived by the great and sudden change in our countenances the joy that filled our breasts; and having asked us whether we were not pleased with his arrangements, in the fullness of our hearts, he exacted from us a promise that on returning to England, we should inform our countrymen that he was a good man, and that we would pay him a visit whenever we should come again into the country.

When King Boy came for his *book*, I gave it him, and he wished to send it down to the brig, to know if it was good. This I had expected, so I told him that the *book* would be of no use unless we were sent along with it, and that the captain would not pay it before he had taken us on board the brig, on which he put it into his pocket-book.

Fearing that something might yet occur to detain us, and ultimately change the king's resolution altogether, we lost not a moment, but hastened to our lodgings, and having sent our people on board Boy's canoe, we hurried after them immediately, and embarked at three in the afternoon. This canoe was extremely large and heavily laden. It was paddled by forty men and boys, in addition to whom there might have been about twenty individuals, so that the whole number would amount to at least sixty. At seven in the evening we settled ourselves for the night.

King Boy slept on shore with his wife *Addizetta*, Obie's favourite daughter, and on her account we waited till between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, when she made her appearance with her husband. On stepping into the canoe, with a spirit of gallantry, Boy handed her to the best seat, on a box close to which he himself sat, and which we had relinquished in her favour from motives of delicacy. *Addizetta* might have been between twenty and thirty years of age; her person was tall, stout, and well proportioned, her countenance round and open, but dull, and singularly inexpressive, her forehead was smooth, and shining as polished ebony, her eyes full, large, and beautiful, though languid; her cheeks of a Dutch-like breadth and fulness, her nose finely compressed, her mouth pretty, and embellished by a set of elegant teeth, perfectly even and regular, and white as the teeth of a greyhound; her chin—but I cannot describe a chin; I only know that it agreed well with the other features of the face. Her dress consisted of a piece of figured silk encircling the waist and extending as low as the knees, her woolly hair tastily braided and enclosed in a net, ended in a peak; the net was adorned with coral beads, strings of which hung from the crown to the forehead. She wore necklaces of the same costly bead, copper rings encircled her fingers and great toes, bracelets of ivory her wrists, and enormous rings also of elephant's tusks decorated her legs, near the ankle, by which she was almost disabled from walking, on account of their prodigious weight and immense size. Her person was tattooed in various parts, and by the side of each eye near the temple vein was formed the representation of the point of an arrow.

About ten in the morning a mess of fish, boiled with yams and plantains, was provided for breakfast. As King Boy was fearful that our presence might incommode his lady, we were desired to move farther back, that she might eat with additional confidence and comfort, for alas! we were not placed on an equality with *Addizetta* and her kingly spouse.

No two individuals in the world have had greater reason to complain of disturbed slumbers or nightly watching than ourselves. Hitherto it had been occasioned chiefly by exposure to damps, rains, and dews, mosquito attacks, frightful and piercing noises, or over-fatigue, or anxiety of mind. But now in the absence of most of these causes, we were cramped for want of room, insomuch that we found it impossible to place ourselves in a recumbent posture without having the heavy legs of Mr. and Mrs. Boy, with their prodigious ornaments of ivory, placed either on our faces or on our breasts. It would be ridiculous to suppose that one could enjoy the refreshment of sleep, when two or more uncovered legs and feet, huge, black, and rough, were traversing one's face and body, stopping up the passages of respiration, and pressing so heavily as at times to threaten suffocation. I could not long endure so serious an inconvenience, but preferred last night to sit up in the canoe. My brother was indisposed and unable to follow my example, and therefore I endeavoured, if possible, to render his situation more tolerable. With this object in view, I pinched the feet of our snoring companions, Mr. and Mrs. Boy, till the pain caused them to awake and remove them from his face.

We continued our course down the river until about two hours after midnight, when we stopped near a small village, and taking my mat in my hand, I went on shore determined, if possible, to sleep on the ground. Overcome by fatigue, and the fear of being attacked by alligators, or any thing else, I selected a dry place and laid myself down on my mat. I had nearly dropped asleep when I was roused by several severe stings, and found myself covered with black ants. They had got up my trowsers, and were tormenting me dreadfully. At first

I knew not what to do, and ran about as fast as I could with the idea of shaking them off, but with all my endeavours, it was long before I could get rid of them. Our men, Pascoe, Sam, and Jowdie, seeing the condition I was in, landed from the canoe, and made large fires in the form of a ring. I laid down in the midst of them and slept till day-light. The sting of a black ant is quite as painful as that of a wasp.

In about four days from the time of leaving the Eboe country, the travellers under conduct of King Boy and his escort, arrived at Brass town, which stands about sixty miles from the ocean. It is described as a most wretched, filthy, and abominable place. Properly speaking, it consisted of two towns, one of them under the domination of a noted scoundrel called *King Jacket*, and the other governed by a rival chief named *King Forday*. This chief soon sent Richard Lander a summons to visit him, and he accordingly complied with it. His house stood about a hundred yards from that of King Boy, with whom the travellers were lodged. On entering it, Richard Lander says, I found him sitting half-drunk, with about a dozen of his wives and a number of dogs in a filthy room. I was desired to sit down by his side, and to drink a glass of rum. He then gave me to understand as well as he could that it was customary for every white man who came to the river, to pay him four bars. I expressed my ignorance and surprise at this, but was soon silenced by his saying "That is my demand, and I shall not allow you to leave this town until you give me a *book* for that amount." Seeing that I had nothing to do but to comply with his demand, I gave him a bill on Lake, the commander of the English vessel, after which he said, "To-morrow you may go to the brig, and take one servant with you: but your mate," meaning my brother, "must remain here with your seven people, until my son, King Boy, shall bring the goods for himself and me; after this they shall be sent on board without delay." Much as I regretted the necessity of parting with my brother, I was obliged to agree to this arrangement; and with the hopes of profiting by it, I told King Forday that we were all very hungry, and begged him to send us a fowl or two; which he promised to do.

In order that I might make a decent appearance before my countrymen, I was obliged to sit all the afternoon with an old cloth wrapped round me, until my clothes were washed and dried. Six o'clock in the evening came, and the mean old king sent us neither fowls nor yams. This was the most starving place that we had yet seen. Mr. Gun gave us two meals, consisting of a little pounded yam, and fish stewed in palm oil, and for this he had the impudence to demand two muskets in payment. These fellows, like the rest on the coast, were a set of imposing rascals, little better than downright savages. We were told that they had lately absolutely starved three white men to death, who were wrecked in a slaving vessel when crossing the bar.

The next day, agreeable to the arrangement imposed upon him by King Forday, Richard Lander with one attendant, leaving his brother and the others of his party at Brass town, embarked with King Boy on board his canoe, and the next morning arrived in the main branch of the Quorra river, which is called the river Nun, or the First Brass River, having entered it, he says, opposite to a large branch, which King Boy informed me runs to Benin. The direction of the river Nun was here nearly north and south, and we kept on our course down the stream.

About a quarter of an hour after we had entered the river Nun, we descried, at a distance before us two vessels lying at anchor. The emotions of delight which the sight of them occasioned were quite beyond my powers of description. The one nearest to us was a schooner, a Spanish slave vessel, whose captain we had seen at Brass town. Our canoe was quickly by her side, and I went on board. The captain received me very kindly, and invited me to take some spirits and water with him.

We next directed our course to the English brig, which was lying about three hundred yards lower down the river. Having reached her with feelings of delight mingled with doubt, I went on board. Here I found every thing in a sad condition: four of the crew had just died of fever; four more which completed the whole, were lying sick in their hammocks, and the captain appeared to be

in the very last stage of illness. I now stated to him who I was, explained my situation to him as well as I could, and had my instructions read to him by one of his own people, that he might see I was not imposing on him. I then requested that he would redeem us by paying what had been demanded by King Boy; and assured him that whatever he might give to him on our account, would certainly be repaid to him by the British government. To my utter surprise and consternation, he flatly refused to give a single thing, and ill and weak as he was, made use of the most offensive and shameful oaths I ever heard. "If you think," said he, "that you have a fool to deal with, you are mistaken: I'll not give a b——y flint for your bill; I would not give a —— for it." Petrified with amazement, at such conduct, I shrunk from him with terror. I could scarcely believe what I heard till my ears were assailed with a repetition of the same. Disappointed beyond measure at such brutal conduct from one of my own countrymen, my feelings totally overpowered me, and I was ready to sink with grief and shame.

Returning to the canoe, I told King Boy that he must take us to Bonny, as plenty of English ships were there. "No, no," said he, "dis captain no pay, Bonny captain no pay; I wont take you any further." As this would not do, I again had recourse to the captain, and implored him to do something for me, telling him if he would let me have only ten muskets, Boy might be content with them, when he found that he could get nothing else. The only reply I received was, "I have told you already I will not let you have even a flint, so bother me no more." "But I have a brother and eight people at Brass town," I said to him; "and if you do not intend to pay King Boy, at least persuade him to bring them here, or else he will poison or starve my brother before I can get any assistance from a man-of-war, and sell all my people." The only answer I received was, "If you can get them on board, I will take them away; but as I have told you before, you do not get a flint from me." I then endeavoured to persuade Boy to go back for my people, and that he should be paid some time or other. "Yes," said the captain, "make haste and bring them." Boy very naturally required some of his goods before he went, and it was with no small difficulty I prevailed on him to go without them. He, however, got ready to depart, and I sent my man in his canoe with a note for my brother. I desired him to give Antonio a note on any English captain he might find at Bonny for his wages, and also one for the Damuggoo people, that they might receive the small present I had promised to their good old chief. At two in the afternoon, King Boy left me, promising to return with my brother and people in three days, but grumbling at not having been paid his goods.

The next morning Captain Lake seemed to be much better and I ventured to ask him for a change of linen, of which I was in great want. He readily complied with my request. In the course of the morning I conversed with him about our travels, related to him the particulars of our conditon, pointed out the injurious consequences that would result from not keeping our word with King Boy, and again asked him to give me ten muskets for my bill on Government. He had listened to my story with attention, but I no sooner advanced my wants, than with a furious oath he repeated his refusal, and finding him as determined as ever he had been, I mentioned it no more. He moreover told me, in the most unkind and petulant manner, "If your brother and people are not here in three days, I go without them."

Fearing he would do this, I took an opportunity of begging him, in the event of my brother and men not arriving by the 23d, (the expiration of the three days) to wait a little longer for them, asserting that if he went away without them, they would be assuredly starved or sold as slaves, but he replied, "I cant help it, I shall wait no longer."

The 22d I was on the look-out the whole day for him and our men. Lake, observing the distress I was in, told me not to trouble myself any more about them; adding, that he was sure he was dead, and that I need not expect to see him again. "If he had been alive", said Lake, "he would have been here by this time; to-morrow morning I shall leave the river."

The next morning, to my great joy and the mortification of Lake, the sea-



breeze was so strong as to raise a considerable surf on the bar, and prevented us from getting out. 'This was an anxious time, and the whole of the day my eyes were riveted to the part of the river where I knew my brother must come, without my seeing any thing of him. The day passed away in tedious watching, and the night was far spent without my seeing him. About midnight, I saw several large canoes making their way over to the west bank of the river, in one of which I imagined I could distinguish my brother. I observed them soon after land, and saw, by the fires which they made, that they had encamped under some mangrove trees. All my apprehensions vanished in an instant, and I was overjoyed with the thoughts of meeting my brother in the morning.

The Captain of the brig having observed them, suddenly exclaimed:—"Now we shall have a little fighting to-morrow; go you and load seventeen muskets, and put five buck-shot into each. I will take care that the cannon shall be loaded to the muzzle with balls and flints, and if there is any row, I will give them such a scouring as they never had." He then directed me to place the muskets and cutlasses out of sight, near the stern of the vessel, and said to me;—"The instant your people come on board call them aft, and let them stand by the arms. Tell them, if there is any row, to arm themselves directly, and drive all the Brass people overboard." This was summary work, with a vengeance, and every thing betokened that Lake was in earnest.

In the morning at day-break, I was on the lookout for my brother, and observed him and the people get into the canoe. They had no sooner embarked than they all landed again, which I could account for in no other way than by supposing that it was the intention of Boy to keep them on shore until he had received his goods. I was not long in this state of anxiety, for at about seven o'clock they embarked and were brought on board.

My station, during the time the canoe was coming from the shore to the vessel, had been by the cannon; it was the only one on board, but had been loaded as Lake had directed, and pointed to the gangway of the brig where the Brass people must come. The muskets were all ready, lying concealed where Lake had directed them to be placed, and he repeated the same orders that he had given me yesterday, respecting the part my people were to take in the business. Lake received my brother civilly, but immediately expressed his determination to dismiss Boy without giving him a single article, and to make the best of his way out of the river.

Meanwhile King Boy, full of gloomy forebodings, had been lingering about the deck. He had evidently foresight enough to suspect what was to take place, and he appeared troubled and uneasy, and bewildered in thought. The poor fellow was quite an altered person; his habitual haughtiness had entirely forsaken him, and given place to an humble and cringing demeanour. A plate of meat was presented him, of which he ate sparingly, and showed clearly that he was thinking more of his promised goods than of his appetite, and a quantity of rum that was given him was drank carelessly, and without affording any apparent satisfaction. Knowing how things were like to terminate, we endeavoured to get Boy into a good humour by telling him he should certainly have his goods some time or other, but it was all to no purpose, the present was the only thing in his mind.

I rummaged over the few things left us from our disaster at Kirree, and found, to my surprise, five silver bracelets wrapped up in a piece of flannel. I was not aware of having these, and immediately offered them to him, along with a native sword—a great curiosity, which we had brought with us from Yarriba, with the intention of taking it to England. Boy accepted of these, and my brother then offered him his watch. This was refused with disdain, for Boy knew not its value; and calling one of his men to look at what he said we wished to impose on him in lieu of his bars, both of them, with a significant groan, turned from us with scorn and indignation, nor would they speak to us or even look at us again.

Boy now ventured to approach Captain Lake on the quarter deck, and with an anxious, petitioning countenance, asked for the goods which had been promised him. Prepared for the desperate game he was about to play, it was the ob-

ject of Lake to gain as much time as possible that he might get his vessel under way before he came to an open rupture. Therefore he pretended to be busy in writing, and desired Boy to wait a moment. Becoming impatient with delay, Boy repeated his demand a second and a third time, "Give me my bars." "I no will," said Lake, in a voice of thunder, "I no will, I tell you; I won't give you a ——— flint." Terrified by the demeanour of Lake, and the threats and oaths he made use of, poor King Boy suddenly retreated, and seeing men going aloft to loosen the sails, apprehensive of being carried off to sea, he quickly disappeared from the deck, and was soon observed making his way on shore in his canoe, with the rest of his people; this was the last we saw of him.

At ten in the morning, the vessel was got under way and we dropped down the river. At noon the breeze died away, and we were obliged to let go an anchor to prevent our drifting on the western breakers at the mouth of the river. A few minutes more would have been fatal to us, and the vessel was fortunately stopped, although the depth of water where she lay was only five fathoms. The rollers which came into the river over the bar were so high that they sometimes passed nearly over the bow of the vessel, and caused her to ride very uneasily by her anchor.

The vessel rode very uneasy all night, in consequence of the long heavy waves which set in from the bar, and which are called by the sailors *ground swell*. About eleven we got under way, but were obliged to anchor again in the afternoon, as the water was not deep enough for the vessel to pass the bar. The next morning, the wind favouring us, we made another attempt at getting out of the river. We had already made some progress when the wind again died away, and the current setting us rapidly over to the eastern breakers, we were obliged to let go an anchor to save us from destruction. Immediately the tide rushed past the vessel at the rate of eight miles an hour.

We passed a restless and most uneasy night. The Captain and the people were much alarmed for the safety of the brig. The heavy ground swell which set in, increased by the strength of the tide, caused her to pitch and labour so hard that a man was placed to watch the cable, and give notice the moment it complained. Daylight had scarcely dawned when the pall of the windlass broke. The chain cable ran out so swiftly that in half a minute the windlass was broken to atoms. My brother and I, with our people, rendered all the assistance in our power to prevent the ship from drifting. We succeeded in fastening the cable to ringbolts, but soon the ringbolts were fairly drawn out of the deck by the strain on the cable.

About eight o'clock in the morning, a terrific wave, called by sailors a *sea*, struck the vessel with tremendous force and broke the chain cable. "The cable is gone," shouted a voice, and the next instant the Captain cried out in a firm, collected tone, "cut away the kedge," which was promptly obeyed, and the vessel was again stopped from drifting among the breakers.

We were riding by the kedge, a small anchor, on which the safety of the brig now depended. The breakers were close under our stern, and this was not expected to hold ten minutes—it was a forlorn hope—every eye was fixed on the raging surf, and every heart thrilled with agitation, expecting every moment that the vessel would be dashed in pieces. A few long and awful minutes were passed in this state, which have left an indelible impression on our minds. Never shall I forget the chief mate saying to me, "Now, Sir, every one for himself; a few minutes will be the last of us." The tumultuous sea was raging in mountainous waves close by us, their foam dashing against the sides of the brig, which was only prevented from being carried among them by a weak anchor and cable. The natives, from whom we could expect no favours, were busy on shore making large fires, and other signals for us to desert the vessel and land at certain places, expecting, no doubt, every moment to see her a prey to the waves, and those who escaped their fury to fall into their hands. Wretched resource! the sea would have been far more merciful than they.

Such was our perilous situation, when a fine sea-breeze set in which literally saved us from destruction. The sails were loosened to relieve the anchor from the strain of the vessel, and she rode out the ebb tide without drifting. At ten

A. M. the tide had nearly ceased running out, and the fury of the sea rather abated. At half-past ten the wind fell light, and instead of drifting over to the western breakers as yesterday and the day before, the brig was now set towards those on the eastern side, and again we had a narrow escape. But with the assistance of the boat, and good management, we at length passed clear over the bar on the edge of the breakers, in a depth of water less than three fathoms, and made sail to the eastward. Our troubles were now at an end; by the protection of a merciful Providence, we had escaped dangers, the very thoughts of which had filled our hearts with horror; and with a grateful heart and tears of joy for all his mercies, we offered up a silent prayer of thanks for our deliverance.

The great problem of the termination of the Niger was now solved; Richard and John Lander, beginning at the point where Park lost his life in the attempt, had the honour of being the first Europeans to traverse it to its termination, and to behold it, with absolute certainty, mingling its far descending waters with the waves of the ocean in the bay of Benin.

In two days time, Captain Lake landed them in the island of Fernando Po, whence they took passage for Rio Janeiro, and thence sailed to England, where they arrived and landed at Portsmouth, June 9th, 1831, having been absent about one year and four months. Richard Lander, leaving his brother here, hastened to London, where he arrived the next morning, and reported their discovery to Lord Goderich, his Majesty's Colonial Secretary.

## SAMUEL HEARNE.

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SAMUEL HEARNE was born in London in the year 1742. For a short time in early life he was a midshipman in the navy. Having entered into the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, he soon gave proof of his zeal and ability, in examining the northern coast of Hudson's Bay, and in improving the fishery.

The native Indians, who range over rather than inhabit the large tract of country north of Churchill river, having repeatedly brought specimens of copper ore to the company's factory, it was plausibly conjectured that these had been found not far from the British settlements; and as the savages affirmed that the mines were not very distant from a large river, it was imagined, most erroneously, as was proved by the result, that this stream must empty itself into Hudson's Bay. In 1768, the Indians who came to trade at Prince of Wales' Fort brought further accounts of this river, exhibiting at the same time samples of copper, which they affirmed to be the produce of a mine in its vicinity. The governor now determined to despatch an intelligent person across the continent to obtain more precise information. Samuel Hearne was chosen for this service, a man of great hardihood and sagacity, bred in the employment of the company, and who, without pretensions to high scientific attainments, possessed sufficient knowledge to enable him to construct a chart of the country through which he travelled. His instructions directed him to proceed to the borders of the country of the Athabasca Indians, where it was expected he would meet with a river represented by the Indians to abound with copper ore, and to be so far north that in the middle of summer the sun did not set. It was called by the natives Neetha-sansan Dazey, or the Far-off Metal River; and Mr. Hearne was directed to explore its course to the mouth, where he was to determine the latitude and longitude, to ascertain whether it was navigable, and to judge of the practicability of a settlement. He was enjoined also to examine the mines alleged to exist in that district, the nature of the soil and its productions, and to make every inquiry and observation towards discovering the north-west passage.

On the 6th of November, 1769, he set out from the Prince of Wales' Fort, Hudson's Bay, upon his perilous journey. He was accompanied by two Englishmen only—Ilbester, a sailor, and Merriman, a landsman; by two of the Home Guard Southern Indians—a name given to those natives residing as servants on the company's plantation, and employed in hunting; and by eight Northern Indians, under the command of Captain Chawchinahaw and Lieutenant Nabyah. He was provided with ammunition for two years, some necessary iron implements, a few knives, tobacco, and other useful articles. As to his personal outfit, his stock consisted simply of the shirt and clothes he wore, one spare coat, a pair of drawers, as much cloth as would make two or three pairs of Indian stockings, and a blanket for his bed. "The nature of travelling long journies," he observes, "in these countries will not admit of carrying even the most common article of clothing; so that the traveller is obliged to depend on the district he traverses for his dress as well as his sustenance." The baseness and treachery of the Indians, however, soon put a period to the first journey, and the desertion of Chawchinahaw with his whole escort rendered it absolutely necessary for the little party to make the best of their way back to the fort, where they arrived

on the 8th of December, after penetrating only two hundred miles into the interior.

It was now determined to resume the expedition with greater precautions against failure. The Indian women, who accompanied their husbands in the first journey, were left behind, as were the two Englishmen, who had been of little service; and instead of the treacherous Chawchinahaw, Hearne selected an Indian named Connequeesee, who affirmed he was acquainted with the country, having once been near the river, the discovery of which formed one great object of the journey. Attended by this man, along with three Northern Indians and two of the Home-guard natives, the traveller once more set out, on the 23d February, while the snow was so deep on the top of the ramparts of the fort that few of the cannon could be seen. After undergoing the severest extremities from hunger and fatigue, Mr. Hearne reached, in August, the river Doobaunt, in latitude 63 deg. 10 min. north. The progress thus far, however, had been painful beyond measure, owing to the difficulty of pushing forward through a wild unexplored country, intersected with rivers, lakes, and woods, at the outset thickly covered with snow; and on the approach of the warmer months so flooded and marshy as to render travelling on foot inexpressibly fatiguing. To add to this, the voracity, improvidence, and indolence of the Indians, subjected the party to repeated distress. If from fishing or hunting a larger supply than usual was procured, instead of using it with moderation, and laying up a store for future necessities, all was devoured by the savages, who, like the boa after he has gorged his prey, coiled themselves up, and remained in a state of sleepy torpor till the call of hunger again roused them to activity.

At first the party subsisted without difficulty on the fish which abounded in the lakes and rivers; but in the beginning of April they entirely disappeared; and as the "goose season," or period when the geese, swans, ducks, and other migratory birds resort to these latitudes, was yet distant, they began to suffer grievously for want of provisions. Occasionally they were relieved by killing a few deer or musk-oxen; but the ground and the brushwood were so saturated with moisture from the melting of the snow, that to kindle a fire was impossible; with their clothes drenched in rain, their spirits depressed, they were compelled to eat their meat raw—a necessity grievous at all times, but in the case of the flesh of the musk-ox, which is rank, tough, and strongly impregnated with the sickening substance from which it derives its name, peculiarly repulsive and unwholesome.

The simple and modest manner in which these severe sufferings are described by Hearne is peculiarly striking. "The record," says he, "in detail of each day's fare since the commencement of this journey would be little more than a dull repetition of the same circumstances. A sufficient idea of it may be given in a few words, by observing, that it may justly be said to have been either all feasting or all famine; sometimes we had too much, seldom just enough, frequently too little, and often none at all. It will be only necessary to say, that we fasted many times two whole days and nights, twice upwards of three days, and once, while at Shenanhee, near seven days, during which we tasted not a mouthful of any thing, except a few cranberries, water, scraps of old leather, and burnt bones." On these pressing occasions Hearne often saw the Indians examine their wardrobe, which consisted chiefly of skin clothing, considering attentively what part could best be spared, when sometimes a piece of half rotten deer-skin, at others a pair of old shoes would be sacrificed to alleviate extreme hunger. "None of our natural wants," he observes, "if we except thirst, are so distressing or hard to endure as hunger, and in wandering situations like that which I now experienced, the hardship is greatly aggravated by the uncertainty with regard to its duration, and the means most proper to be used to remove it, as well as by the labour and fatigue we must necessarily undergo for that purpose, and the disappointments which too frequently frustrated our best concerted plans and most strenuous exertions. It not only enfeebles the body, but depresses the spirits, in spite of every effort to prevent it. Besides which, for want of action, the stomach so far loses its digestive powers, that after a long fast, it resumes its office with pain and reluctance. During this journey I have too

frequently experienced the dreadful effects of this calamity, and more than once been reduced to so low a state by hunger, that when Providence threw any thing in my way, my stomach has been scarcely able to retain more than two or three ounces without producing the most oppressive pain."

On the 30th of June they arrived at a small river called Cathawhachaga, which empties itself into White Snow Lake, in 64 deg. north latitude. Here, as the guide declared they could not that summer reach the Coppermine River, Hearne determined to pass the winter, with the intention of pushing on to his destination in 1771. They accordingly forsook their northward route, and taking a westerly course were joined in a few days by many troops of wandering Indians; so that by the 30th of July they mustered about seventy tents, containing nearly six hundred souls, and on moving in the morning the whole ground seemed alive with men, women, children, and dogs. The deer were so plenty that, though lately five or six individuals had almost perished with hunger, this numerous body supported themselves with great ease, and often killed their game for the skins, leaving the carcass to be devoured by the foxes. In this manner, engaged alternately in hunting and fishing, making observations on the country, and studying the extraordinary manners of his associates, the English traveller was preparing for his winter sojourn, when an accident rendered his quadrant useless, and compelled him, on the 13th of August, to set out on his return to the fort.

The hardships he endured on his route homeward were various and accumulated. He was plundered by the Northern Indians, who, adding insult to injury, entered his tent, smoked a pipe which they filled with the white man's tobacco, asked to see his luggage, and without waiting for an answer turned the bag inside out, and spread every article on the ground. The work of appropriation was equally rapid, and the empty bag was flung to the owner; but a fit of compunction seizing them, they restored a knife, an awl, and a needle. On begging hard for his razors, they consented to give up one, and added soap enough to shave him during the remainder of his journey, making him understand that the surrender of these articles called for his warmest gratitude.

As the cold weather approached, the party thus plundered suffered grievously for want of that warm deer-skin clothing used by the Indians at this season. A dress of this kind is rather costly, requiring the prime parts of from eight to eleven skins. These Hearne at last managed to collect; but as the Indian women alone could prepare them, he was compelled to carry this load along with him from day to day, earnestly begging the natives, at each successive resting place, to permit their wives to dress his skins. He met, however, with a surly and uniform refusal; and at last, after bearing the burden for several weeks, was forced to throw it off, and sustain the cold as he best could, without either skin-clothing or snow-shoes. When, continuing their course in this forlorn condition to the southeast, they met with Captain Matonabbee, a powerful and intelligent chief, who was then on his way to Prince of Wales' Fort, with furs and other articles of trade. It was this person who brought the accounts of the Coppermine River, which induced the company to fit out the expedition, and he was naturally interested in its success. He evinced the utmost activity in relieving their wants, furnished them with a warm suit of otter and other skins, and, not being able to provide them with snow-shoes, directed them to a small range of woods, where they found materials for both shoes and sledges. Matonabbee then treated the party to a feast, and took occasion in his conversation with Hearne to explain the causes of his failure, and to offer his assistance in a third expedition. He attributed all their misfortunes to the misconduct of the guide, and to their having no women with them. "In an expedition of this kind," said he, "when the men are all so heavily laden that they can neither hunt nor travel to any considerable distance, in case they meet with success in hunting who is to carry the produce of their labour? Women were made for labour; one of them can carry or haul as much as two men can do. They also pitch our tents, make and mend our clothing, keep us warm at night; and, in fact, there is no such thing as travelling any considerable distance, or for any length of time, in this country, without them; and yet, though they do every thing, they are main-

tained at a trifling expense; for, as they always cook, the very licking of their fingers, in scarce times, is sufficient for their subsistence." Assisted by this friendly chief, the English traveller again set forward, and after experiencing an intense degree of cold, by which the favourite dog in his sledge was frozen to death, he reached the fort on the 25th of November, having been absent eight months and twenty-two days. Matonabee arrived a few days after.

Though twice compelled to return, Hearne, whose spirit was not to be overcome by fatigue or disappointment, offered his services to proceed on a third journey, which was ultimately crowned with success. For this he engaged Matonabee as guide, and declined taking any Home-guard Indians. Their place, however, was occupied, according to the principles already laid down, by seven of Matonabee's wives, who, by the assistance they afforded did no disparagement to the singular picture of female activity which he had drawn. They set out on the 7th of December, and notwithstanding frequent privations, want of food, and intense cold, their sufferings were not so aggravated as in the former attempts. The country through which they passed towards the west was wild and barren, occasionally covered with thick shrubby woods of stunted pine and dwarf juniper, studded with frequent lakes and swamps, whose sides were fringed with willows. Through this ground they travelled in high spirits, but on rather short commons, owing to the scarcity of deer, and the improvidence of the Indians, who consumed every thing in store during the first days of their march, trusting to find a stock of provisions which they had hid in a certain spot on their way to the fort. On reaching the place, however, they discovered that the provisions had been carried off; and the equanimity with which the Indians bore the disappointment, and travelled forward under the conjoined miseries of hunger and fatigue, was very striking. At last they succeeded in killing a few deer, and halted to take some refreshment. For a whole day they never ceased eating, and an additional repast on two large buck deer, which they killed a few days after, at last fairly overcame Captain Matonabee, who, after devouring at one sitting as much as would have satisfied six moderate men, seemed somewhat unreasonably astonished to find himself indisposed.

Having recovered from the effects of this surfeit, they proceeded from Island Lake toward the main branch of the Cathawhachaga, which they crossed, and directing their course by Patridge Lake, and Snow Bird Lake, arrived on the 2d of March at a large tent of Northern Indians, not far from the Doobaunt Whoie River. Although these people had remained in the same spot since the beginning of winter, they found a plentiful subsistence by catching deer in a pound. Their mode of accomplishing this is to select a well frequented deer path, and enclose with a strong fence of twisted trees and brush wood a space of about a mile in circumference, and sometimes more. The entrance of the pound is not larger than a common gate, and its inside is crowded with innumerable small hedges, in the openings of which are fixed snares of strong well twisted thongs. One end is generally fastened to a growing tree; and as all the wood and jungle within the enclosure is left standing, its interior forms a complete labyrinth. On each side of the door, a line of small trees, stuck up in the snow fifteen or twenty yards apart, form two sides of an acute angle, widening gradually from the entrance, from which they sometimes extend two or three miles. Between these rows of brushwood runs the path frequented by the deer. When all things are prepared, the Indians take their station on some eminence commanding a prospect of this path, and the moment any deer are seen going that way, the whole encampment, men, women, and children, steal under cover of the woods till they get behind them. They then show themselves in the open ground, and, drawing up in the form of a crescent, advance with shouts. The deer, finding themselves pursued, and at the same time imagining the rows of brushy poles to be people stationed to prevent their passing on either side, run straight forward till they get into the pound. The Indians instantly close in, block up the entrance, and while the women and children run round the outside to prevent them from breaking or leaping the fence, the men enter with their spears and bows, and speedily dispatch such as are caught in the snares or are running loose.

On the 8th of April, they reached an island in a small lake named Thelewew-aza-weth, and pitched their tent; and as the deer were numerous, and the party, which had been joined by various wandering Indians, now amounted to seventy persons, they determined to remain for some time, and make preparations for their enterprise in the ensuing summer. They were busily employed during their intervals from hunting, in providing staves of birch about one and a quarter inch square and seven or eight feet long, which served for tent-poles all the summer, and were converted into snow-shoes in winter. Birch-rind, with timbers and other wood for canoes, formed also objects of attention; and as Clowey, the place fixed upon for building their canoes, was still many miles distant, all the wood was reduced to its proper size to make it light for carriage. At this place Matonabee solaced himself by purchasing of some Northern Indians another wife, who for size and sinews, might have shamed a grenadier. "Take them in a body," says Hearne, "and the Indian women are as destitute of real beauty as those of any nation I ever saw, although there are some few of them when young who are tolerable; but the care of a family, added to their constant hard labour, soon make the most beautiful among them look old and wrinkled, even before they are thirty, and several of the more ordinary ones at that age are perfect antidotes to the tender passion. Ask a Northern Indian, What is beauty? he will answer, A broad flat face, small eyes, high cheek-bones, three or four broad black lines across each cheek, a low forehead, a large broad chin, a hook nose, and a tawny hide. These beauties are greatly heightened, or at least rendered more valuable, if the possessor is capable of dressing all kinds of skins, and able to carry eight or ten stone in summer, and to haul a far greater weight in winter. Such and similar accomplishments are all that are sought after or expected in an Indian Northern woman. As to their temper, it is of little consequence; for the men have a wonderful facility in making the most stubborn comply with as much alacrity as could be expected from those of the mildest and most obliging turn of mind."

Before starting from this station, Matonabee took the precaution of sending in advance a small party with the wood and birch-rind; they were directed to press forward to Clowey, a lake near the barren ground, and there build the boat, to be ready upon their arrival. When the journey was about to be resumed, one of the women was taken in labour. The moment the poor creature was delivered, "which," says Hearne, "was not till she had suffered a severe labour of fifty-two hours," the signal was made for setting forward; the mother took her infant on her back, and walked with the rest; and though another person had the humanity to haul her sledge for one day only, she was obliged to carry a considerable load in addition to her little one, and was compelled frequently to wade knee-deep in water and wet snow. Amid all this, her looks, pale and emaciated, and the moans which burst from her, sufficiently proved the intolerable pain she endured, but produced no effect upon the hard hearts of her husband and his companions. When an Indian woman is taken in labour, a small tent is erected for her, at such a distance from the encampment that her cries cannot be heard, and the other women are her attendants, no male except children in arms, ever offering to approach; and even in the most critical cases no assistance is ever given,—a conduct arising from the opinion that nature is sufficient to perform all that is necessary. When Hearne informed them of the assistance derived by European women from the skill and attention of regular practitioners, their answer was ironical and characteristic. "No doubt," said they, "the many hump-backs, bandy-legs, and other deformities so common among you English are owing to the great skill of the persons who assisted in bringing them into the world, and to the extraordinary care of their nurses afterward."

In eleven days they travelled a distance of eighty-five miles, and on the 3d of May arrived at Clowey, where they were joined by some strange Indians, and commenced the important business of building their canoes. The party sent ahead for this purpose arrived only two days before, and had made no progress in joining the timbers they had carried along with them. The whole tools used by an Indian in this operation, in making snow-shoes, and all other kinds of wood-work, are a hatchet, a knife, a file, and an awl; but in the use of these they



are very dexterous. In shape, their canoes bear some resemblance to a weaver's shuttle, having flat bottoms, with strait upright sides, and sharp at each end. The stern is the widest part, being constructed for the reception of the baggage; and occasionally it admits a second person, who lies at full length in the bottom of the little vessel, which seldom exceeds twelve or thirteen feet in length, and about two feet in breadth at the widest part. The forepart is unnecessarily long and narrow, and covered with birch-bark, which adds to the weight without contributing to the burden of the canoe. The Indians, for the most part, employ a single paddle; double ones, like those of the Esquimaux, are seldom used unless by hunters, who lie in ambush for the purpose of killing deer as they cross rivers and narrow lakes. Upon the whole, their vessels, though formed of the same materials as those of the Southern Indians, are much smaller and lighter; and, from the extreme simplicity of build, are the best that could be contrived for the necessities of these poor savages, who are frequently obliged to carry them upon their back a hundred and sometimes a hundred and fifty miles, without having occasion to launch them.

At Clowey the expedition was joined by nearly two hundred Indians from various quarters, most of whom built canoes there; and on the 23d of May, Mr. Hearne and Matonabee, whose character and consequence effectually protected the white man from plunder, proceeded northward. For some time they met with no distresses, except those occasioned by the intense cold, which had been preceded by thunder-storms and torrents of rain. Misfortune, however, now attacked Matonabee on the tender side of his eight wives, the handsomest of whom eloped in the night, accompanied by another woman. Both having been carried off by force, it was suspected they had fled to the eastward with the plan of rejoining their former husbands. Scarcely had the savage polygamist recovered from this blow, when he experienced a fresh mortification: an Indian of great strength, from whom Matonabee a short time before had purchased a stout, and therefore valuable wife, insisted on taking her back, unless he instantly surrendered a certain quantity of ammunition, a kettle, some pieces of iron, and other articles. The hardship of this case arose from an extraordinary custom, by which the men are permitted to wrestle for any woman to whom they are attached, the victorious party carrying off the prize. It is for this reason that the greatest emulation prevails in all the athletic exercises among the young Indians; and the children are perpetually seen trying their powers at wrestling, under the idea that this is the education which will chiefly benefit them when they grow up. A weak man seldom long retains a wife whose services another wants; for when the helpmates of an able-bodied savage are too heavily laden with furs or provisions, he makes no scruple in seizing the spouse of his weaker neighbour, and transferring part of the burden to her back; while, if the injured party cannot challenge the aggressor to a wrestling-match, he must not otherwise complain. The distress, therefore of Matonabee upon this occasion may be easily accounted for, as he was wounded in his pride and in his property if not in his affections. But a personal contest was out of the question, and he was obliged to purchase his favourite over again, by yielding up all that was demanded by his antagonist. This affair had nearly proved a serious obstacle to the expedition; for so bitterly did the chief resent the affront, entertaining the highest ideas of his personal consequence, that he had resolved, like a Coriolanus of the New World, to renounce all further alliance with his countrymen, and join the Athabasca Indians, among whom he had formerly resided. But Hearne strenuously opposed this project, and at last succeeded in dissuading him from it.

Having agreed to proceed, Matonabee, for the better prosecution of the enterprise, determined to make some new arrangements: he selected his two youngest wives, who were unencumbered with children, as alone worthy to accompany him, while the remainder, with all their luggage, and a considerable number of men, were commanded to await the return of the party from the Coppermine River. This change of plan, however, was not carried through without difficulty. When the hour of separation came, and Matonabee and Hearne set out in the evening of the 31st of May, a low murmur of lamentation

proceeded from the tents of the women who were left behind, which, running through all the notes of increasing grief, at last burst into a loud yell. This continued as long as the party were in sight; nor was it without much angry expostulation that some of them were prevented from following their husbands. The Indians, however, regarded all this, which deeply affected their European associates, with indifference, walking forward without casting behind them a single look or word of sympathy, and joyfully congratulating themselves on getting rid of the women, dogs, children, and other encumbrances, which added so greatly to the toil of the journey. One article they all carried, although to Hearne it appeared unnecessary, considering the expedition to be pacific,—this was a target of thin boards, two feet broad and about three feet long. On inquiring for what purpose these shields were to be used, he discovered that the main consideration which reconciled the Indians to this expedition was the hope of attacking and murdering the Esquimaux who frequented the Coppermine River, between whom and the other Indian tribes there had long existed a deadly enmity. All the arguments employed by Hearne were insufficient to dissuade them from these hostile intentions.

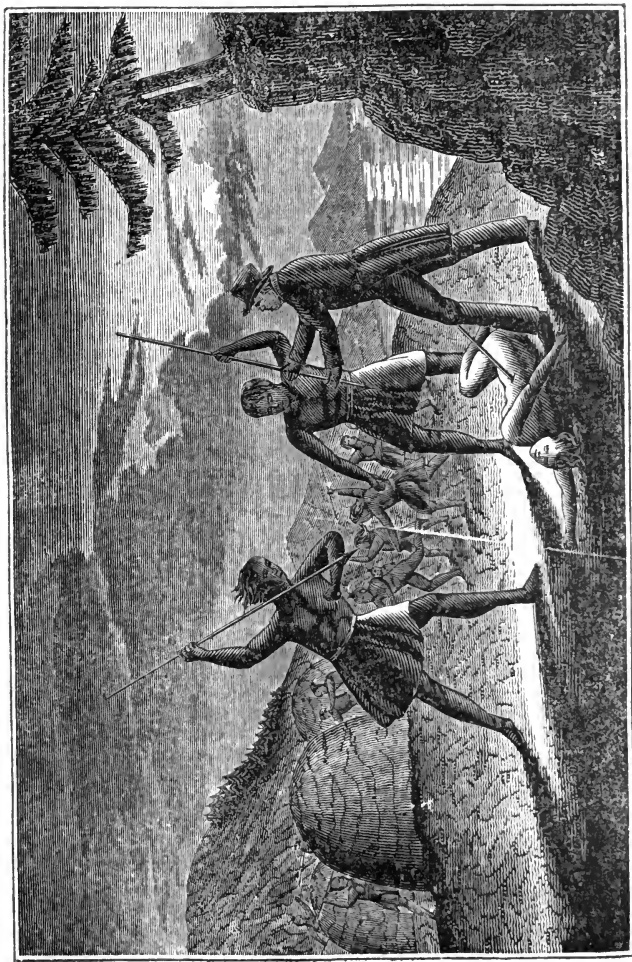
The party, having crossed the arctic circle, arrived at Cogead Lake, which they found frozen over; so that they traversed its creeks and bays without the aid of their canoes. Thence they directed their course due north till they met with a branch of the Congecathawhachaga River, where some Copper Indians received them with great kindness, and readily sent all their canoes to their assistance,—a piece of courtesy particularly seasonable, as the ice had now broken up. To these Indians Hearne explained the object of his journey, and his guide being personally known to them, they treated the party which consisted of one hundred and fifty persons, with distinguished honour; a feast was given, the English traveller smoked with them his calumet of peace, and their chiefs expressed the greatest anxiety that a European settlement should be established in the neighbourhood of the Coppermine River. They acknowledged they had never found the sea at the mouth of the river free from ice; but with singular simplicity seemed to consider this a very trifling objection, observing, that the water was always so smooth between the ice and the shore, that even small boats could sail there with great ease; and inferring that what a canoe could do a large ship must be sure to accomplish. As Hearne was the first white man they had seen, he was surrounded by numbers, who examined him with the utmost minuteness. The result, however, was satisfactory; for they at last pronounced him to be a perfect human being, except in the colour of his hair and eyes: the first they insisted was like the stained hair of a buffalo's tail, and the last, being light, were compared to those of a gull. The whiteness of his skin, also, was a circumstance on which they demurred a little, observing, that it looked like meat which had been sodden in water till all the blood was extracted. He continued, however, to be viewed with a mixture of curiosity and admiration, and at his toilet was generally attended by a body of the Indians, who, when he used his comb, asked for the hairs which came off. These they carefully wrapped up, saying, "When I see you again, you shall again see your hair."

On reaching Congecathawhachaga in latitude  $68^{\circ} 46'$  north, Matonabbee deemed it expedient to leave all the women, taking the precaution to kill as many deer as were necessary for their support during his absence. The flesh was cut into thin slices, and dried in the sun,—a frequent mode of preserving it in these high northern latitudes, by which it is kept palatable and nourishing for a twelvemonth. Having completed these arrangements, the party resumed their journey on the 1st of July, proceeding amid dreadful storms of snow, and occasional torrents of rain, which drenched them to the skin, through a barren and desolate country, where it was impossible with the wet moss and green brushwood to kindle a fire. Compelled to take shelter in caves at night,—for they had no tents,—obliged to eat their meat raw, with the enjoyment of no higher luxury than a pipe, they yet pushed forward with unshaken perseverance, and after a week of great suffering had the comfort to observe a complete change in the weather, which first became moderate, and soon after so sultry that it was sometimes impossible to move at all.

Early on the morning of the 13th of July, the expedition crossed a long chain of hills, from the top of which they discerned a branch that joins the Coppermine, about forty miles from its influx into the sea. Here the Indians killed a few fine buck-deer, procured some excellent firewood, and, as it was not certain that so favourable an opportunity would soon occur again, they sat down with appetites sharpened by long privation, spirits raised by the recollection of hardships overcome, and the almost certain prospect of ere long accomplishing the great object of their expedition, to the most cheerful and comfortable meal they had enjoyed for a long period. The reader will be amused with Hearne's description of this delicious repast, and of the mysteries of Indian cookery. "As such favourable opportunities of indulging the appetite," says he, "happen but seldom, it is a general rule with the Indians, which we did not neglect, to exert every art in dressing their food which the most refined skill in Indian cooking has been able to invent, and which consists chiefly in boiling, broiling, and roasting; but of all the dishes cooked by these people, a *bacate*, as it is called in their language, is certainly the most delicious (at least for a change) which can be prepared from a deer only, without any other ingredient. It is a kind of Scotch 'haggis,' made with the blood, a good quantity of fat shred small, some of the tenderest of the flesh, together with the heart and lungs, cut, or more commonly torn into small shivers,—all which is put into the stomach and roasted, by being suspended over the fire by a string. Care must be taken that it does not get too much heat at first, as the bag would thereby be liable to be burnt, and the contents let out. When it is sufficiently done it will emit a rich steam, in the same manner as a fowl or a joint of meat, which is as much as to say, 'Come eat me now!' and if it be taken in time, before the blood or the contents are too much done, it is certainly a most delicious morsel, even without pepper, salt, or any other seasoning."

Having regaled themselves in this sumptuous manner, and taken a few hours' rest, they once more set out, and after a walk of nine or ten miles, at last arrived at the Coppermine. Scarcely had Hearne congratulated himself on reaching the great object of his mission, unpacked his surveying instruments, and prepared to follow its progress to the great Arctic Ocean, when one of those dark and terrible scenes occurred which are so strikingly characteristic of savage life. As soon as Matonabee and his party gained the banks of the river, three spies were sent out to discover whether any Esquimaux, were in the neighbourhood. After a short absence they returned with intelligence that they had seen five tents, about twelve miles distant on the west side of the river. All was now warlike preparation; the guns, knives, and spears were carefully examined; and as they learned that the nature of the ground would render it easy to advance unperceived, it was determined to steal upon their victims in this manner, and put them to death. This plan was executed with the most savage exactness; and nothing could present a more dreadful view of human nature in its unenlightened state than the perfect unanimity of purpose which pervaded the whole body of Indians upon this horrid occasion, although at other times they were in no respect amenable to discipline.

Each man first painted his target, some with a representation of the sun, others of the moon, and several with the pictures of beasts and birds of prey, or of imaginary beings, which they affirmed to be the inhabitants of the elements upon whose assistance they relied for success in their enterprise. They then moved with the utmost stealth in the direction of the tents, taking care not to cross any of the hills which concealed their approach. It was a miserable circumstance that these poor creatures had taken up their abode in such ground that their enemies, without being observed, formed an ambuscade not two hundred yards distant, and lay for sometime watching the motions of the Esquimaux, as if marking their victims. Here the last preparations for the attack were made: the Indians tied up their long black hair in a knot behind, lest it should be blown in their eyes; painted their faces black and red, which gave them a hideous aspect; deliberately tucked up the sleeves of their jackets close under the armpits, and pulled off their stockings; while some, still more eager to render themselves light for running, threw off their jackets, and stood with their weapons in their



ATTACK OF THE NORTHERN INDIANS ON THE ESQUIMAUX.

hands quite naked, except their breech-clothes and shoes. By the time all were ready it was near one o'clock in the morning; when, finding the Esquimaux quiet, they rushed from their concealment. In an instant, roused by the shouts of the savages, the unfortunate wretches, men, women, and children, ran naked out of the tents, and attempted to escape; but the Indians had surrounded them on the land side, and as none dared to leap into the river, all were murdered in cold blood; while Hearne, whom a regard for his personal safety had compelled to accompany the party, stood a short way off rooted to the ground in horror and agony.

"The shrieks and groans of the poor expiring wretches," says he, in his striking account of this dreadful episode in savage life, "were truly distressing; and my horror was much increased at seeing a young girl, about eighteen years of age, killed so near me that when the first spear was stuck into her side she fell down at my feet and twisted round my legs, so that it was with difficulty that I could disengage myself from her dying grasps. As two Indian men pursued this unfortunate victim, I solicited very hard for her life; but the murderers made no reply till they had stuck both their spears through her body and transfixed her to the ground. They then looked me sternly in the face, and began to ridicule me by asking if I wanted an Esquimaux wife, while they paid not the slightest regard to the shrieks and agony of the poor wretch, who was turning round their spears like an eel. Indeed, after receiving from them much abusive language on the occasion, I was at length obliged to desire that they would be more expeditious in despatching their victim out of her misery, otherwise I should be obliged out of pity to assist in the friendly office of putting an end to the existence of a fellow-creature who was so cruelly wounded. On this request being made, one of the Indians hastily drew his spear from the place where it was first lodged, and pierced it through her breast near the heart. The love of life, however, even in this most miserable state, was so predominant, that though this might be justly called the most merciful act which could be done for the poor creature, it seemed to be unwelcome; for, though much exhausted by pain and loss of blood, she made several efforts to ward off the friendly blow. My situation and the terror of my mind at beholding this butchery cannot easily be conceived, much less described: though I summed up all the fortitude I was master of on the occasion, it was with difficulty that I could refrain from tears; and I am confident that my features must have feelingly expressed how sincerely I was affected at the barbarous scene I then witnessed. Even at this hour I cannot reflect on the transactions of that horrid day without shedding tears."

After making an accurate survey of the river till its junction with the sea, Hearne proceeded to one of the copper-mines, which he found scarcely to deserve the name, it being nothing more than a chaotic mass of rocks and gravel, rent by an earthquake, or some other convulsion, into numerous fissures, through one of which flowed a small river. Although the Indians had talked in magnificent terms of this mine, after a search of four hours a solitary piece of ore was all that could be discovered; and instead of pointing out the hills composed entirely of copper, and the quantity of rich ore with which they had affirmed it would be easy to freight a large vessel, they now told a ridiculous story of some insults offered to the goddess of the mine, who in revenge declared that she would sit upon it till she and it sunk together into the earth. In consequence of this threat, they next year found her sunk up to the waist, and the quantity of copper much decreased, while the following summer she had entirely disappeared, and the whole mine along with her.

In reaching the sea, Hearne had accomplished the great object of his journey, and his homeward route did not vary materially from his course to the Arctic Ocean. On the 31st of July, they arrived at the place where the Indians had left their families, and on the 9th of August resumed their course to the southwest; travelling with frequent intervals of rest, till, on the 24th of November, they reached the northern shore of the great Athabasca Lake. In this latitude, at this season, the sun's course formed an extremely small segment of a circle above the horizon, scarcely rising half-way up the trees; but the brilliancy of the stars, and the brilliant and beautiful light emitted by the aurora borealis, even

without the aid of the moon, amply compensated for the want of the sun, so that at midnight Hearne could see to read very small print. In the deep stillness of the night, also, these northern meteors were heard to make a rushing and crackling noise, like the waving of a large flag in a fresh gale of wind. According to the information of the natives, the Athabasca Lake is nearly one hundred and twenty leagues long from east to west, and twenty wide from north to south. It was beautifully studded with islands, covered with tall poplars, birch, and pines, which were plentifully stocked with deer, and abounded with pike, trout, and barbel, besides the species known by the Indians under the name of tittameg, methy, and shees.

The country through which they had hitherto travelled had been extremely barren and hilly, covered with stunted firs and dwarf willows; but it now subsided into a fine plain, occasionally varied with tall woods, and well stocked with buffalo and moose-deer. The party spent some days with much pleasure in hunting; and as the flesh of the younger buffaloes was delicious, their exhausted stock of provisions was seasonably supplied. In one of their excursions an incident occurred strikingly characteristic of savage life. The Indians came suddenly on the track of a strange snow-shoe, and following it to a wild part of the country, remote from any human habitation, they discovered a hut, in which a young Indian woman was sitting alone. She had lived for the last eight moons in absolute solitude, and recounted with affecting simplicity the circumstances by which she had been driven from her own people. She belonged, she said, to the tribe of the Dog-ribbed Indians, and in an inroad of the Athabasca nation, in the summer of 1770, had been taken prisoner. The savages, according to their invariable practice, stole upon the tents in the night, and murdered before her face her father, mother, and husband, while she and three other young women were reserved from the slaughter, and made captive. Her child, four or five months old, she contrived to carry with her, concealed among some clothing; but on arriving at the place where the party had left their wives, her precious bundle was examined by the Athabasca women, one of whom tore the infant from its mother, and killed it on the spot. In Europe, an act so inhuman would, in all probability, have been instantly followed by the insanity of the parent; but in North America, though maternal affection is equally intense, the nerves are more sternly strung. So horrid a cruelty, however, determined her, though the man whose property she had become was kind and careful of her, to take the first opportunity of escaping, with the intention of returning to her own nation; but the great distance, and the numerous winding rivers and creeks she had to pass, caused her to lose the way, and winter coming on, she had built a hut in this secluded spot. When discovered, she was in good health, well fed, and in the opinion of Hearne one of the finest Indian women he had ever seen. Five or six inches of hoop made into a knife, and the iron shank of an arrow-head, which served as an awl, were the only implements she possessed; and with these she made snow-shoes and other useful articles. For subsistence she snared partridges, rabbits, and squirrels, and had killed two or three beavers and some porcupines. After the few deer-sinews she had brought with her were expended in making snares and sewing her clothing, she supplied their place with the sinews of rabbit's legs, which she twisted together with great dexterity. Thus occupied, she not only became reconciled to her desolate situation, but had found time to amuse herself by manufacturing little pieces of personal ornament. Her clothing was formed of rabbit-skins sewed together; the materials, though rude, being tastefully disposed so as to make her garb assume a pleasing, though desert-bred appearance. The singular circumstances under which she was found, her beauty and useful accomplishments, occasioned a contest among the Indians, as to who should have her for a wife; and the matter being decided, she accompanied them in their journey. On the 1st of March they left the level country of the Athabascas, and approached the stony hills bounding the territories of the Northern Indians, traversing which, they arrived in safety at Prince of Wales' Fort, on the 29th of June, 1772, having been absent eighteen months and twenty-three days.

The journey of Hearne must be regarded as forming an important era in the geography of America. For some time it had been supposed that this vast continent extended in an almost unbroken mass towards the Pole; and we find it thus depicted in the maps of that period. The circumstance of Hearne having reached the shore of the great Arctic Ocean at once demonstrated the fallacy of all such ideas. It threw a new and clear light upon the structure of this portion of the globe, and resting upon the results thus distinctly ascertained, the human mind, indefatigable in the pursuit of knowledge, started forward in a career of still more enlarged and interesting discovery.



SIR ALEXANDER MACKENZIE.

WHILE the Hudson's Bay Company, by the mission of Mr. Hearne, vindicated their character from the charge of indifference to the cause of geographical discovery, another institution had arisen, under the title of the North West Fur Company, which although, in its earliest exertions, it experienced many severe reverses, at last arrived, by the intelligence and perseverance of its partners and servants, at a degree of prosperity which surpassed the chartered companies of France and England. In the counting-house of Mr. Gregory, a partner of this company, was bred a native of Inverness, named ALEXANDER MACKENZIE. In conducting the practical details of the fur trade, he had been settled at an early period of life in the country to the north-west of Lake Superior, and became animated with the ambition of penetrating across the continent: for this undertaking he was eminently qualified, possessing an inquisitive and enterprising mind, with a strong frame of body, and combining the fervid and excursive genius which has been said to characterize the Scots in general, with that more cautious and enduring temperament which belongs to the northern Highlander.



On the 3d of June, 1789, Mackenzie set out from Fort Chepewyan, at the head of the Athabasca Lake, a station nearly central between Hudson's Bay and the Pacific. He had resided here for eight years, and was familiar with the difficulties of the journey as well as aware of the most likely methods of surmounting them. He took with him four canoes. In the first he embarked with a German and four Canadians, two of the latter being accompanied by their wives. A Northern Indian, called the English Chief, who had been a follower of Matonabee, the guide of Mr. Hearne, occupied the second with his two wives. The third was paddled by two stout young Indians, who acted in the double capacity of hunters and interpreters; while the fourth was laden with provisions, clothing, ammunition, and various articles intended as presents for the Indians. This last canoe was committed to the charge of Mr. Le Roux, one of the company's clerks.

On the 4th of June, the party reached Slave River, which connects the Athabasca and Slave Lakes, in a course of about one hundred and seventy miles; and on the 9th of the same month, they arrived at the Slave Lake, without experiencing any other inconveniences than those arising from the attacks of the mosquitoes during the heat of the day, and the extreme cold in the morning and evening. In the river were frequent rapids, which obliged them to land and transport their canoes and luggage over the carrying places,—a toilsome process, but attended with no danger, as the path had been cleared by the Indians trading with the company. The banks were covered with various kinds of trees; but, owing to its inferior level and its rich black soil, the western side was more thickly wooded than the other. On the eastern bank, composed of a yellow clay mixed with gravel, the trees were smaller, but in full leaf, though the ground was not thawed above fourteen inches in depth. At a little distance from the river were extensive plains frequented by herds of buffaloes; the woods bordering its sides were tenanted by moose and reindeer; and numerous colonies of beavers built their habitations on the small streams which fed the lake. This large body of water was covered with ice, which had not given way except in a small strip round the shore, where the depth, nowhere exceeding three feet, was scarcely sufficient to float the canoes. Though now the 9th of June, there was every appearance that the ice would detain the expedition for a considerable time; and it was thought necessary to pitch their tents. The nets were now set; the Indians went off in different directions to hunt; the women gathered berries of various sorts, which abounded in the neighboring woods; and their larder was soon supplied with plenty of geese, ducks, and beaver, excellent trout, carp, and white fish, and some dozens of swan and duck eggs, which were picked up on an adjacent island. Their stay, therefore, was far from unpleasant, combining the novelty of a residence in a strange country with the excitement and variety of a hunter's life; and on the 15th, after a rest of six days, as the ice had given way a little, they resumed their journey.

Since leaving Athabasca, the twilight had been so bright, owing to the short disappearance of the sun below the horizon, that even at midnight not a star was to be seen; but as they glided along the lake they were greeted by the moon, which rose beautifully above the woods, with her lower horn in a state of eclipse. The obscuration continued for about six minutes in a cloudless sky. Coasting along the shore, they came to a lodge of Red Knife Indians, so denominated from their using copper knives. One of these men engaged to conduct them to the mouth of the river which was the object of their search; but such were the impediments encountered from drift ice, contrary winds, and the ignorance of the guide, whom the English Chief threatened to murder for engaging in a service for which he was unfit, that it was the 29th of the month before they embarked upon the river since known by the name of the traveller who now first ascended it. On leaving the lake, the Mackenzie River was found to run to the westward, becoming gradually narrower for twenty-four miles, till it diminished into a stream not more than half a mile wide, with a strong current, and a depth of three and a half fathoms. A stiff breeze from the eastward now drove them on at a great rate, and after a rapid run of ten miles, the channel gradually widened till it assumed the appearance of a small lake, which proved to be the utmost

limit known to their guide. They now came in sight of the chain of the Horn Mountains, bearing north-west, and had some difficulty in recovering the channel of the river.

Having resumed their course on the 1st of July, they met with no interruption for five days, when they observed several smokes on the northern bank. On landing they discovered an encampment of five families of Slave and Dog-ribbed Indians, who on the first appearance of the party fled into the woods in consternation. The entreaties of the English Chief, whose language they understood, at length dissipated their apprehensions; and the distribution of a few beads, rings, and knives, with a supply of grog, reconciled them entirely to the strangers. Their account of the difficulties in the farther navigation of the river was not a little appalling; they asserted that it would require several winters to reach the sea, and that old age would inevitably overtake the party before their return. Monsters of horrid shapes and malignant disposition were represented as having their abodes in the rocky caves on the banks, ready to devour the presumptuous traveller who approached; and the more substantial impediment of two impassable falls was said to exist about thirty day's march from where they then were.

Though such tales were treated with contempt by Mackenzie, the Indians, already tired of the voyage, drank them in with willing ears, and they could scarcely be persuaded to pursue their journey. On consenting to proceed, one of the Dog-ribbed Indians was induced, by the present of a kettle, an axe, and some other articles, to accompany them as a guide; but when the time of embarkation arrived, his love of home came upon him with such violence that he used every artifice to escape from his agreement, and at last was actually forced on board. Previous to his departure, a singular ceremony took place: with great solemnity he cut off a lock of his hair, and dividing it into three parts, fastened one to the upper part of his wife's head, blowing on it thrice with the utmost violence, and uttering certain words as a charm. The other two locks he fixed with the same ceremonies to the heads of his two children. These Indians were, in general, a meager, ugly, and ill-favoured race, particularly ill-made in their legs. Some of them wore their hair very long, others allowed a tress to fall behind, cutting the rest short round their ears. A few old men had beards, while the young and middle-aged appeared to have pulled out every hair on their chin. Each cheek was adorned by two double lines tattooed from the ear to the nose, of which the gristle was perforated so as to admit a goose quill or a small piece of wood. Their clothing consisted of dressed deer-skins. For winter wear these were prepared with the fur, and the shirts made of them decorated with a neat embroidery, composed of porcupine quills and the hair of the moose deer, coloured red, black, yellow, or white. Their shirts reached to the mid-thigh, while their upper garments covered the whole body, having a fringe round the bottom. Their leggins, which were embroidered round the ankle and sewed to their shoes, reached to mid-thigh. The dress of the women was nearly the same as that of the men. They wore gorgets of wood or horn, and had bracelets of the same materials. On their head was placed a fillet or bandeau, formed of strips of leather, embroidered richly with porcupine quills, and stuck round with bears' claws or talons of wild fowl. Their belts and garters were neatly constructed of the sinews of wild animals and porcupine quills. From these belts descended a long fringe composed of strings of leather, and worked round with hair of various colours, and their mittens hung from their neck in a position convenient for the reception of their hands. Their arms and weapons for the chase were bows and arrows, spears, daggers, and a large club formed of the reindeer horn, called a pogamagan. The bows were about five or six feet long, with strings of sinews; and flint, iron, or copper, supplied barbs to the arrows. Their spears, nearly six feet long, were pointed with bone, while their stone axes were fastened with cords of green skin to a wooden handle. Their canoes were light, and so small as to carry only one person.

On the 5th of July, the party re-embarked. Continuing their course west-south-west they passed the Great Bear Lake River; and steering through numerous islands, came in sight of a ridge of snowy mountains, frequented, ac-

cording to their guide, by herds of bears and small white buffaloes. The banks of the river appeared to be pretty thickly peopled; and though at first the natives uniformly attempted to escape, the offer of presents generally brought them back, and procured a seasonable supply of hares, partridges, fish, or reindeer. The same stories of spirits or *manitous* which haunted the stream, and of fearful rapids which would dash the canoes to pieces, were repeated by these tribes; and the guide upon whom such representations had a powerful effect decamped in the night during a storm of thunder and lightning. His place, however, was soon supplied; and, after a short sail they approached an encampment of Indians, whose brawny figures, healthy appearance, and great cleanliness, showed them to be a superior race to those lately passed. From them Mackenzie learned that he must sleep ten nights before arriving at the sea, and in three nights would meet the Esquimaux, with whom they had been formerly at war, but were now in a state of peace. One of these people, whose language was most intelligible to the interpreter, agreed to accompany the party; but became dreadfully alarmed when some of the men discharged their fowling pieces. It was evident none of his race had ever heard the report of firearms. To reconcile him to his departure, his two brothers followed in their canoes, and diverted him with native songs, and other airs said to be imitations of those of the Esquimaux. The triumph of music was never more strikingly exhibited; from deep dejection the Indian at once passed into a state of the highest and most ludicrous excitement, keeping time to the songs by a variety of grotesque gesticulations, performed with such unceasing rapidity and so little regard to the slenderness of the bark, which quivered under his weight, that they expected every moment to see it upset. In one of his paroxysms, shooting his canoe along side of Mackenzie's, he leaped into it, and commenced an Esquimaux dance. At last he was restored to some degree of composure, which became complete on their passing a hill, where he informed them that three winters ago the Esquimaux had slain his grandfather.

Mackenzie soon after reached the tents of a tribe named Deguthee-Dinees, or Quarrellers, who justified their name by the menacing gestures with which they received the stranger's approach. A few presents, however, reconciled them to the intrusion; and they communicated the gratifying intelligence that the distance overland to the sea, either by an easterly or westerly route was inconsiderable. The party now pushed on with renewed hopes; and the river soon after separating into several streams, they chose the middle and largest, which ran north. This shortly brought in sight a range of snowy mountains, stretching far to the northward; and, by an observation, Mackenzie found the latitude to be  $67^{\circ} 47'$ , which convinced him that the waters on which their frail barks were then gliding must flow into the great Hyperborean Ocean. At this moment, when within a few days of accomplishing the great object of their journey, the Indians sank into a fit of despondency, and hesitated to proceed. The guide pleaded ignorance of the country, as he had never before penetrated to the shores of the Benahulla Toe, or White Man's Lake. Mackenzie assured them he would return if they did not reach it in seven days, and prevailed on them to continue their course.

It was now the 11th of July, and the sun at midnight was considerably above the horizon, while every thing denoted the proximity of the sea. On landing at a deserted encampment, still marked by the ashes of some Esquimaux fires, they observed several pieces of whale bone, and a place where train oil had been spilt. Soon after they came to three houses recently left by the natives. The ground-plot of these habitations was oval, about fifteen feet long, ten feet wide in the middle, and eight feet at either end; the whole was dug about twelve inches below the surface, one half being covered with willow branches, and probably forming the bed of the whole family. In the middle of the other half, a space of four feet wide, which had been hollowed to the depth of twelve inches, was the only spot where a grown person could stand upright. One side of it was covered with willow branches, and the other formed the hearth. The door, in one end of the house, was about two feet and a half high by two feet wide, and was reached through a covered way about five feet long; so that the only access to this curious dwelling was by creeping on all fours. On the top was an

orifice about eighteen inches square which served the triple purpose of a window, a chimney, and an occasional door. The under-ground part of the floor was lined with split wood, while cross pieces of timber, laid on six or eight upright stakes, supported an oblong square roof; the whole being formed of drift wood, and covered with branches and dry grass, over which was spread earth a foot thick. On either side of these houses were a few square holes, about two feet deep, covered with split wood and earth, excepting one small place in the middle, which appeared to be contrived for the preservation of the winter stock of provisions. In and about the houses lay sled runners, and bones, pieces of whalebone, and poplar bark cut in circles, used evidently to buoy the nets; and before each habitation a great number of stumps of trees were driven into the ground, upon which its late possessors had probably hung their nets and fish to dry in the sun.

The signs of vegetation were by this time scarcely perceptible; the trees had dwindled into a few dwarf willows, not more than three feet high; and though the footmarks on the sandy beach of some of the islands showed that the natives had recently been there, all attempts to obtain a sight of them proved unavailing. The discontent of the guide and of the Indian hunters was now renewed; but their assertion that on the morrow they were to reach a large lake in which the Esquimaux killed a huge fish, and whose shores were inhabited by white bears, convinced Mackenzie that this description referred to the Arctic Sea, with its mighty denizen the whale. He accordingly pressed forward with fresh ardour, and the canoes were soon carried by the current to the entrance of the lake, which, from all the accompanying circumstances, appears to have been an arm of the Arctic Ocean. It was quite open to the westward, and by an observation the latitude was found to be  $69^{\circ}$ . From the spot where this survey was taken they now continued their course to the westernmost point of a high island, which they reached after a run of fifteen miles, and around it the utmost depth of water was only five feet. The lake appeared to be covered with ice for about two leagues' distance, no land was seen ahead, and it was found impossible to proceed farther. Happily, when they had thus reached the farthest point of their progress northward, and were about to return in great disappointment, two circumstances occurred which rendered it certain that they had penetrated to the sea: the first was the appearance of many large floating substances in the water, believed at first to be masses of ice, which, on being approached, turned out to be whales; and the second, the rise and fall of the tide, observed both at the eastern and western end of the island, which they named Whale Island. Having, in company with the English Chief, ascended to its highest ground, Mackenzie saw the solid ice extending to the east; and to the west, as far as the eye could reach, they dimly discerned a chain of mountains, apparently about twenty leagues' distance, stretching to the northward. Many islands were seen to the eastward; but though they came to a grave, on which lay a bow, a paddle, and a spear, they met no living human beings in these arctic solitudes. The red fox and the reindeer, flocks of beautiful plovers, some venerable white owls, and several large white gulls were the only natives. Previous to setting out on their return, a post was erected close to the tents, upon which the traveller engraved the latitude of the place, his own name, the number of persons by whom he was accompanied, and the time they had spent on the island.

It was now the 16th of July, and they re-embarked on their homeward voyage. On the 21st the sun, which for some time had never set, descended below the horizon, and the same day eleven of the natives joined them. They represented their tribe as numerous, and perpetually at war with the Esquimaux, who had broken a treaty into which they had inveigled the Indians, and butchered many of them. Occasionally a strong body ascended the river in large canoes, in search of flints to point their spears and arrows. At present they were on the banks of a lake to the eastward, hunting reindeer, and would soon begin to catch big fish (whales) for their winter stock. They had been informed that the same Esquimaux, eight or ten winters ago, saw to the westward, on White Man's Lake, several large canoes full of white men who gave iron in exchange for leather. On landing at a lodge of the natives farther down the river, the Eng-

lish Chief obtained some other particulars from a Dog-ribbed Indian, who had been driven by some private quarrel from his own nation, and lived among the Hare Indians. According to his information there was a much larger river to the south-west of the mountains, which fell into White Man's Lake. The people on its banks were a gigantic and wicked race, who could kill common men with their eyes, and sailed in huge canoes. There was, he added, no known communication by water with this great river; but those who had seen it went over the mountains and it flowed toward the mid-day sun. This description proceeded, he acknowledged, not from personal observation, but was taken from the report of others who inhabited the opposite mountains. Mackenzie, having fallen in with one of these strangers, by a bribe of some beads prevailed upon him to delineate the circumjacent country and the course of the unknown river upon the sand. The map proved a very rude production. He traced out a long point of land between the rivers without paying the least attention to their courses. This isthmus he represented as running into the great lake, at the extremity of which, as he had been told by Indians of other nations, there was built a Benabulla Couin, or White Man's Fort. "This," says Mackenzie, "I took to be Oonalaska Fort, and consequently the river to the west to be Cook's River, and that the body of water or sea into which the river discharges itself at Whale Island communicated with Norton Sound."

Mackenzie now endeavoured to procure a guide across the mountains, but the natives steadily refused; and any additional intelligence which they communicated regarding the country only consisted of legends concerning the supernatural power and ferocity of its inhabitants. They were represented as a sort of monsters with wings, who fed on huge birds, which, though they killed them with ease, no other mortal would venture to assail. Having gravely stated this, they began both young and old to jump and dance with astonishing violence and perseverance, imitating the cries of the reindeer, bear, and wolf, in the hope of intimidating Mackenzie; but when he threatened with an angry aspect to force one of them along with him across the mountains, a sudden fit of sickness seized the whole party, and in a faint tone, which formed a ludicrous contrast to their former vociferation, they declared they would expire the instant they were taken from their homes. In the end the traveller was compelled to leave them without accomplishing his object.

On the 1st of August, as the expedition approached the river of the Bear Lake, the stars, which hitherto, from the extreme clearness of the twilight, had continued invisible, began to twinkle in the sky; and the air, from being oppressively sultry, became so cold that perpetual exercise could scarcely keep the men warm. The women were now constantly employed in making shoes of moose skin, as a pair did not last more than a day, while the hunters brought in supplies of geese, reindeer, and beaver; and on one occasion a wolf was killed, roasted, and eaten with great satisfaction. On the 22d of August, they reached the entrance of the Slave Lake, after which their progress homeward presented no feature of interest, and on the 12th of September they arrived in safety at Fort Chipewyan, after an absence of 102 days. The importance of this journey must be apparent, on considering it in connexion with the expedition of Hearne. Both travellers had succeeded in reaching the shores of an arctic sea; and it became not only an established fact that there was an ocean of great extent in the north of America, but it was rendered extremely probable that this sea formed its continuous boundary.

Mackenzie concluded his first journey in September, 1789, and about three years afterward undertook a second expedition, which proved still more difficult and hazardous, and equally important and satisfactory in its results. His object was to ascend the Peace River, which rises in the Rocky Mountains, and crossing these, to penetrate to that unknown river which in his former journey had been the subject of his unceasing inquiry. This he conjectured must communicate with the sea; and, pursuing its course, he hoped to reach the shores of the Pacific. Setting out accordingly, on the 10th of October, 1792, he pushed on to the remotest European settlement, where he spent the winter in a traffic for furs with the Beaver and Rocky Indians. Having despatched six canoes to

Fort Chepewyan with the cargo he had collected, he engaged hunters and interpreters, and launched the canoe in which he had determined to prosecute his discoveries. Her dimensions were twenty-five feet long within, exclusive of the curves of stem and stern, twenty-six inches hold, and four feet nine inches beam. She was at the same time so light that two men could carry her three or four miles without resting. In this slender vessel they not only stowed away their provisions, presents, arms, ammunition, and baggage, to the weight of 3000 pounds, but found room for seven Europeans, two Indians, and the leader himself. On embarking, the winter interpreter left in charge of the fort could not refrain from tears when he anticipated the dangers they were about to encounter, while they themselves offered up their prayers to Almighty God for a safe return.

The commencement of their voyage was propitious; and under a serene sky, with a keen but healthy air, the bark glided through some beautiful scenery. On the west side of the river the ground rose in a gently-ascending lawn, broken at intervals by abrupt precipices, and extending in a rich woodland perspective as far as the eye could reach. This magnificent amphitheatre presented groves of poplar in every direction, whose openings were enlivened with herds of elks and buffaloes; the former choosing the steeps and uplands, the latter preferring the plains. At this time the buffaloes were attended by their young ones, which frisked about, while the female elks were great with young. The whole country displayed an exuberant verdure: the trees which bore blossoms were rapidly bursting into flower, and the soft velvet rind of the branches reflected the oblique rays of a rising or a setting sun, imparting a cheerfulness and brilliancy to the scene, which gladdened the heart with the buoyant influences of the season. After a few days the air became colder, the country more desolate, the track of the large grisly bear was discerned on the banks, and the weather was occasionally broken by storms of thunder and lightning.

From this time till the 21st of May, the passage was attended with difficulties that would have disheartened a less energetic leader. The river being broken by frequent cascades and dangerous rapids, it was necessary to carry their canoe and luggage till they could resume their voyage in safety. On their nearer approach to the Rocky Mountains, the stream, hemmed in between stupendous rocks, presented a continuance of frightful torrents and impracticable cataracts. The dangers to which they had already been exposed had greatly disheartened the men, and they began to murmur audibly, so that no alternative was left but to return. Indeed there was some reason for this irresolution; by water farther progress was impossible, and they could only advance over a mountain whose sides were broken by sharp jagged rocks, and thickly covered with wood. Mackenzie despatched a reconnoitering party, with orders to ascend the mountain, and proceed in a straight course from its summit, keeping the line of the river till they ascertained that it was navigable. During their absence his people repaired the canoe, while he took an altitude, which ascertained the latitude to be  $56^{\circ} 8'$ . At sunset the scouts returned by different routes. They had penetrated through thick woods, ascended hills and dived into valleys, till they got beyond the rapids, and agreed, that though the difficulties to be encountered by land were alarming, it was their only course. Unpromising as the task appeared, their spirits had risen and their murmurs were forgotten; so that a kettle of wild rice sweetened with sugar, with the usual evening regale of rum, renewed their courage; and after a night's rest, they proceeded at break of day on their laborious journey.

In the first place the men cut a road up the mountain where the trees were smallest, felling some in such a manner as to make them fall parallel to the road without separating them entirely from the stumps, in this way forming a kind of railing on either side. The baggage and the canoe were then brought from the water side to the encampment, an undertaking exceedingly perilous, as a single false step must have been followed by immersion into the river, which flowed here with furious rapidity. Having accomplished this labour, the party breathed a little, and then ascended the mountain with the canoe, having the line or rope by which it was drawn up doubled, and fastened successively to the stumps left

for this purpose while a man at the end hauled it round a tree, holding it on and shifting it as they advanced. In this manner the canoe was warped up the steep; and by two in the afternoon every thing had been carried to the summit. Men were then despatched to cut the road onwards: and the incessant labour of another day could only penetrate about three miles, while mountains much more elevated raised their snowy summits around in every direction. These, however, were at a distance; and another day's exertion brought them through a wood of tall pines to the banks of the river above the rapids. Before again embarking, Mackenzie left attached to a pole a knife, a steel, flint, beads, and other trifles, as a token of amity to the natives: and one of his Indians added a small round stick of green wood, chewed at one end in the form of a brush, used to pick marrow out of bones,—an instrument which he explained to be intended as an emblem to the people of a country abounding in animals.

They now resumed their voyage, enclosed on all sides by mountains whose summits were covered with snow, and one of which to the south rose to a majestic height. The air became chill; the water, through which they frequently waded, towing or pushing their bark, was intensely cold; and on the 31st of May, they reached a point minutely described to them before setting out by an old Indian warrior. Here the river separated into two streams, one running west-north-west, and the other south-south-east. The first of these they had been warned to avoid, as it soon lost itself in various smaller currents among the mountains; and the steersman accordingly proceeded into the eastern branch, which though not so broad as the other, was far more rapid. The course of their journey now led them through many populous beaver settlements. In some places these animals had cut down several acres of large poplars; and they saw multitudes busy from sunrise to sunset erecting houses, procuring food, superintending their dikes, and going diligently through all the labours of their little commonwealth. Perceiving soon after a smoke in the forest which lined the banks, and hearing the sounds of human voices in great confusion, they became aware that they were near an Indian encampment from which the inhabitants were retreating. Accordingly, on approaching the shore, two ferocious looking men sprang from the woods and took their station on a rising ground, brandishing their spears with loud vociferations. A few words of explanation from the interpreter, and some presents pacified them, and Mackenzie made anxious enquiries regarding the nature of the country, and the great river which formed the object of his search. To his mortification he found that they were unacquainted with any river to the westward; they had just arrived over a carrying place of eleven days from another stream, which was nothing else than a branch of the one the expedition was then navigating. Their iron, they said, was procured in exchange for beaver and dress moose skins from the people there, who travelled during a moon to the country of other tribes living in houses, and these in their turn extended their journeys to the ocean; or, to use their disparaging epithet, the Great Stinking Lake, where they traded with white people, who came in canoes as large as islands. Their knowledge of the country, however, appeared so vague, that all hope of procuring a guide was vain, and the heart of the traveller sank within him as he felt that his favorite project was on the point of being disconcerted.

Amid this despondency a faint hope remained that the natives, under the influence of superstition, timidity, or from imperfectly understanding the interpreter, had not communicated all they knew; and after a night of sleepless anxiety, the traveller rose with the sun to repeat his inquiries. At first nothing satisfactory could be elicited; but suddenly, Mackenzie, who stood beside the interpreters, understood from the few words he knew of their language, that one person mentioned a great river, while he pointed significantly to that which lay before them. On a strict inquiry, the interpreter, who had been tired of the voyage, and of whose fidelity some suspicion was entertained, acknowledged that the Indian spoke of a large river whose course was toward the mid-day sun, a branch of which flowed near the source of the stream they were now navigating. This branch, he added, it would not be difficult to reach, there being only three small lakes and as many carrying places on the way to it; but he also insisted

that the great river did not discharge itself into the sea. This last assertion was imputed to his ignorance of the country, while a rude map, which he delineated with a piece of coal on a strip of bark, convinced them that his information so far as it went was to be relied on. A new ray of hope now arose; and having induced an Indian to go forward as a guide to the borders of the small lakes, Mackenzie resumed his journey on the 10th of June, promising, if successful in his object, to revisit these friendly Indians in two moons.

These people were of low stature and meagre frame, owing probably to the difficulty of procuring subsistence; round faces, high cheek bones, black hair hanging in elf-locks over their shoulders, and a swarthy yellow complexion, combined to give them a forbidding aspect; while their garments of beaver, reindeer, and ground hog skins, dressed with the hair outward, having the tail of this last animal hanging down the back, might, when seen at a distance, occasion some doubt whether they belonged to the human race. Their women were extremely ugly, lustier and taller than the men, but much inferior in cleanliness. Their warlike weapons were cedar bows, six feet long, with a short iron pike at one end, so that they might also be used as spears. The arrows were barbed with iron, flint, stone, or bone, from two to two feet and a half long, and feathered with great neatness. They had two kinds of spears, both double-edged, of well polished iron, and with shafts from six to eight feet long. Their knives were of iron worked by themselves, and their axes resembled a carpenter's adze. They used snares of green skin, nets and fishing lines of willow bark, hooks of small bones, and kettles of *watape* so closely woven as not to leak. Besides these they had various dishes of wood and bark, horn and wooden spoons and buckets, and leathern and network bags. Their canoes, of spruce bark, calculated to hold from two to five persons, were propelled by paddles six feet long, with the blade shaped like a heart.

Pursuing their journey under the direction of the new guide, they reached a small lake in latitude  $54^{\circ} 24'$ , which Mackenzie considered as the highest or southernmost source of the Ungigah or Peace River. They passed two other lakes, and again entered the river, the navigation of which, from its rapidity and the trees and rocks in its channel, now became dangerous. The canoe struck on a sharp rock, which shattered the stern, and drove her to the other side, where the bow met the same fate; to complete the disaster, she passed at this moment over a cascade, which broke several holes in her bottom, and reduced her to a complete wreck, lying flat upon the water. All hands now jumped out, and clinging desperately to the sides, were hurried several hundred yards through a foaming torrent beset with sharp rocks, upon which they were every instant in danger of being dashed to pieces. Being carried, however, into shallow water, where the canoe rested on the stones, they were relieved from their perilous situation by their companions on shore.

After this escape a consultation was held regarding their future proceedings. Benumbed with cold, and intimidated by their recent dangers, the Indians proposed an immediate return; but the remonstrances of their leader, enforced by the usual arguments of a hearty meal and an allowance of rum, banished their fears. It was next proposed to abandon the wreck, to carry the baggage to the river, which the guide affirmed to be at no great distance, and there to construct a new vessel. But as it was suspected that this representation was not to be relied on, a party was despatched to reconnoitre, and brought back a very confused and unpromising account of the country. It was therefore determined to repair the canoe and proceed as before. For this purpose bark was collected, which, with a few pieces of oilcloth and plenty of gum, restored their shattered boat to something like a sea-worthy condition. Her frail state, however, rendered it necessary to carry part of the lading on men's shoulders along the banks; and as the road had to be opened with hatchets, their progress was extremely slow.

On the 16th of June, Mr. Mackay and two Indians were despatched with orders to penetrate if possible to the great river in the direction indicated by the guide. They succeeded; but returned with a discouraging account of the interminable woods and deep morasses that intervened. These gloomy prospects



were increased by the desertion of their guide; but nothing could repress Mackenzie's ardour. Cutting a passage through the woods, carrying the canoe round the rapids and cascades, they held on their slow and toilsome way, till at last, after passing a swamp, in many places wading to mid-thigh, they enjoyed the satisfaction of reaching the bank of the great river, which had been the object of so much anxious expectation and protracted hope.

Embarking anew, they were borne along by a strong current, which, slackening after a short time, allowed them to glide gently between banks of high white cliffs, surmounted with grotesque and singularly shaped pinnacles. After some progress, the party were alarmed by a loud whoop from the thick woods; at the same moment a canoe guided by a single savage shot out from the mouth of a small tributary stream, and a number of natives, armed with bows and arrows, appeared on an adjacent rising ground, uttering loud cries, and manifesting by their gestures that instant death would be inflicted on any one who landed. Every attempt to conciliate them proved unavailing; and a canoe was observed to steal swiftly down the river, with the evident design of communicating the alarm and procuring assistance. At this critical moment the courage and prudence of Mackenzie providentially saved his party. He landed alone, with two pistols stuck in his belt; having first, however, given orders to one of his Indians to steal into the woods with a couple of guns, and to keep near him in case of attack. "I had not been long," says he, "in my station on the bank, with my Indian in ambush behind me, when two of the natives came off in a canoe, but stopped when they got within one hundred yards of me. I made signs to them to land, and as an inducement displayed looking-glasses, beads, and other alluring trinkets. At length, but with every mark of extreme apprehension, they approached the shore, taking care to turn their canoe stern foremost, and still not venturing to land. I now made them a present of some beads, with which they were going to push off, when I renewed my entreaties, and after some time prevailed on them to come ashore and sit down by me. My Indian hunter now thought it right to join me, and created some alarm in my new acquaintance. It was, however, soon removed, and I had the satisfaction to find that he and these people perfectly understood each other. I instructed him to say every thing to them which might tend to sooth their fears and win their confidence. I expressed my wish to conduct them to our canoe; but they declined this offer; and when they observed some of my people coming towards us, they requested me to let them return, and I was so well satisfied with the progress which I had made in my intercourse with them, that I did not hesitate a moment in complying with their desire. During their short stay they observed us, and every thing about us, with a mixture of admiration and astonishment. We could plainly perceive that their friends received them with great joy on their return, and that the articles which they carried back with them were examined with a general and eager curiosity; they also appeared to hold a consultation which lasted about a quarter of an hour, and the result was an invitation to come over to them, which we cheerfully accepted. Nevertheless, on our landing, they betrayed evident signs of confusion, which arose probably from the quickness of our movements, as the prospect of a friendly communication had so cheered the spirits of the people that they paddled across the river with the utmost expedition. The two men who had been with us appeared very naturally to possess the greatest share of courage on the occasion, and were ready to receive us on our landing; but our demeanour soon dispelled their apprehensions, and the most familiar communication took place between us. When I had secured their confidence by the distribution of trinkets among them, and had treated the children with sugar, I instructed my interpreters to collect every necessary information in their power to afford me."

The intelligence procured from this tribe was discouraging. They stated, indeed, that the river ran towards the mid-day sun, and that at its mouth white people were building houses; but that the navigation was dangerous, and in three places absolutely impassable, owing to the falls and rapids. The nations through whose territories the route lay they represented as ferocious and malignant, especially their immediate neighbours, who dwelt in subterranean houses. Un-

appalled by this description, Mackenzie re-embarked, and he was accompanied by a small canoe, with two persons who consented to act as guides. Coming to a place where some savage looking people were seen on a high ground, it was thought expedient to land, and an amicable interview took place which led to important consequences. On explaining the object of the journey, one of the natives, of superior rank and intelligence, drew a sketch of the country on a piece of bark, appealing during his labour to his companions, and accompanying the rude but perfectly intelligible map by details as to their future voyage. He described the river as running to the east of south, receiving many tributary streams, and broken every six or eight leagues by dangerous falls and rapids, six of which were altogether impracticable. The carrying places he represented as of great length across mountains. He depicted the lands of three tribes in succession, who spoke different languages; and concluded by saying that beyond them he knew nothing of the country, except that it was still a great way to the sea, and that there was a lake of which the natives did not drink.

While the route by water was thus said to be impracticable, they asserted that the road across the country to the ocean was short in comparison, and lay along a valley free from wood, and frequently travelled. Other considerations combined to recommend this latter course to Mackenzie: only thirty days' provisions were left, and the supply procured by hunting was very precarious. The ammunition was nearly spent; and if the prosecution of the voyage appeared perilous, a return would have been equally so. Under these circumstances, it was resolved to abandon the canoe, and to penetrate over land to the Western Ocean.

To arrive at a spot where they were to strike off across the country, it was necessary to return a considerable way up the river,—a service of great danger, owing to the shattered condition of the boat and the hostile dispositions of the natives, who were apt to change in an instant from the greatest friendliness to unmitigated rage and suspicion. The guides deserted them, and it became absolutely necessary to build a canoe. She proved better than the old one, and they at last reached the point whence they were to start overland. "We carried on our backs," says Mackenzie, "four bags and a half of pemmican, weighing from eighty-five to ninety pounds each, a case with the instruments, a parcel of goods for presents weighing ninety pounds, and a parcel containing ammunition of the same weight; each of the Canadians had a burden of about ninety pounds, with a gun and ammunition, while the Indians had about forty pounds' weight of pemmican with their gun,—an obligation with which, owing to their having been treated with too much indulgence, they expressed themselves much dissatisfied. My own load and that of Mr. Mackay consisted of twenty-two pounds of pemmican, some rice, sugar, and other small articles, amounting to about seventy pounds, besides our arms and ammunition. The tube of my telescope was also slung across my shoulder; and owing to the low state of our provisions, it was determined that we should content ourselves with two meals a day.

Thus laden they struck into the woods, and travelled along a well beaten path, arrived before night at some Indian tents, where they were joined by an elderly man and three other natives. The old man held in his hand a spear of European manufacture like a sergeants halberd, which he stated he had lately received from some people on the seacoast, to whom it had been given by white men. He added, that those heavily laden did not take more than six days to reach the tribes with whom he and his friends bartered their furs and skins for iron, and that thence it was scarcely two days' march to the sea. He recommended also that, while they retired to sleep, two young Indians be sent forward to warn the different tribes whose territories they were approaching,—a precaution which had the best effects. Another pleasing distinction between their present hosts and the other savages whom they had passed soon presented itself: when the weary travellers lay down to rest, the Indians took their station at a little distance, and began a song in a sweet plaintive tone, unaccompanied by any instrument, but with a modulation of voice exceedingly pleasing and solemn, not unlike that of church music. The circumstance may remind the reader of

the descriptions of American music given by Mr. Meares and Capt. Burney, which it strikingly corroborates.

Having procured two guides, they now proceeded through an open country, sprinkled with cypresses, and joined a family of the natives. The father, on hearing of their intention to penetrate to the ocean, pointed to one of his wives who was a native of the seacoast; her appearance differed from the females they had hitherto seen. She was of low stature inclined to corpulency, with an oblong face, gray eyes, and a flattish nose. Her garments consisted of a tunic covered with a robe of matted bark, fringed round the bottom with the beautiful fur of the sea otter. She wore bracelets of brass, copper, and horn, while her hair was braided with large blue beads, and her ears and neck adorned with the same. With these people age seemed an object of great veneration; they carried an old woman by turns upon their backs, who was quite blind and infirm. The country appeared well peopled, and the natives, though at first alarmed, were soon conciliated by the guides. In some places they observed chains of small lakes, the valleys were verdant and watered with pleasant rivulets, and the scenery varied by groves of cypress and poplar, in which they were surprised to see no animals. The inhabitants, indeed, seemed to live exclusively on fish; and the people of one settlement, containing thirteen families, were denominated, in the language of the country, Sloa-cuss Dinais, or Red Fish Men. They were healthy looking, and more provident, cleanly, and comfortable than the neighboring tribes.

One of Mackenzie's greatest and most frequent perplexities arose out of the sudden fits of caprice and change of purpose which characterize most savages, but none more than the Americans. An example of this now occurred: the guides, upon whose fidelity the success of the expedition mainly depended, were advancing apparently in the most contented and friendly manner, when, in a moment, without uttering a word, they sprang forward, and disappeared in the woods, leaving the party, who were utterly unacquainted with the route, in a state bordering on despair. Pushing forward, however, at a hazard, they perceived a house situated on a green spot by the edge of a wood, the smoke of which curled above the trees, intimating that it was inhabited. Mackenzie advanced alone, as his party were too much alarmed to second his intrepidity; and so intent were the inhabitants upon their household labours, that he approached unperceived. Nothing could exceed the terror and confusion occasioned by his sudden appearance. The women and children uttered piercing shrieks, and the only man about the place sprang out of a back door with the rapidity of a wild cat, and fled into the woods. Their dismay arose from the belief that they were surprised by enemies, and would be instantly put to death; an atrocity too common among the Indian tribes. The conduct of the man who had fled was amusing: by degrees he crept sufficiently near to watch the party; and on observing the kindness with which the women and children were treated, came cautiously within speaking distance. His eyes were still staring in his head. No assurances of the interpreters or the women could persuade him to return; no beads, knives, or presents of any kind, had the effect of restoring his confidence. On being approached, he kept dodging about behind large trees, brandishing his bow and arrows, grinning hideously, and displaying a variety of strange antics, till at last, in one of his paroxysms, he dived into a thicket and disappeared. As suddenly he emerged in an opposite quarter, and, becoming pacified, after a succession of parleys, agreed to accompany them as guide.

On advancing from this station, they travelled over an elevated tract, and at length gained the summit of a hill, affording a view of a range of mountains covered with snow; which, according to the guide, terminated in the ocean. Passing along the borders of several small lakes, through a swampy country, they arrived at a lodge of natives, who received them with hospitality, and minutely scrutinized their appearance. The hair of the women was tied in large loose knots over the ears, and plaited with great neatness from the division of the head, so as to be included in the knots; some had their tresses adorned with beads, producing a very graceful effect; while the men were clothed in leather,

their hair nicely combed, their complexion fair, and their skin cleanly. One young man was at least six feet four inches in height, with a prepossessing countenance, and affable and dignified manners. All, not excepting the children, carried a burden proportioned to their strength, consisting of beaver-coating and parchment, skins of the otter, marten, deer, and lynx; besides dressed moose skins. These last they procured from the Rocky Mountain Indians; and for the purposes of trade the people of the seacoast preferred them to any others.

They now continued their journey through a beautiful valley, watered by a gentle rivulet, to a range of hills, which they ascended till surrounded by snow so firm and compact that it crunched under their feet. Before them lay a stupendous mountain, whose summit, clad with the same spotless coronet, was partly lost in the clouds. Between it and the route they were to follow flowed a broad river; and descending from their present elevated ground, they plunged into woods of umbrageous cedars and alder trees. As they got lower into these primeval forests they were sensible of an entire change of climate. The guides pointed out to them, through the openings in the dark foliage, the river which flowed in the distance, and a village on its banks, while beneath their feet the ground was covered with berries of an excellent flavour, and completely ripe. The effect of sunset upon this noble scenery was strikingly beautiful; but their admiration was interrupted by the decampment of their guides, who, as the shades of evening began to fall, pushed forward at such a pace that the party were soon left without conductors in darkness and uncertainty. The men, who were much fatigued, now proposed to take up their quarters for the night; but their indefatigable leader groped his way forward, and at length, arriving at the edge of the wood, perceived the light of several fires. On coming up he entered a hut where the people were employed in cooking fish, threw down his burden, and shook hands with the inmates, who did not show any surprise, but gave him to understand by signs that he should go to a large house, erected on upright posts at some distance from the ground. A broad piece of timber, with steps cut in it, led to a scaffolding on a level with the floor; and ascending these the traveller entered an apartment, passed three fires at equal distances in the middle of the room and was cordially received by several people seated on a wide board at the upper end. Mackenzie took his place beside one whom, from his dignified look he took to be the chief. Soon after the rest of the party arrived, and placed themselves near him; upon which the chief arose and brought a quantity of roasted salmon. Mats were then spread, and the fish placed before them. When the meal was concluded, their host made signs which they supposed to convey a desire that they should sleep under the same roof with himself; but, as his meaning was not sufficiently plain, they prepared to bivouac without. Every thing was done to render their repose agreeable: a fire was kindled, boards placed that they might not sleep on the bare ground, and two delicate dishes of salmon roes, beat up to the consistency of thick cream, and mixed with gooseberries and wood sorrel, were brought for supper. On awakening in the morning, they found all their wants anticipated in the same hospitable manner; a fire was already blazing, a plentiful breakfast of roasted salmon and dried roes was provided, and a regale of raspberries, whortleberries, and gooseberries finished the meal.

Salmon were so abundant in this river that the people had a constant supply. They had formed across the stream an embankment for placing fishing machines, which were disposed both above and below it. For some reason, however, they would permit no near inspection of the weir; but it appeared to be four feet above the water, and was constructed of alternate layers of gravel and small trees, fixed in a slanting position. Beneath it were placed machines into which the salmon fell in attempting to leap over; and on either side was a large timber frame six feet above the water, in which passages were left leading directly into the machines, while at the foot of the fall dripping nets were successfully employed. These people were observed to indulge an extreme superstition regarding their fish, refusing to taste flesh, and appearing to consider such an act as pollution. One of their dogs, having swallowed a bone

which the travellers left, was beaten by his master till he disgorged it; and a bone of a deer being thrown into the river, a native dived, brought it up, consigned it to the fire, and carefully washed his hands. They would not lend their canoes for the use of the party, having observed some venison which they concluded was to be stowed on board; and they alleged that the fish would immediately smell it and leave them. Although generous in furnishing the strangers as much roasted fish as they could consume, they would part with none in a raw state. They believed salmon to have an invincible antipathy to iron, and were afraid that, if given raw to the white men, they might take serious offence at being boiled in a vessel of this ominous metal. In other respects, nothing could exceed their friendliness; and at a neighbouring village of the same tribe, the reception of Mackenzie was, if possible still more kind. The son of the chief took from his own shoulders a beautiful robe of sea otter skin, and threw it over the traveller, while the father expressed the utmost satisfaction in being presented with a pair of scissors to clip his beard—a purpose to which, with the eager delight of a child he immediately applied them.

The houses in this village were constructed in the same way as those already described, and remind us of the lively account given by Mr. Mears. At a little distance, Mackenzie observed some singular wooden buildings, which he conjectured to be temples. These consisted of oblong squares, about twenty feet high by eight broad, formed of cedar planks beautifully joined. Upon these were painted hieroglyphics and figures of various animals, with a remarkable degree of correctness. In the midst of the village was a large building, at first supposed to be the unfinished frame-work of a house. Its dimensions, however, were far greater than those of an ordinary dwelling, the ground-plot being fifty feet by forty-five, each end formed by four posts, fixed perpendicularly in the earth. The corner posts were ornamented, and supported a beam of the whole length, having three intermediate props on each side. Two centre posts at each end, about two feet and a half in diameter, were carved into colossal human figures, supporting ridge poles on their heads; the hands were placed on the knees, as if they felt difficulty in sustaining the weight, while the figures opposite to them stood in an easy attitude, with their hands resting on their hips. The posts, poles, and figures were painted red and black, and the carving was executed with a truth and boldness which bespoke no little advancement in sculpture. In the mechanical arts they had arrived at considerable perfection. The chief's canoe was of cedar, forty-five feet long, four wide, and three feet and a half deep. It was painted black, and ornamented with drawings of various kinds of fish in white upon the dark ground, and the gunwale, both fore and aft, was neatly inlaid with the teeth of the sea otter. In this vessel, according to the old chief's account, he undertook, about ten winters before, a voyage towards the mid-day sun, having with him about forty of his subjects; on which occasion he met with two large vessels full of white men, the first he had seen, by whom he was kindly received. Mackenzie very plausibly conjectured that these might be the ships of Captain Cook.

It was now the 18th of July, and, surrounded by friendly natives, with plenty of provisions, pleasant weather, and the anticipation of speedily reaching the great object of their wishes, they resumed their voyage in a large canoe, accompanied by four of the Indians. The navigation of the river, as they approached the ocean, was interrupted by rapids and cascades; but their skill in surmounting these impediments was now considerable, and on the 20th, after a passage of thirty-six miles, they arrived at the mouth of the river, which discharges itself by various smaller channels into an arm of the Pacific Ocean. The purpose of the expedition was now completed, and its indefatigable leader painted, in large characters, upon the face of the rock under whose shelter they had slept, this simple memorial:—"Alexander Mackenzie, from Canada by land, the twenty-second of July, 1793."

The inscription was only written with vermilion, and has probably long ago been washed away by the fury of the elements; but the name of Mackenzie is enduringly consecrated in the annals of discovery, as the first person who penetrated from sea to sea across the immense continent of North America.



## WILLIAM EDWARD PARRY.

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CAPTAIN WILLIAM EDWARD PARRY was the son of Doctor Parry, of Bath, England, and was born in 1790. The rudiments of his education he received at the grammar school of Bath, and, at the age of twelve he was placed on board the "Ville de Paris;" and from 1803 to 1806 he continued on board the same ship, employed in blockading the French fleet in Br st. During this time, he attended closely to geometry, navigation, French, and other useful branches of learning. His behaviour was exemplary: Admiral Cornwallis said of him, "He has been the pattern of good conduct to all our young people." From the Ville de Paris he removed, in May, to the Tribune frigate, which, during 1806, 1807, and 1808, was constantly blockading or cruising, and encountered some of the heaviest gales which had been experienced by the oldest seamen. In January, 1807, he was sent in a boat by his commander, to reconnoitre in Concarneau bay, and he executed his commission with such courage as to approach close to a French line-of-battle ship, and such ability as to remain undiscovered by her. In April, 1808, the Tribune was sent into the Baltic, to which sea she returned in the following year. This service was a fatiguing and perilous one; which, nevertheless, did not acquire for those engaged in it all the credit that they deserved. The swarms of Danish gun-boats which issued from the ports of Denmark were most formidable enemies, being of a low construction, and having

in action the power of attacking a ship of war in whatever direction they chose, and with an overwhelming number of guns, while she could reply with only a few, and those in some instances not capable of carrying a shot so far as the long guns of the enemy. At the age of nineteen Mr. Parry passed his examination, and was promoted to the rank of lieutenant, through the interest of lord Lowther. He joined the *Alexandria* frigate in 1810, and served that year in the Baltic, where he was several times engaged with Danish schooners and gun-boats. In 1811 and 1812, he was on the Leith station, employed in protecting the Greenland whale fishery. During his leisure moments he was not inactive. He prepared charts of the Baltic navigation, he spent part of the night in studying the situation of the principal fixed stars in our hemisphere, and he made a survey of the Baltic sound and the Voe in Shetland, an excellent harbour which was little known. In 1813, under a promise of promotion—of which, however, circumstances prevented the performance—he sailed to Halifax, and was occupied on board the *La Hogue*, in cruising in pursuit of Rogers. In 1816, he obtained a first lieutenancy in the *Niger*, which was stationed off Halifax, and the river St. Lawrence, and Quebec. Early in 1817, he obtained leave to return to England.

In 1818, the Admiralty fitted out two expeditions; one destined for the discovery of the north-west passage, the other to attempt a voyage across the Pole. The first, which is the one we are at present to follow, consisted of the *Isabella*, of three hundred and eighty-five tons, commanded by Captain John Ross, an officer of reputation and experience, who had twice wintered in the Baltic, had been employed in surveying the White Sea, and had been as far north as Bear or Cherie Island. Another vessel, the *Alexander*, of two hundred and fifty-two tons, was commanded by Lieutenant Parry.

On the 18th of April the vessels dropped down the Thames, and by the end of the month, were off the Shetland Islands. By the 27th of May they came in view of Cape Farewell; round which, as usual, were floating numerous and lofty icebergs of the most varied forms and tints. On the 14th of June they reached the Whale Islands, where they were informed by the governor of the Danish settlement that the past winter had been uncommonly severe, the neighbouring bays and straits having been all frozen two months earlier than usual, and that some of the channels to the northward of his station were still bound in with the ice. A curious statement was here made, that the Esquimaux, by their own account, could see across the whole breadth of the bay, though not less than two hundred miles, which would be an extraordinary instance of the power of refraction; but the ice, it may be observed, often presents deceptive appearances of land. On the 18th of June, in the neighbourhood of Waigat Island, an impenetrable barrier obliged the discoverers to stop their course, making themselves fast to an iceberg, and having forty-five whale ships in company. Observations made on land proved this island to be misplaced on the maps by no less than five degrees of longitude. At length the ice attached to the eastern shore broke up, though still forming a continuous and impenetrable rampart at some distance to the westward, in which direction it had drifted; but in the intermediate space they were enabled to move forward slowly along the coast, labouring through narrow and intricate channels, amid mountains and loose fragments of ice. They steered their course, however, to the highest parts of the bay, and in about latitude  $75^{\circ}$  came to a coast which had not been visited by former navigators. They were struck, as Baffin had been, by the great number of whales which were slumbering securely in these deep recesses, never having been alarmed by the harpoon. On the 7th of August, in the same latitude, a heavy gale sprung up, and driving the ice against the vessels, made a display of its terrible and dangerous power. A trial of strength ensued between the ice and the ships; being dashed against each other with such force, that the anchors and cables were successively broken, and a boat, which could not be withdrawn from between their sterns, was crushed to pieces. Providentially, when instant destruction was expected, the icy mass receded, and the ships, owing to the extraordinary strength of their construction, escaped without material injury.

Proceeding along a high mountainous coast, the expedition came to a tribe of Esquimaux, who, of all human beings, seem to exist in a state of the deepest seclusion. They had never before seen men belonging to the civilized world, or of a race different from their own. The first small party whom the navigators approached showed every sign of the deepest alarm; dreading, as we afterwards understood, a fatal influence from the mere touch of these beings of an unknown species. Yet they seem to have felt a secret attraction towards the strangers, and advanced, holding fast the long knives lodged in their boots, and looking significantly at each other. Having come to a chasm which separated them from the English, they made earnest signs that only Saccheous, the interpreter, who bore a certain resemblance to them, should come across. He went forward and offered his hand. They shrunk back for some time in alarm; at length the boldest touched it, and, finding it flesh and blood, set up a loud shout, which three others joined. The rest of the party then came up, to the number of eight, with fifty dogs, which joined with their masters in raising a tremendous clamor. Ross and Parry now thought it time to come forward. This movement excited alarm, and a tendency to retreat; but Saccheous having taught these officers to pull their noses, this sign of amity was graciously accepted. A mirror was now held up to them, on seeing their faces in which, they showed the most extreme astonishment; they looked round on each other a few moments in silence, then set up a general shout, succeeded by a loud laugh of delight and surprise. The ship was then the next object of their speculation. They began by endeavouring to ascertain its nature by interrogating itself; for they conceived it to be a huge bird spreading its vast wings and endowed with reason. One of them, pulling his nose with the utmost solemnity, began an address: "Who are you? Whence come you? Is it from the sun or the moon?" The ship remaining silent, they at length applied to Saccheous, who assured them that it was a frame of timber, the work of human art. To them, however, who had never seen any wood but slight twigs and stunted heath, its immense planks and masts were objects of amazement. What animal, they also asked, could furnish those enormous *skins* which were spread for the sails. Their admiration was soon followed by a desire to possess some of the objects which met their eyes, but with little ceremony or discrimination as to the means of effecting their end. They attempted first a spare topmast, then an anchor; and these proving too ponderous, one of them tried the smith's anvil; but, finding it fixed, made off at last with the large hammer. Another wonder was for them to see the sailors mounting the topmast; nor was it without much hesitation that they ventured their own feet in the shrouds. A little terrier dog appeared to them a contemptible object, wholly unfit for drawing burdens or being yoked in a sledge, while the grunt of a hog filled them with alarm.

This tribe, in features, form, and even language, belong evidently to the Esquimaux,—a race widely diffused over all the shores of the Arctic ocean. They appear to have little or no communication with the rest, and amid the general resemblance have some distinguishing characters. The boat, large or small, which we almost instinctively associate with our idea of the Greenlander, is here wholly unknown. Much of their food is found within the deep, but is procured merely by walking over the icy surface, which incrusts it during the greater part of the year. Yet they have one important advantage, not only over other Esquimaux, but over the most civilized of the native Americans. The country affords iron, which, being flattened by sharp stones, and inserted in a handle made of the horn of the sea-unicorn, forms knives much more efficient than those framed of bone by the neighbouring hordes. Again, unlike the other tribes, they have a king, who rules seemingly with gentle sway; for they described him as strong, very good, and very much beloved. The discoverers did not visit the court of this Arctic potentate; but they understood that he drew a tribute, consisting of train-oil, seal-skins, and the bone of the unicorn. Like other Greenlanders, they had sledges drawn by large and powerful teams of dogs; their chase was chiefly confined to hares, foxes of various colours, the seal, and the narwal. They rejected with horror the perverted luxuries of biscuit, sweet-



meats, or spirits; train-oil, as it streamed from the seal and the unicorn, alone gratified their palate. Captain Ross, swayed by national impressions, gave to this tribe the name of *Arctic Highlanders*.

In the northern part of this coast, the navigators observed a remarkable phenomenon,—a range of cliffs, the snowy covering of which had exchanged its native white for a tint of dark crimson. This red snow was not only examined on the spot, but a portion of it was brought to England, and was analyzed by the most learned men both at home and abroad, who have entertained various opinions as to the origin of the colour. The latest observations, as elsewhere observed, have established its vegetable origin.

Having now passed Cape Dudley Digges, Captain Ross found himself among those spacious sounds which Baffin had named, but so imperfectly described. He seems, however, to have followed the same hasty method. On looking up an inlet or opening, and seeing it, at whatever distance, apparently closed by land, he pronounced it at once a bay, and deemed farther investigation superfluous. Too much importance seems also to have been attached to barriers of ice, which in many cases were only temporary. He sailed past Wolstenholme and Whale Sounds very quickly, without approaching even their entrance; concluding them to be blocked up with ice, and to afford no hope of a passage. As these openings stretched towards the north, it must be admitted that they could not, in this high latitude, be considered very favourable as to a western route. He came next to Sir Thomas Smith's Sound, which we may recollect Baffin to have described as the most spacious and promising in the whole circuit of these coasts. It was viewed with greater attention; but Captain Ross considered himself as having distinctly seen it, at the distance of eighteen leagues, completely enclosed by land. The space appears too great for so positive an inference, and the belief that ice barred its entrance seems to have been adopted on very slight grounds. He came next to a spacious bay, which had hitherto been unknown and unobserved,—afterward to that which Baffin had called Alderman Jones' Sound; but in respect to both, the ice at their entrance, and the apparent boundary of high land in the interior, led, as in the other instances, to a prompt and unfavourable conclusion.

The season was now somewhat advanced, the end of August approached, the sun set after a perpetual day of two months and a half, and a thick fog rendered the lengthening nights more gloomy. The land, seen at some distance, consisted of very high and steep mountains, presenting, however, some spots fit for human habitation. An opening, forty-five miles wide, to the southward of a promontory which was named Cape Charlotte, was decided against in the usual summary manner. On the 30th of August, the expedition came to a most magnificent inlet, bordered by lofty mountains of peculiar grandeur, while the water, being clear and free from ice, presented so tempting an appearance that it was impossible to refrain from entering. This channel, which soon proved to be the Lancaster Sound of Baffin, was ascended for thirty miles; during which run, officers and men crowded the topmast, filled with enthusiastic hope, and judging that it afforded much fairer hopes of success than any of those so hastily passed. Captain Ross, however, and those whom he consulted, never showed those sanguine expectations. He soon thought that he discovered a high ridge stretching directly across the inlet; and though a great part of it was deeply involved in mist, yet a passage in this direction was judged to be hopeless. The sea being open, however, the commander proceeded; but about twelve o'clock Mr. Beverly, the assistant surgeon, came down from the crow's nest, stating, that he had seen the land stretching very nearly across the entire bay. Hereupon, it is said, all hopes were renounced, even by the most sanguine, and Captain Ross sailed onward merely for the purpose of making some magnetical observations.

At three o'clock, the sky having cleared, the commander himself went on deck, when he states that he distinctly saw across the bottom of the bay a chain of mountains continuous and connected with those that formed its opposite shores. The weather then becoming unsettled, he made the signal to steer the vessel out of Lancaster Sound. Lieutenant Parry, however, declares that to him, in the *Isabella*, this signal appeared altogether mysterious, being himself full

of the most sanguine expectations, and seeing no ground whatever for this abrupt retreat; but his duty obliged him to follow.

On regaining the entrance of this great channel, Captain Ross continued to steer southward along the western shore of Baffin's Bay and Davis' Strait, without seeing any entrance which afforded equal promise. Cumberland Strait alone was similar in magnitude; but it could lead only into the higher latitudes of Hudson's Bay, and afforded thus little chance of a free passage into the Arctic sea. After surveying, therefore, some of these shores, he returned home early in October.

The Captain arrived in England under the most decided conviction, that Baffin's observations had been perfectly correct, and that Lancaster Sound was a bay, affording no entrance into any western sea. If even any strait existed between the mountain, it must, he conceived, be for ever innavigable, on account of the ice with which it is filled. The intelligent individuals, however, who had fitted out the expedition with such zeal and on so great a scale, felt deep dissatisfaction both at this conclusion and at the premises from which it had been drawn.

The grounds, in particular, on which Lancaster Sound, an opening so noble and so spacious, and in a position so favourable in respect to western discovery, had been so abruptly quitted, appeared wholly inadmissible. The same opinion was very decidedly espoused by several of the officers, and especially by Lieutenant Parry, who was second in command, but had never been consulted on the occasion, and who declared the relinquishment of all attempts at discovery at that crisis to be in his eyes completely unaccountable. It was determined, in short, that a fresh expedition should be equipped, and entrusted to Mr. Parry, that he might fulfil, if possible, his own sanguine hopes, and those of his employers. He was furnished with the *Hecla* of three hundred and seventy-five tons, and a crew of fifty-eight men; and with the *Griper* gun-brig of one hundred and eighty tons, and thirty-six men, commanded by Lieutenant Liddon. These ships were made as strong and as well-fitted as possible for the navigation of the Arctic seas; and were stored with ample provisions for two years, a copious supply of antiscorbutics, and every thing which could enable the crews to endure the most extreme rigours of a Polar winter.

Lieutenant Parry, destined to outstrip all his predecessors in the career of Arctic discovery, weighed anchor from the Nore on the 11th of May, 1819, and on the 20th rounded the most northerly point of the Orkneys. He endeavoured to cross the Atlantic about the parallel of  $58^{\circ}$ , and though impeded during the first fortnight of June by a series of unfavourable weather, obtained on the 15th, from the distance apparently of not less than forty leagues, a view of the lofty cliffs composing Cape Farewell. On the 18th the ships first fell in with icebergs, the air being also filled with petrels, kittiwakes, terns, and other winged inhabitants of the northern sky. Parry now made an effort to push north and west, through the icy masses, in the direction of Lancaster Sound; but these suddenly closed upon him; and on the 25th the two ships were so immovably beset, that no power could turn their heads a single point of the compass. The vessels remained thus fixed, but safe, when on the morning of the second day, a heavy roll of the sea loosened the ice, and drove its masses against them with such violence that only their very strong construction saved them from severe injury. The discoverers therefore were fain to extricate themselves as soon as possible; and, resigning the idea of reaching Lancaster Sound by the most direct route, began to coast northward along the border of this great icy field, till they should find open water. In this progress they varied the observation of Davis, that in the narrowest part of the great sea, misnamed his Strait, the shores on each side could be discovered at the same moment. Thus they proceeded, till they reached the Women's Islands, and Hope Sanderson, in about latitude  $73^{\circ}$ . As every step was now likely to carry them farther from their destination, Parry determined upon a desperate push to the westward. Favoured with a moderate breeze, the ships were run into the detached pieces and floes of ice, through which they were heaved with hawsers; but the obstacles became always heavier, till they were completely beset, and a heavy fog coming on, made them little able to take advantage of any favourable change. Yet in the course of a

week, though repeatedly and sometimes dangerously beset, they warped their way from lane to lane of open water, till only one lengthened floe separated them from a wide open sea to the westward. By laboriously sawing through this obstruction, they were able to penetrate finally the great icy barrier, and saw the western shore, clear of ice, extending before them.

The navigators now bore directly down upon Lancaster Sound, and on the 30th of July found themselves at its entrance. They felt an extraordinary emotion as they recognized this magnificent channel with the lofty cliffs by which it was guarded, aware that a very short time would decide the fate of their grand undertaking. They were tantalized, however, by a fresh breeze coming directly down the Sound, which suffered them to make only very slow progress. There was no appearance, however, of obstruction either from ice or land, and even the heavy swell which came down the inlet, driving the water repeatedly in at the stern windows, was hailed as an indication of open sea to the westward. The *Hecla* left the *Griper* behind, but still without making any great way herself till the 3d of August, when an easterly breeze sprung up, carrying both vessels rapidly forward. A crowd of sail was set, and they pushed triumphantly to the westward. Their minds were filled with anxious hope and suspense. The mast-heads were crowded with officers and men, and the successive reports brought down from the topmast pinnacle, called the crow's nest, were eagerly listened to. Their course was still unobstructed. They passed various headlands, with several wide openings towards the north and south, which they hastily named Croker Bay, Navy Board Inlet, &c.; but these it was not their present object to explore. The wind, freshening more and more, carried them happily forward, till at midnight they found themselves in longitude  $83^{\circ} 12'$ , nearly a hundred and fifty miles from the mouth of the grand inlet, which still retained a breadth of fifty miles. The success of the expedition, they fondly hoped, was now to a great extent decided.

The *Hecla*, at this time, slackened her course to allow her companion to come up, which she did in longitude  $85^{\circ}$ . They together proceeded to longitude  $86^{\circ} 30'$ , and found two other inlets, which they named Burnet and Stratton; then a bold cape named Fellfoot, forming apparently the termination of this long line of coast. The lengthened swell which still rolled in from the north and west, with the oceanic colour of the waters, inspired the flattering hope that they had already passed the region of straits and inlets, and were now wafted along the wide expanse of the Polar basin. Nothing, in short, it was hoped, would henceforth obstruct their progress to Icy Cape, the western boundary of America. An alarm of land was given, but it proved to arise only from an island of no great extent. However, more land was soon discovered beyond Cape Fellfoot, which was ascertained to be the entrance to a noble bay, extending on their right, which they named Maxwell Bay. An uninterrupted range of sea still stretched out before them, though they were somewhat discomposed by seeing on the south a line of continuous ice; but it left an open route before them, and they hoped to find it merely a detached stream. A little space onward, however, they discovered with deep dismay, this ice to be joined to a compact and impenetrable body of floes, which completely crossed the channel, and joined the western point of Maxwell Bay. It behooved them, therefore, immediately to draw back, to avoid being embayed in ice, along the edges of which a violent surf was then beating. The officers began to amuse themselves with fruitless attempts to catch white whales, when the weather cleared, and they saw to the south an open sea, with a dark water-sky. Parry, hoping that this might lead to a free passage in a lower latitude, steered in this direction, and found himself at the mouth of a great inlet, ten leagues broad, with no visible termination; and to the two capes at its entrance he gave the names of Clarence and Seppings.

The mariners, finding the western shore of this inlet deeply encumbered with ice, moved across to the eastern, where they found a broad and open channel. The coast was the most dreary and desolate they had ever beheld even in the Arctic world, presenting scarcely a semblance of either animal or vegetable life. Navigation was rendered more arduous from the entire irregularity of the compass, now evidently approaching to the magnetic Pole, and showing an ex-

cess of variation which they vainly attempted to measure, so that the binnacles were laid aside as useless lumber. They sailed a hundred and twenty miles up this inlet, and its augmenting width inspired them with corresponding hopes; when, with extreme consternation, they suddenly perceived the ice to diverge from its parallel course, running close in to a point of land which appeared to form the southern extremity of the eastern shore. To this foreland they gave the name of Cape Kater. The western horizon also appeared covered with heavy and extensive floes, a bright and dazzling ice-blink extending from shore to shore. The name of the Prince Regent was given to this spacious inlet, which Parry strongly suspected must have a communication with Hudson's Bay. He now determined to return to the old station, and watch the opportunity when the relenting ice would allow the ships to proceed westward. That station was reached not without some difficulty, amid ice and fog. At Prince Leopold's Islands, on the 15th, the ice was as impenetrable as ever, with a bright blink, and from a high hill there was no water to be seen; luckily, also, there was no land. On the 18th, on getting once more close to the northern shore, the navigators began to make a little way, and some showers of rain and snow, accompanied with heavy wind, produced such an effect, that on the 21st the whole ice had disappeared, and they could scarcely believe it to be the same sea which had just before been covered with floes upon floes, as far as the eye could reach.

Mr. Parry now crowded all sail to the westward, and, though detained by want of wind, he passed Radstock Bay, Capes Hurd and Hotham, and Beechy Island; after which he reached a fine and broad inlet, leading to the north, to which he assigned Wellington, the greatest name of the age. The sea up to this inlet being perfectly open, he would not have hesitated to ascend it, had there not been before him, along the south coast of an island named Cornwallis, an open channel, leading in a direction, which, being due west, he could have no hesitation in preferring. Wellington Inlet was now considered by the navigators, so high were their hopes, as forming the western boundary of the land stretching from Baffin's Bay to the Polar Sea, into which they had little doubt they were entering. For this reason Captain Parry did not hesitate to give to the great channel which had effected so desirable a junction the merited appellation of Barrow's Strait, after the much esteemed promoter of the expedition. A favourable breeze now sprung up, and the adventurers passed gaily and triumphantly along the extensive shore of Cornwallis Island, then coasted a larger island named Bathurst, and next a smaller one called Byam Martin. At this place, they judged, by some experiments, that they had passed the magnetic meridian, situated, probably, in about  $100^{\circ}$  west longitude, and where the compass would have pointed due south instead of due north. The navigation now became extremely difficult, in consequence of thick fogs, which not only froze on the shrouds, but, as the compass was also useless, took away all means of knowing the direction in which they sailed. They were obliged to trust to the land and ice preserving the same line, and sometimes employed the most odd expedients for ascertaining the precise point. They encountered also a compact floe of ice, through which they were obliged to bore their way by main force. Through all these obstacles they reached the coast of an island larger than any before discovered, to which they gave the name of Melville. The wind now failed, and they slowly moved forward by towing and warping, till, on the 4th of September, Mr. Parry could announce to his joyful crew, that, having reached the longitude of  $110^{\circ}$  W. they were become entitled to the reward of £5000, promised by Parliament to the first crew who should attain that meridian. The mariners pushed forward with redoubled ardour, but soon found their course arrested by an impenetrable icy barrier. They waited nearly a fortnight in hopes of overcoming it; till about the 20th their situation became alarming. The young ice began rapidly to form on the surface of the waters, retarded only by winds and swells; so that Captain Parry was convinced, in the event of a single hour's calm, that he would be frozen up in the midst of the sea. No option was therefore left but to return, and to choose between two apparently good harbours, which had been recently passed on Melville Island. Not with-

out difficulty he reached this place by the 24th, and made choice of the most western harbour, as that alone which afforded full security; but it was necessary to cut two miles through a large floe with which it was filled. To effect this arduous operation, the seamen marked with boarding-pikes two parallel lines, at the distance of somewhat more than the breadth of the larger ship. They sawed along these two lines, and then by cross-sawings detached large pieces, which were separated diagonally in order to be floated out; and sometimes boat sails were fastened to them to take the advantage of a favourable breeze. On the 26th the ships were established in five fathoms water, at about a cable's length from the beach. For some time the ice was daily cleared round them; but this was soon found an endless and useless labour, and they were allowed to be regularly frozen in for the winter.

Mr. Parry then applied himself to name the extended group of large islands along which he had passed. He called them at first New-Georgia; but, recollecting that this appellation had been pre-occupied by a large island in the Pacific, he gave the name of "the North Georgian Islands," after his majesty George III., whose reign had been so eminently distinguished by the extension of nautical and geographical knowledge.

The commander, finding himself and his ships shut in for a long and dreary winter, devoted his attention, with judicious activity, and a mixture of firmness and kindness, to mitigate those evils, which, even in lower latitudes, had often rendered an Arctic wintering so fatal. His provisions being very ample, he allowed the sailors weekly a pound of Donkin's preserved meat, and a pint of concentrated soup, instead of a pound of salt beef; beer and wine were served instead of spirits; and a certain allowance was made of sour-kraut, pickles, and vinegar. The sailors were also called together daily, and made to swallow a quantity of lime-juice and sugar in presence of the officers, their improvidence being such as to afford otherwise no hope of their spontaneously imbibing this salutary draught. Their gums and shins were also regularly examined, in order to detect scurvy in its earliest symptoms. It was necessary to be very economical of fuel, the small quantity of moss and turf which could be collected being too wet to be of any use. By placing the apparatus for baking in a central position, and by several other arrangements, the cabin was maintained in a very comfortable temperature; but still, around its extremities, and in the bed-places, steam, vapour, and even the breath settled, first as moisture and then as ice; to dry and remove these annoyances became therefore a part of their daily employment.

Mr. Parry was, from the first, aware that nothing acted more strongly as an antiscorbutic, than to keep the men's minds in a lively and cheerful state. His plans for this purpose were very original, and proved very effectual. Arrangements were made for the occasional performance of a play, in a region very remote certainly from any to which the drama appeared congenial. Lieutenant Beechy was nominated stage manager, and the officers came forward as amateur performers. The very expectation thus raised among the seamen, and the bustle of preparing a room for the purpose, were extremely salutary; and when the North Georgian theatre opened with "Miss in her 'Teens," these hardy tars were convulsed with laughter, not a little excited, perhaps, by viewing their officers in so singular and novel a position; at all events, the Arctic management was extremely popular. As the small stock contained in one or two chance volumes was exhausted, original compositions were produced, and afterward formed into a little collection. The officers had another source of amusement in the North Georgia Gazette, of which Captain Sabine became editor, and all were invited to contribute to this chronicle of the frozen regions. Even those who hesitated to appear as writers, enlivened the circle by severe but good-humoured criticisms.

Thus passed the time,  
Till, through the lucid chambers of the south,  
Looked out the joyous Sun.

It was on the 4th of November that this great orb ought to have taken his leave; but a deep haze prevented them from bidding a formal farewell, and

from ascertaining the period down to which refraction would have rendered him visible; yet he was reported to be seen from the mast-head on the 11th. Amid various occupations and amusements, the shortest day came on almost unexpected, and the seamen then watched with pleasure the midday twilight gradually strengthening. On the 28th of January none of the fixed stars could be seen at noon by the naked eye; and on the 1st and 2d of February the sun was looked for, but the sky was wrapped in mist; however, on the 3d he was perceived from the maintop of the *Hecla*. Through the greatest depth of the Polar night, the officers, during the brief twilight, had taken a regular walk of two or three hours; avoiding only to go farther than a mile, lest they should be overtaken by snow-drift. There was a want of objects to diversify this walk. A dreary monotonous surface of dazzling white covered land and sea: the view of the ships, the smoke ascending from them, the sound of human voices, which through the calm and cool air was carried to an extraordinary distance, alone gave any animation to this winter scene. The officers, however, persevered in their daily walk, and exercise also was enforced upon the men, who, even when prevented by the weather from leaving the vessel, were made to run round the deck, keeping time to the tune of an organ. This movement they did not at first entirely relish; but no plea against it being admitted, they converted it at last into matter of frolic.

By the above means health was maintained on board the ships to a surprising degree. Early in January, however, Mr. Scallon, the gunner, felt symptoms, first in the legs and then in the gums, that decidedly indicated the presence of scurvy, of which the immediate cause appeared to be the great collection of damp which had formed around his bed-place. At this first alarm, all the antiscorbutics on board, lemon-juice, pickles, spruce-beer, &c. were put into requisition; a small quantity of mustard and cress was also raised from mould placed over the stove pipe; and such was the success of these measures, that in nine days the patient could walk without pain. Farther on in the season a number of slighter cases occurred, which were somewhat aggravated by an accident. As the men were taking their musical perambulation round the deck, a house erected on shore, and containing a number of the most valuable instruments, was seen to be on fire. The crew instantly ran, pulled off the roof with ropes, knocked down part of the sides, and being thus enabled to throw in large quantities of snow, succeeded in subduing the flames. Now, however, their faces presented a curious spectacle, every nose and cheek being white with frost-bites, while the medical gentlemen, with their assistants, were obliged to run from one to the other, and rub them with snow, in order to restore animation. With one man the amputation of several of his fingers became necessary, and no less than sixteen were added to the sick list.

The animal tribes disappeared early in the winter from this frozen region. The officers, on the 15th of October, made a shooting excursion, enjoying a very fine day, though with the thermometer  $47^{\circ}$  below the freezing point; but they did not find a deer, a grouse, or any animal which could be ranked as game. All of them deserting this wintry realm had crossed the seas to America. There remained only a pack of wolves, which serenaded the crews nightly, not venturing to attack, but contriving to avoid being captured. A beautiful white fox was caught and made a pet of. On the 12th of May one of the men gave notice that he had seen a ptarmigan; and attention being thus excited, Mr. Beverley next day brought one down, and on the 15th three coveys were discovered. The footsteps of deer were also seen, which, from the impression made on the snow, seemed to be moving northward. From this time, ptarmigans were supplied in tolerable numbers; but they were made strictly a common good, being divided equally among the crew, with only a preference in favour of the sick. There was found, also, mixed with moss under the snow, an abundance of the herb sorrel, a most potent antidote against scurvy. By these supplies, and by the more genial weather, the health of the crew, which at the end of March had been in a somewhat alarming state, was completely restored before the beginning of June. In extending their excursions, however, they were considerably incommoded by that distressing inflammation of the eyes, produced from the glare of

snow, called snow-blindness. It was cured in a few days by cold applications, and it was prevented in future by covering the eyes, or by wearing spectacles, in which crape was used instead of glass.

On the 16th of March the North Georgian theatre was closed with an appropriate address, and the general attention was now turned to the means of extrication from the ice. By the 17th of May the seamen had so far cut the ice around the ships as to allow them to float; but in the sea it was still immovable. This interval of painful inaction was employed by Captain Parry in an excursion across Melville Island. The ground was still mostly covered with softened snow, and even the cleared tracts were extremely desolate, though checkered by intervals of fine verdure. Deer were seen traversing the plains in considerable numbers. To the north appeared another island to which was given the name of Sabine. By the middle of June pools were every where formed; the dissolved water flowed in streams, and even in torrents which rendered hunting and travelling unsafe. There were also channels of water in which boats could pass; yet throughout June and July the great covering of ice in the surrounding sea remained entire, and kept the ships in harbour. On the 2d of August, however, the whole mass, by one of those sudden movements to which it is liable, broke up and floated out; and the explorers had now an open water in which to prosecute their discovery. It was consolatory to think that this was the very season at which they had last year entered Lancaster Sound; and if they could make as brilliant a voyage this summer, the following one would see them not far from Behring's Straits. But it was not without some obstructions that on the 4th they reached the same spot where their progress had been formerly arrested. On the 15th they were enabled to make a certain progress; after which the frozen surface of the ocean presented a more compact and impenetrable aspect than had ever before been witnessed. The officers ascended some of the lofty heights which bordered the coast; but, in a long reach of sea to westward, no boundary was seen to these icy barriers. There appeared only the western extremity of Melville Island, named Cape Dundas; and in the distance a bold high coast, which they named Banks's Land. As even a brisk eastern gale did not produce the slightest movement in this frozen surface, they were led to believe that on the other side there must be a large barrier of land, by which it was held in a fixed state. On considering all circumstances, there appeared no alternative but to make their way homeward while yet the season permitted. Some additional observations were made on their return, on the two coasts extending along Barrow's Strait.

Mr. Parry's arrival in Britain was hailed with the highest exultation. To have sailed upwards of thirty degrees of longitude beyond the point reached by any former navigator,—to have discovered so many new lands, islands, and bays,—to have established the much contested existence of a Polar sea north of America,—finally, after a wintering of eleven months, to have brought back his crew in a sound and vigorous state,\*—were enough to raise his name above that of any former Arctic voyager.

No hesitation was felt as to sending out another expedition; but considering the strength of the ultimate barriers which had twice arrested the progress of the last, it became important to consider whether there was not any other channel by which the Polar sea, now ascertained to exist, might be reached and traversed with greater facility. In Hudson's Bay, neither the great northern sounds of the Welcome nor of Fox's Channel had been traced to a termination. Middleton, in the former inlet, had ascended higher than any other navigator; but a thick cloud had been raised around his reputation, and his *Frozen Strait*, after all, was very likely to be only a temporary barrier. If from either of these sounds a passage should open into the Polar sea, it might be approached in a much lower latitude than that in which Parry had wintered, and might perhaps

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\* Only one man died in the course of their long and perilous voyage, but his disease was no way referable to a connexion with the expedition, the origin of his malady having been of a date anterior to the sailing of the ships.

be also free from those large insular masses in which he had been entangled. There was fitted out then a new expedition, in which the *Fury*, of 327 tons, was conjoined with the *Hecla*; the commander conceiving that two vessels of nearly equal dimensions were best calculated for co-operating with and aiding each other, while the examination of coasts and inlets could be best carried on by boats. This officer, now promoted to the rank of Captain, hoisted his flag on board the *Fury*; while Captain Lyon, already distinguished by his services in Africa, received the command of the *Hecla*, and proved himself fully competent to the arduous duties of this new service. The equipment, the victualling, and the heating of the vessels, were all arranged with the greatest care, and with various improvements suggested by experience.

The expedition was ready to sail on the 8th of May, 1821, and having then quitted Nore, passed through Pentland Frith and by Cape Farewell, suffering repeated detention; but we shall not pause till we find them on the 2d of July at the mouth of Hudson's Straits. Captain Parry, accustomed as he was to scenes of Polar desolation, was struck with the peculiarly dreary aspect which these shores presented. The naked rocks, the snow still covering the valleys, and the thick fogs that hung over them, rendered the scene indescribably gloomy. The ships were soon surrounded by icebergs, which in one place amounted to the number of fifty-four,—one rising 258 feet above the sea. They were attended by large floes, rendered very formidable by their rotatory motion. The peculiar danger of these straits, often remarked by former navigators, arises from the strong tides and currents that rush in from the Atlantic, and cause continual and violent movements among the huge icy masses with which the channels are filled. Captain Lyon had proof of their strength when he had two hawsers repeatedly carried away, and his best bower anchor, weighing more than a ton, wrenched from the bows, and broken off as if it had been crockery ware. Amid these troubles, the sailors were amused by the sight of three companion-ships, two belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, and one bringing out settlers for Lord Selkirk's colony. These last, who were chiefly Dutch and Germans, were seen waltzing on deck often for hours together, and were only driven in by a severe fall of snow. Although almost in despair at the numerous detentions they had experienced, they recreated themselves from time to time by matrimonial arrangements, in which they were so diligent, that, it is said, there was scarcely a ball which did not end in a marriage.

Amid these obstructions, the ships spent nineteen days in making seventy miles; which course, however, brought them, on the 21st, within two leagues of what are called the Savage Islands. On the following afternoon a loud shouting was heard over the ice, and soon after there appeared a numerous band of natives, paddling their canoes through the lanes of open water, or, where these failed, drawing them over the pieces of ice. Among a great number of *kayaks*, or boats rowed by a single man, were five *oomiaks*, or women's boats, constructed of a frame work of wood and whalebone, covered with deer skins, having flat sides and bottoms, and of considerable size. One of them, 25 feet by 8, contained women, boys, and children, to the number of twenty-one. Presently began a wild, merry, noisy scene of frolic and traffic. The natives carried it on with eagerness and even fury, stripping themselves to the very skins which formed their only covering, till they were in a state of total nudity, except that the ladies always made a laudable reservation of their breeches. They drove what they meant should be an excessively hard bargain; yet, being wholly ignorant of the value of the rich skins with which nature has invested the animals of this Arctic climate, they raised shouts of triumph when they obtained in exchange a nail, a saw, or a razor. Their aspect was wilder and more dishevelled than that of any other tribe even among this rude race; their character also seems fiercer and more savage: and indeed it is in this quarter that most of the tragical encounters with Esquimaux have occurred. Some of the ancient dames were pronounced to be the most hideous objects that mortal eye had ever beheld; inflamed eyes, wrinkled skin, black teeth, and deformed features, rendered them scarcely human: hence much apology was found for the dark and dire suspicions cherished by Forbisher's crew respecting one of these damsels, and the odd investiga-



tion to which it prompted. The children were rather pretty; though, from being thrown carelessly into the bottom of the boats, they had much the appearance of the young of wild animals. Besides traffic, the natives carried on a great deal of rather rude frolic, like that of ill regulated school boys. One of them got behind a sailor, shouted loudly in one ear, and gave him a hearty box on the other, which was hailed with a loud and general laugh. They also carried on a dance, consisting chiefly of violent leaping and stamping, though in tolerable time.

In spite of every obstruction, Captain Parry, early in August, reached the entrance of Fox's Channel, and came in view of Southampton Island. It was now the question whether to sail directly up this channel, and reach, by a comparatively short route, Repulse Bay and the higher latitudes, or to make the southwestern circuit of Southampton Island, and ascend the beaten track of the Welcome. Captain Parry judiciously preferred the former, notwithstanding its uncertainties, on account of the great time which would be saved should this course be found practicable. On the 15th he came to a strait stretching westward, and apparently separating the island from other land on the north. Hoping to find this the Frozen Strait of Middleton, he entered it; but it soon proved a spacious and beautiful basin, enclosed by land on every side. He named it the Duke of York's Bay, and considered it one of the finest harbors in the world; but, after admiring a large floe covered entirely with minerals, shells, and plants, he moved out of it, and pursued the voyage. On the 21st the navigators found themselves in another strait, not much encumbered with ice, but darkened by thick fogs; and, before they almost knew where they were, a heavy swell from the southward showed that they had passed through the Frozen Strait, and were in the broad channel of the Welcome. They speedily entered Repulse Bay, in which modern speculation had cherished the hope of a passage; but a short investigation, made by boats in every direction, proved that it was really as Middleton had described it, completely enclosed. A good deal of time had thus been lost through the skepticism so unjustly attached to the narrative of that eminent navigator.

Captain Parry, having come with all speed out of Repulse Bay, began the career of discovery along a coast hitherto unknown. An inlet was soon found, and called by the name of Gore; but when ascended a certain length, it was not found to reach far inland. At the mouth of this opening, the valleys were richly clad with grass and moss, the birds singing, butterflies and other insects displaying the most gaudy tints, so that the sailors might have fancied themselves in a happier climate, had not the mighty piles of ice in the Frozen Strait told a different tale. Hunting parties traversed the country in various directions, and the game laws of the preceding year were strictly re-enacted, by which every beast or bird slain was to be employed for the general good, allowing only the head and legs as a *douceur* to the captor. The latter, however, adopted and made good a theory, agreeably to which the description *head* was greatly extended, so as to include even several joints of the back bone.

Having passed Gore Inlet, the expedition found itself among those numerous isles described by Middleton, which formed a complete labyrinth of various shapes and sizes, while strong currents setting between them in various directions, amid fogs and drifting ice, rendered the navigation truly perilous. The *Fury* was assailed by successive masses rushing out from an inlet; her anchor was dragged along the rocks with a grinding noise, and on being drawn up, the two flukes were found to be broken off. The same vessel was afterwards carried along by a violent current, amid thick mist, without there being any means of guiding or altering its direction; so that Captain Parry considers it altogether providential that she was not dashed to pieces against the surrounding rocks. However, one channel, and one only, was found, by which the mariners at last made their way through this perilous maze. No sooner had they reached the open sea, than, being obliged to run before a northerly breeze, they were much disheartened to find themselves, on the 3d of September, at the very point which they had left on the preceding 6th of August. All the interval had been employed in the mere negative discovery, that there was nothing to discover.

Captain Parry soon reached the northern coast, and resumed his task, which was rendered very tedious by the necessity of examining every opening and channel, in the hope that each might prove the desired passage into the Polar ocean. He first explored a large inlet, the name of which he gave to Captain Lyon, then a smaller one, which was named from Lieutenant Hoppner; and by connecting these with Gore Inlet, he completed his delineation of the coast. The seamen had then the pleasure of opening a traffic with a party of Esquimaux, whose first timidity was soon overcome by the hope of being supplied with some iron tools. In the course of this transaction, the surprise of the crew was aroused by the conduct of a lady, who had sold one boot, but obstinately retained the other in disregard of the strongest remonstrances as to the ridiculous figure she in consequence made. At length, suspicion rose to such a pitch, that, all courtesy being set aside, her person was laid hold of and the boot pulled off. Then indeed it proved a complete depository of stolen treasure, since no less than two spoons and a pewter plate were found within this capacious receptacle.

The end of September now approached, and Captain Parry found himself suddenly in the depth of winter. Snow had been falling during the whole of the short summer; but the united warmth of the air and earth had melted it as it fell, and left the ground still open to the sun's rays. In one moment, as it were, the snow made good its lodgement, and spread its white and dazzling mantle over land and sea. The rays being then no longer able to reach the soil, the whole became subject to permanent and impenetrable frost. Some parts of the snow were indeed dissolved, and then refrozen in varied and beautiful forms of crystallization; whereas, at Melville Island, the dead white covering once spread over, nature had never changed its aspect. A more serious symptom existed in the rapid formation of soft or pancake ice on the surface of the deep. The obstacle presented by this crust was at first so slight as to be scarcely felt by a ship before a favoring gale; but it continually increased, till the vessel, rolling from side to side, and all her resources failing, became, like Gulliver, bound by the feeble hands of Lilliputians. At the same time the various pieces of drift ice, which were tossing in the sea without, had been cemented into one great field called "the ice," that threatened every moment to bear down upon the vessels, and dash them in pieces. Under this combination of circumstances, the navigators could no longer even attempt to reach the land, but determined to saw into the heart of a large adjoining floe, and there take up their winter quarters. There was about half a mile to penetrate, which, in the present soft state of the pancake ice, was not very laborious. It was, however, far from pleasant, the ice bending like leather beneath their feet, and causing them sometimes to sink into the water, whence they did not escape without a cold bath.

Captain Parry was now frozen up for another winter in the midst of the northern sea, and he forthwith applied himself to make the necessary arrangements, with that judicious foresight which had been already so conspicuous in the same trying circumstances. Through lessons taught by experience, and by several ingenious contrivances, the ships were much more thoroughly heated than in the former voyage; the provisioning, too, was more ample, and antidotes against scurvy still more copiously supplied. The Polar theatre opened on the 9th of November with "The Rivals." Captains Parry and Lyon volunteered to appear as Sir Anthony and Captain Absolute; while the ladies had very generously removed an ample growth of beard, disregarding the comfortable warmth which it afforded in an Arctic climate. The company were well received, and carried through their performances with unabated spirit; yet this season does not seem to have gone off with the same éclat as the preceding. Novelty, from the first the chief attraction, had worn off, and the discomfort of a stage, the exhibitions of which were attended with a cold thirty degrees under the freezing point, became rather severe. The sailors found for themselves a more sober and useful, as well as efficacious, remedy against *cnnui*. They established a school, in which the better instructed undertook to revive the knowledge of letters among others who had almost entirely lost the slight tincture which they had once imbibed. These hardy tars applied themselves to their book with ardent and laudable zeal, and showed a pride in their new attain-

ments like that of little boys at school. By Christmas sixteen well written copies were forthcoming from those who, two months before, could scarcely form a letter. Amid these varied and pleasing occupations, the shortest day passed over their heads almost unobserved, especially as the sun never entirely left them. Captain Lyon never saw a merrier Christmas than was celebrated on board. The sailors, being amply regaled with fresh beef, cranberry pies, and grog, became so extremely elevated, that they insisted on successively drinking, with three hearty cheers, the health of each officer.

The animal world in this rigorous climate, even though the ground was completely frozen over, did not disappear so entirely as on Melville Island. A few solitary hares were caught; but they were in a miserable state of leanness, weighing only five or six pounds, and had a pure white covering, which resembled swan's down rather than hair. About a hundred white foxes were found in the nets during the winter. These beautiful creatures, when first caught, were perfectly wild and ungovernable; but shortly, the young ones at least, threw off this timidity. A delicate little animal found one day in the snare proved to be an ermine; but it was excessively frightened, and, to the general regret, soon died.

The winter months were also enlivened by various beautiful appearances which the sky at that season presented. The northern world, when the sun departs, is by no means involved in that deep, monotonous gloom which such a privation might indicate. After that luminary has finally quitted the earth, and the long northern winter has closed in, the heavens become a gay scene, through which the most brilliant meteors are perpetually playing. Those most singular and beautiful streams of light, called commonly the *Aurora Borealis*, or Northern Morning, keep up an almost incessant illumination. They were discerned in full splendor by Captains Parry and Lyon during their Arctic residence. The light had a tendency to form an irregular arch, which, in calm weather, was often very distinct, though its upper boundary was seldom well defined; but whenever the air became agitated, showers of rays spread in every direction, with the brilliancy and rapidity of lightning. Sometimes long bands of light were spread out with inconceivable rapidity, but always appearing to move to and from a fixed point, somewhat like a riband held in the hand and shaken with an undulatory motion. No rule, however, could be traced in the movements of those lighter parcels called "the merry dancers," which flew about perpetually in every direction and towards every quarter. In stormy weather the northern lights always became more rapid in their motions, sharing all the wildness of the blast. They gave an indescribable air of magic to the whole scene, and made it not wonderful that by the untaught Indian they should be viewed as "the spirits of his fathers roaming through the land of souls."

Several questions have been agitated with respect to the *Aurora*. It has been said to be accompanied by a hissing cracking noise; and indeed Captain Lyon observes, that the sudden glare and rapid bursts of those wondrous showers of fire make it difficult to fancy their movements wholly without sound. Yet nothing was really ever heard. Captain Parry complains that he could not expose his ears to the cold long enough completely to ascertain the point; but Captain Lyon declares that he stood for hours on the ice listening, and at a distance from every sounding body, till he became satisfied that none proceeded from the *Aurora*. It has been a question whether this meteor hid the stars; it was generally decided that it dimmed the lustre of those heavenly bodies, as if a thin gauze veil had been drawn over them,—an effect which was augmented when several luminous portions were spread over each other. In a clear atmosphere these lights shone with a brightness which gave the impression that they were nearer than the clouds: but whenever these last overspread the sky, the *Aurora* was hid by them, and must therefore have been more distant. To Captain Parry the light appeared to assume tints of yellow and lilac; but to Captain Lyon its colour always resembled that of the Milky Way, or of very vivid sheet lightning. The present writer saw the *Aurora* once, and only once, in its utmost brilliancy, and exhibiting all the phenomena described by these northern observers,—his impressions agreeing particularly with those of Captain Lyon.

Other luminous meteors, arising apparently from the refraction caused by the minute spiculæ of ice, appear in succession to embellish the northern sky. The sun and the moon are often surrounded with halos,—concentric circles of vapor, tinted with the brightest hues of the rainbow. Parhelia, or mock suns, frequently adorned with these accompaniments, shine at once in different quarters of the firmament. Ellis, who went with Moor and Smith to Hudson's Bay, has seen six in one sky. They are most brilliant at day-break, diminish in lustre as the real sun ascends, but again brighten at his setting. The sun himself, for some time before he finally departs for the winter, and also after his reappearance in the spring, tinges the sky with hues of matchless brilliancy. The edges of the clouds near that luminary often present a fiery or burnished appearance, while the opposite horizon glows with a deep purple, gradually softening as it ascends into a delicate rose colour of inconceivable beauty. As the solar orb at periods never rises more than a few degrees above the horizon, he is, as it were, in a state of permanent rising and setting, and seems to exhibit longer and more variously the beautiful appearances rising out of that position. At this time the naked eye can view him without being dazzled; and Captain Lyon considers the softened blush colour, which his rays exhibit through frost, as possessing a charm which surpasses even that of an Italian sky.

Amid all these resources, the monotony of the scene was beginning to be oppressive, when it was relieved by an unexpected incident, which attracted universal attention. On the morning of the 1st of February, a number of distant figures were seen moving over the ice, and when they were viewed through glasses, the cry was raised, "Esquimaux, Esquimaux!" As it was of great importance to deal courteously and discreetly with these strangers, the two commanders formed a party of six, who walked in files behind each other, that they might cause no alarm. The Esquimaux then formed themselves into a line of twenty one, advanced slowly, and at length made a full stop. In this order they saluted the strangers by the usual movement of beating the breasts. They were substantially clothed in rich and dark deer skins, and appeared a much more quiet and orderly race than their rude countrymen of the Savage Islands. On the English producing their precious commodities, knives, nails, and needles, an active traffic was set on foot; and the females, on seeing that much importance was attached to the skins which formed their clothing, began immediately to strip off those with which their fair persons were covered. The captains felt alarmed for the consequences, under a temperature more than fifty degrees below the freezing point; but were soon consoled by observing underneath another comfortable suit. They were now cordially invited to enter their habitations, to which they agreed most readily, only that there appeared no habitations to enter. However, they were led to a hole in the snow, and instructed to place themselves on their hands and knees, in which position, having crept through a long winding passage, they arrived at a little hall with a dome-shaped roof whence doors opened into three apartments, each occupied by a separate family. These proved to be five distinct mansions, tenanted by sixty-four men, women, and children. The materials and structure of these abodes was still more singular than their position. Snow, the chief product of the northern tempests, became here a protection against its own cold. It was formed into curved slabs of about two feet long and half a foot thick, put together by a most judicious masonry, so as to present a species of dome shaped structures, rising six or seven feet above the ground, and about fourteen or sixteen feet in diameter. The mode of inserting the key slab, which bound the whole together, would, it is said, have been satisfactory to the eye of a regular bred artist. A plate of ice in the roof served as a window and admitted the light as through ground glass; which, when it shone on the interior mansions, in their first state of pure and beautiful transparency, produced soft and glittering tints of green and blue. But, alas! ere long, accumulated dirt, smoke, and oil, converted these apartments into a scene of blackness and stench. This little village appeared at first a cluster of hillocks amid the snow; but successive falls filled up the vacuities, and converted it almost into a smooth surface, so that even boys and dogs were seen walking and sporting over the roofs; though, as summer and thaw advanced, a leg sometimes pene-

trated and appeared to the alarmed inhabitants below. Then, too, the ceiling begins to drip; and the tenants, after repeatedly endeavouring to patch it with fresh slabs, and catching, of course some severe colds, are obliged to betake themselves to a more durable covering. In each room, suspended from the roof, burns a lamp, with a long wick formed of a peculiar species of moss, fed with the oil of the seal or the walrus, and serving at once for light, heat, and cookery. The family sit round the apartment, on a bench formed of snow, strewn with slender twigs, and covered with skins; but this part of the dwelling must be carefully kept a good deal below the freezing point, since a higher temperature would speedily dissolve the walls of the frail tenement.

After a cheerful and friendly visit, an invitation was given to the Esquimaux to repair to the ships, when fifty accepted it with alacrity. Partly walking and partly dancing, they soon reached the vessels, where a striking congeniality of spirit was soon found to exist between them and the sailors; boisterous fun forming to each the chief source of enjoyment. A fiddle and drum being produced, the natives struck up a dance, or rather a succession of vehement leaps, accompanied with loud shouts and yells. Seeing the Kabloonas, or Whites, as they called the strangers, engaged in a game of leap frog, they attempted to join; but not duly understanding how to measure their movements, they made such overleaps as sometimes to pitch on the crown of their heads: however, they sprang up quite unconcerned. Their attention was specially attracted to the effects of a winch, by which one sailor forcibly drew towards him a party of ten or twelve of their number, though grinning and straining every nerve in resistance; but finding all in vain, they joined in the burst of good humoured laughter till tears streamed from their eyes. One intelligent old man followed Captain Lyon to the cabin, and viewed with rational surprise various objects which were presented. The performance of a hand organ and a musical snuff box struck him with breathless admiration; and on seeing drawings of the Esquimaux in Hudson's Strait, he soon understood them, and showed the difference between their dress and appearance and that of his own tribe. On seeing the sketch of a bear, he raised a loud cry, drew up his sleeves, and showed the scars of three deep wounds received in encounters with that terrible animal. The seamen sought to treat their visitors to such delicacies as their ship afforded, but were some time at a loss to discover how their palate might be gratified. Grog, the seaman's choicest luxury, only one old woman could be induced to taste. Sugar, sweetmeats, gingerbread, were accepted only out of complaisance and eaten with manifest disgust; but train oil, entrails of animals, and any thing consisting of pure fat or grease, were swallowed in immense quantities, and with symptoms of exquisite delight. This taste was first evinced by an old woman, who, having sold her oil pot, took care previously to empty the contents into her stomach, and lick it clean with her tongue, regardless of her face becoming thus as black as soot. Captain Lyon being disposed to ingratiate himself with rather a handsome young damsel, presented her with a good moulded candle, six to the pound. She immediately began to eat off the tallow with every symptom of the greatest enjoyment, after which she thrust the wick into her mouth; but the Captain concerned for the consequences to this delicate virgin, insisted on pulling it out. In preference to strong liquors they drank water in most enormous quantities, by gallons at a time, and two quarts at a draught; a supply of liquid which is perhaps necessary to dissolve their gross food, and which, being obtained only from snow artificially melted, is a scarce winter article.

The Esquimaux were attended by a large pack of wolves, which seemed to follow solely to pick up whatever might be found straggling or defenceless about their habitation. These animals continued through the whole winter ravening with hunger, and in eager watch for any victim which might come within their reach. For this purpose they took a station between the huts and the ships, ready to act against either as circumstances might dictate. They did not attack the sailors even when unarmed, though they were often seen hovering through the gloom in search of prey. Every stray dog was seized, and in a few minutes devoured. Two wolves broke into a snow house close to the ship, and carried off each a dog larger than himself; but, being pursued, one of them was obliged

to drop his booty. In the extremity of their hunger they hesitated not to tear and devour the cables and canvass found lying near the vessel. A deadly war was therefore waged against these fierce animals, of which thirteen were killed in the course of the season, and sent to be eaten by the Esquimaux,—a present which was received with much satisfaction.

As spring advanced, the attention of the officers was almost wholly engrossed by the prospects of navigation and discovery during the approaching summer. Their Esquimaux neighbours, by no means destitute of intelligence, and accustomed to shift continually from place to place, were found to have acquired a very extensive knowledge of the seas and coasts of this part of America. One female, in particular, named Iligliuk, who bore even among her countrymen the character of a "wise woman," was, after a little instruction, enabled to convey to the strangers the outlines of her geographical knowledge, in the form of a rude map. A pencil being put into her hand, she traced the shore from Repulse Bay with such a tolerable measure of accuracy as inspired great confidence in what she might farther delineate. Iligliuk then began to exhibit a coast reaching far to the north, being, in fact, the eastern limits of Melville peninsula. Next her pencil took a westward direction, when her farther progress was watched with the deepest interest; upon which she was seen tracing a strait between opposite lands, that extended westward till it opened on each side, and spread into an apparently unbounded ocean. This delineation, which promised to fulfil their most sanguine hopes, gratified the officers beyond measure, and they loaded Iligliuk with attentions which unluckily soon turned her head, and made her so conceited and disdainful that they were obliged to discontinue their notice of her.

Captain Lyon, in the middle of March, undertook a journey across a piece of land lying between the station of the ships and the continent, which had been named Winter Island. The party were scarcely gone when they encountered a heavy gale, bringing with it clouds of drift, with a cold so intense, that they could not stop for a moment without having their faces covered with frost bites. After some vain struggles they determined to pitch their tent; but as the temperature within was at zero, and was continually lowering, they felt that they could not live through the night under this shelter. They therefore dug a cave in the earth, and by huddling together round a fire, immersed in smoke, to which no vent was allowed, contrived to keep up a degree of warmth, though still ten or fifteen degrees below the freezing point. In the morning their sledge was too deeply buried beneath the drift to leave any hope of digging it out, and they could reach the ships, now six miles distant, only by proceeding on foot through a tempest of snow falling so thick that they could not see a yard before them. Finding sometimes no track, sometimes several leading in different directions, they were soon bewildered and wandered they knew not where among heavy hummocks of ice. The frostbites were so numerous that they could not muster hands enough to rub the parts affected, and some began to sink into that dreadful insensibility which is the prelude to death by cold, and to reel about like drunken men. Thus they had resigned almost every hope of deliverance, when providentially there appeared a new beaten track, which they determined to follow, and in ten minutes it led them to the ships. Their arrival there caused indescribable joy, as they had been nearly given up for lost, while no party could be sent in search of them without imminent risk of sharing their fate.

On the 8th of May, in a more favorable season, Captain Lyon undertook another journey. In a few hours he crossed Winter Island, and reached the strait separating it from the continent, covered with heavy grounded ice very difficult to walk upon. The sun, now powerful, produced such a glare on the snow as affected several of the party with severe blindness; while the only means of procuring water was by holding up plates of ice in the solar rays, by which they were gradually melted. The party having reached the mainland, proceeded a considerable way along the coast, crossing several bays upon the ice; but at last they came in view of a bold cape, which they fondly and vainly hoped was the extreme point of America. Here they were overtaken by a storm of snow, but not accompanied, like the former, with perilous cold; it melted as it fell, and

formed a pulp which penetrated into their tents, yet did not dissolve so completely as to be fit for drinking. This storm kept them imprisoned for sixty-eight hours; which dreary interval they enlivened by reading in turn from three books they chanced to have with them, and as soon as the sun began to gleam they hastened to return to the ships.

The end of May presented a gloomy aspect, the season being still more backward than in the more northerly and rigorous climate of Melville Island. The snow was dissolved only on some spots, and hardly any symptoms of vegetation were yet visible; but as there was an extent of open water in the sea without, Captain Parry determined upon sawing his way through to it. This was a most laborious process, the ice being much thicker and stronger than at the commencement of the season; and after the seamen had continued at it more than a fortnight, and were within forty-eight hours of completing a canal, the body of the ice made a movement which closed it completely up. As they were looking on in despair at this disaster, another passage opened which they attempted to render available. This too closed in the same manner; but these agitations had at last the effect of causing the whole mass to float out into the open sea, and thus leaving them an unobstructed passage.

On the 2d of July the ships began their career of discovery. They had a favourable run through this sea, which formed a continuation of Fox's Channel; but a strong current from the north was bringing down the masses of ice with great force. The *Hecla* underwent some severe pressures, and, within five or six hundred yards of the *Fury*, two large floes dashed against each other with such a tremendous concussion, that numberless huge masses were thrown fifty or sixty feet into the air. The vessel, had she come for a moment within the sphere of these movements, must have been dashed to pieces,—happily she escaped. This current, however, was highly promising, since it could not be traced to the mouth of Hudson's Straits, but must come from the western ocean which they were so anxious to reach.

The ice passed by, and the ships proceeded with a favouring wind and tide. The shores began now to put on their summer aspect; the snow had nearly disappeared; and the ground was covered with the richest bloom of Arctic vegetation. The expedition came to a fine river named Barrow, which formed a most picturesque fall down rocks richly fringed with very brilliant plants. Here the reindeer sporting, the eider duck, the golden plover, and the snow bunting, spreading their wings, produced a gay and delightful scene. On the 14th, the navigators reached the island of Amitioke, which had been described as situated near the strait they were then endeavouring to reach. They saw about two hundred walrus lying piled, as usual, over each other on the loose drift ice. A boat's crew from each ship proceeded to the attack; but these gallant amphibia, some with their cubs mounted on their backs, made the most desperate resistance, and one of them tore the planks of a boat in two or three places. Three only were killed, the flesh of which was found tolerable, affording a variety amid the ordinary sea diet.

The discoverers now proceeded northwards, and saw before them a bold and high range of coast, separated apparently from that along which they were sailing. This feature agreeing with the indications of the fair Iligliuk, flattered them that they were approaching the strait exhibited by her as forming the entrance into the Polar basin. They pushed on full of hope and animation, and were farther cheered by reaching the small island of Igloodik, which she had described as situated at the very commencement of the passage. Accordingly they soon saw the strait stretching westward before them in long perspective; but, alas! they discovered at the same time an unbroken sheet of ice stretching from shore to shore, crossing and blocking up the passage, and this not a loose accidental floe, but the ice of the preceding winter, on which the midsummer had not produced the slightest change. Unable to advance a single step, they amused themselves with land excursions in different directions; and Captain Parry at length determined, on the 14th of August, with a party of six, to undertake an expedition along the frozen surface of the strait. The journey was very laborious, the ice being sometimes thrown up in rugged hummocks, and occasionally leaving large spa-

ces of open water, which it was necessary to cross on a plank, or on pieces of ice, instead of boats. In four days they came in view of a peninsula terminated by a bold cape, the approach to which was guarded by successive ranges of strata, resembling the tiers or galleries of a high and commanding fortification. The party, however, scrambled to the summit, whence they enjoyed a most gratifying spectacle. They were at the narrowest part of the strait, here about two miles across, with a tide or current running through it at the rate of two miles an hour. Westward the shores on each side receded, till, for three points of the compass, and amid a clear horizon, no land was visible. The captain doubted not that from this position he beheld the Polar sea; into which, notwithstanding the formidable barriers of ice which intervened, he cherished the most sanguine hopes of forcing his way. He named this the strait of the Fury and Hecla, and gave the sailors an extra can of grog, to drink a safe and speedy passage through its channel.

Captain Parry now lost no time in returning to the ships, where his arrival was joyful and seasonable; for the opposing barrier, which had been gradually softening and breaking into various rents and fissures, at once almost entirely disappeared, and the vessels next morning were in open water. On the 21st, they got under way; and, though retarded by fogs and other obstructions, had arrived on the 26th at that central and narrowest channel which the commander had formerly reached. A brisk breeze now sprung up, the sky cleared, they dashed across a current of three or four knots an hour, and sanguinely hoped for an entire success, which would compensate so many delays and disappointments. Suddenly, from the crows nest above, it was announced that ice, in a continuous and impenetrable field, unmoved from its winter station, occupied the whole breadth of the channel. In an hour they reached this barrier, which they found soft, porous, and what is termed rotten. Spreading all their canvass, they bore down upon it, and actually forced their way through a space of three or four hundred yards; but they were stuck, and found their progress arrested by a fixed and impenetrable mass. From this point, during the whole season, the ships were unable to advance a single step. Nor had the crews any means of exerting their activity except in land journeys. Captain Lyon undertook an expedition southward, to ascertain if any inlet from sea to sea in this direction had escaped notice. The country, however, was so filled with rugged and rocky hills, some a thousand feet high, and with chains of lakes in which much ice was floating, that he could not proceed above seven miles. Though it was the beginning of September, the season was only that of early spring; and the buds of the poppy and saxifrage were just unfolding, to be prematurely nipped by the fast approaching winter.

More satisfactory information was derived from an excursion made by Messrs. Reid and Bushman, who penetrated sixty miles westward along the southern coast of Cockburn Island, till they reached a pinnacle, whence they saw, beyond all doubt, the Polar ocean spreading its boundless expanse before them; but tremendous barriers of ice filled the strait, and precluded all approach towards that great and desired object.

It was now the middle of September, and the usual symptoms of deer trooping in herds southward, floating pieces of ice consolidating into masses, and the thin pancake crust forming on the surface of the waters, reminded the mariners, not only that they could hope for no farther removal of the obstacles which arrested their progress, but that they must lose no time in providing winter quarters. The middle of the strait, at the spot where they had been first stopped, occurred as the station whence they would be most likely to push future discovery; but prudence suggested a doubt, whether the ships, enclosed in this icy prison with such strong barriers on each side, might ever be able to effect their extrication. It appeared, at all events, a serious consideration, that they might be shut up here for eleven months, surrounded by rocks and ice, amid the privations of an Arctic winter. By returning to Igloodik, they would be ready to catch the earliest opening, which was expected to take place on the eastern side, from whence a few days would bring them to their present station.



On the 30th of October, by the usual operation of sawing, the ships were established in a harbor at Igloolik. The ensuing season was passed with the most careful attention to the health and comfort of the crews; but though their spirits did not sink, there appears to have been, on the whole, less of gayety and lightness of heart than in the two former winterings. We hear nothing of the drama or even of the school. In this position, north of Winter Island, they were deprived, for about seven weeks, of the sun's cheering beams. On the 2d of December refraction still showed, from the deck of the *Fury*, about the sixteenth part of his disk. About the new year, *Arcturus* and *Capella*, stars of the first magnitude, were visible for half an hour before and after midday. On the 5th of January, (1833,) the horizon was so brightly suffused with red, that they hoped ere long to see the sun's orb burst forth; but a fortnight of thick fog occasioned a disappointment. On the 19th, the sky having cleared, they saw him rise, attended by two parhelia, and both crews turned out to enjoy the novelty and splendour of this cheering spectacle.

The sailors found at Igloolik a colony of Esquimaux, who received them at first with surprise and some degree of alarm; but on learning that they were from Winter Island and intimate with its tenants of last season, they hailed them at once as familiar acquaintances. These natives belonged to the same tribe, and were connected by alliance and close relationship with many individuals of the Winter Island party; of whom, therefore, they were delighted to receive tidings. The crews spent the winter with them on quite a friendly footing, and rendered important services to them during a period of severe sickness. This intercourse, however, was not on the whole nearly so satisfactory as in the former place and season. It began to be observed that their attachment to the *Kabloonas* was greatly prompted by interest and by the hope of extracting presents; that they begged for food and gifts almost without intermission, and yet showed no gratitude on receiving them; taking much less into consideration what they themselves got, than what others got more than they. The indifference shown towards such of their own tribe as were in a debilitated and suffering state was viewed also with much dissatisfaction. Kagua, a widow, cursed certainly with a most frightful temper, was found almost perishing through neglect. Captain Lyon took her into his own cabin, where, however, her filth and scolding made her a perfect nuisance; so that, after being recruited and clothed in two folds of deer skin, she was remanded to the huts. Ten days after she was found at the point of death, solely, it appeared, through want of food; and though removed immediately to the ship's hospital, she died next day. Our people were also much displeased at the stoical firmness with which the relations received notice of two of their deceased kindred, whom the dogs had dug up from under the snow, their only covering, and had devoured. It was indeed very difficult to find an earthy grave beneath the glebe, now frozen as hard as rock; but an Esquimaux acquaintance having lost his wife, the sailors piled over her such a heap of stones as might defy the attempts of all the animals, wild and tame, which prowl through this dreary region. The man gave thanks, but not cordially; he even expressed a dread lest the pressure of this huge pile would be painfully felt by his deceased spouse; and soon after, when an infant died, he declared her wholly incapable of bearing such a burden, and would allow nothing but snow to be laid over her.

The spring was peculiarly unfavorable. Captain Lyon attempted to penetrate across Melville Peninsula, but found the route so rugged and so barred by steep chains of mountains, that he was obliged to return in nineteen days without any discovery, except of two rapid rivers falling into the sea near Igloolik. Lieutenant Hoppner accompanied a party of Esquimaux to Cockburn Island, but could not penetrate to any distance inland. It was the 7th of August before they were able, by severe sawing, to reach the open sea; by which time Captain Parry had renounced the hope of effecting any thing important during the short remnant of this season. He formed, however, a very bold plan, which was to bring all the stores of the other vessel on board the *Fury*, and with it alone to brave a third winter in the Polar regions, hoping that the succeeding summer might be more propitious. But as he was preparing to carry this too daring

project into effect, a report was made that symptoms of scurvy had broken out on several of the crew, whose physical strength appeared to be generally impaired by the two hard winters through which they had passed. This left no choice; and, in compliance with the general opinion of his officers, Captain Parry began his voyage homeward. The ships were drifted about in a stormy sea, covered with ice, for twenty-four days; but, being at last favoured with a westerly breeze, they crossed the Atlantic, and on the 10th of October, 1823, arrived in Brassa Sound, Shetland. After two successive years thus passed in the depth of the frozen world, whence not the faintest rumour of the expedition had reached Britain, its members were viewed almost as men risen from the dead. The bells of Lerwick were rung, and other extraordinary demonstrations of joy made on their arrival. In a few days they entered the Thames.

Two attempts had thus been made, each to a certain point successful, but both arrested much short of the completion of the grand enterprise. The government at home, however, were not willing to stop short in their spirited career. The western extremity of Melville Island, and the strait of the Fury and Hecla, appeared to be both so blocked up as to afford little hope; but Prince Regent's Inlet, when explored during Captain Parry's voyage, had presented, indeed, an icy barrier, but such as had so often given away suddenly and almost instantaneously, that its existence early in the season could not be considered very alarming. A passage through this channel would bring the ships to the great sea bounding the northern coast of America, that had been seen from the strait of the Fury and Hecla, and along which Captain Franklin had partly sailed, and by which there was the fairest hope of reaching, by the most direct route, the waters of the great Pacific. To follow up these views, Captain Parry was again fitted out in the Hecla; while, in the accidental absence of Captain Lyon, the Fury was intrusted to Lieutenant, now Captain, Hoppner, who had taken an active part in the operations of the last voyage.

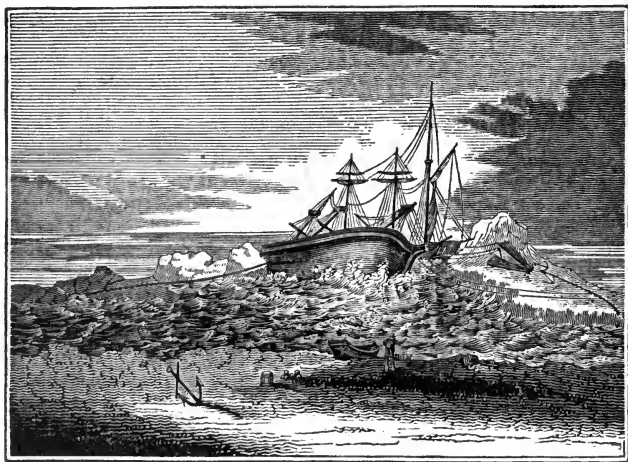
The expedition sailed from Northfleet on the 19th of May, 1824, and was in Davis's Strait by the middle of June. As the season, however, chanced to be peculiarly rigorous, it was not till the 10th of September, that, after repeated repulses and severe straining, they caught a view of the bold and magnificent shores of Lancaster Sound, in which a few solitary icebergs were floating. After this they thought themselves fortunate, when, by pushing their way through many miles of newly formed ice, they reached Port Bowen in time to make it their winter quarters.

The provision made during this winter for the physical well-being of the expedition was still more complete than in the former voyages. The heat of the cabins was kept up to between 50 and 60 degrees, and the seamen wore next the skin a clothing of fur, a substance which nature has endowed with a warmth far surpassing that of any human fabric. Yet the deep monotony produced by the perfectly uniform aspect of external nature, instead of becoming less sensible by habit, was only the more painfully felt. As the Arctic theatre had lost its attraction, Captain Hoppner started the idea of masquerades, which were, perhaps, still more out of keeping with the place and persons; but the sailors caught at it with pleasure, and on these occasions all of them acted their part with great spirit, and strict decorum. The salutary and steady influence of the schools was again revived, and the whole crew gave their presence, either as teachers, scholars, or spectators.

The spring was unusually favourable, and, with comparatively easy sawing of the ice, the navigators warped out to sea on the 19th of July, 1825. As it appeared most desirable to coast southward along the western shore of the inlet, they stood across the bay, but were soon arrested by a continuous barrier of ice, which, however, left an open space on the opposite side. A fruitless attempt was now made to penetrate southward, the channel there being found to be equally impeded with ice; hence it was judged advisable, with the view of seeking a less encumbered passage along the western shore, to stretch to the northward. An adverse gale, by which they were overtaken near the mouth of the inlet, now drove them eastward; but at last they regained their course, and soon came in view of the bold face of the Leopold Isles, the rocks of which rise in horizontal

strata of limestone to the height of 600 or 700 feet, resembling a huge and impregnable fortress.

Having touched at Cape Seppings, Captain Parry proceeded down the inlet, where he was no longer arrested by an unbroken barrier of ice. The sea, however, was still heavily encumbered by numerous small fragments, that were tossing about in every direction, and pressed upon the ships so hard, that the men wished for a contrary wind; which, coming from the south, would open and disperse the masses collected and driven against them by the north wind. In this anxious and precarious state they worked slowly on till the 1st of August, when they reached the latitude of  $72^{\circ} 42'$ , longitude  $91^{\circ} 56'$ . Here Captain Parry, from the *Hecla*, saw the *Fury* receive a most severe shock by a large floe, that forced her against the grounded ice of the shore; and tidings soon came that she was sharply *nipped*, and was admitting water copiously. The commander trusted that this would prove as harmless as the many shocks which this vessel had already endured; that the water made its entry by means of the twisted position into which she had been thrown; and that when she was relieved from pressure, her leaks would close. But the next accounts were that she could not be kept clear of water except by the action of four pumps, at which the whole crew, officers and men, were obliged to work. It became evident that the evils under which she laboured could only be remedied by the operation of *heaving down*, by which her position being reversed, the parts now under water would be exposed to view. This expedient required a harbour, and there



HEAVING DOWN THE FURY.

was none at hand; however, something was formed, which resembled one, by connecting with anchors and bower cables the grounded ice to the shore. Four days were spent in unlading the *Fury* of those ample stores with which she had been provided. The operation was interrupted by a violent storm of snow; while the external ice being driven in, demolished, in a great measure, the slender bulwarks by which the vessel was secured. Her holds were filled with water, and every examination proved the damage of her hull to be still more serious than was at first apprehended. No means or prospect appeared, either of securing her in her present position, or of floating her to any known place of safety. In these circumstances, Captain Parry, without expressing an opinion of his own, called for a report from Captain Hoppner and his principal officers, all of whom agreed "that an absolute necessity existed for abandoning the *Fu-*

ry." Signals, therefore, were immediately made to the officers and men to carry their clothes and effects on board the *Hecla*.

The stores, for want of room, were necessarily abandoned along with the ship; and barrels of beef, beer, biscuit, and other valuable articles of provision, were left exposed on those savage and desolate shores, where they were unlikely to afford aid or benefit to any human being. After such a disaster, and the end of August being arrived, there was just time enough left to bring the *Hecla* home with a fair prospect of safety,—an event which was in due time accomplished.

After a certain interval, a plan was devised to push towards the Pole in vehicles wafted over the frozen surface of the ocean. It was Mr. Scoresby by whom this scheme was first suggested. In a memoir read to the Wernerian Society, he endeavored to prove that such a journey was neither so visionary nor so very perilous as it might appear to those who were unacquainted with the Arctic regions. The Polar Sea in some meridians would, he doubted not, present one continued sheet of ice; the inequalities of which, if tolerably smooth, would oppose no insurmountable barrier. Intervals of open water would be more troublesome; yet the vehicle, being made capable of serving as a boat, might either sail across, or make a circuit round them. This conveyance, he remarked, ought to be a sledge formed of those light materials used by the Esquimaux in the construction of their boats, and drawn either by reindeer or dogs. The former animals are so fleet, that, in favourable circumstances, they might go and return in a fortnight, while the best dog-team would require five or six weeks; the latter, however, would be more tractable, and better fitted for skimming over thin or broken ice. Though the cold would be very severe, yet as no very alarming increase occurred between the seventieth and eightieth degrees of latitude, there was little ground to apprehend that in the other ten degrees, reaching to the Pole, it would become insupportable. For provisions were recommended portable soups, potted meats, and other substances, which, with little weight, contained much nourishment.

These suggestions did not, for a considerable time attract attention; but at length, Captain Parry, after his three brilliant voyages to the north-west, finding reason to suspect that his farther progress in that direction was hopeless, turned his enterprising views elsewhere, and conceived the ambition of penetrating over the frozen sea to the Pole. Combining Mr. Scoresby's ideas with his own observations, and with a series of reflections derived by Captain Franklin from his extensive experience, Captain Parry formed and submitted to the Lords of the Admiralty the plan of an expedition over the Polar ice. Their Lordships, having referred this proposal to the council and committee of the Royal Society, and received a favourable report as to the advantages which science might derive from such a journey, applied themselves with their usual alacrity to supply the Captain with every thing which could assist him in this bold undertaking. The *Hecla* was employed to carry him as far as a ship could go, and with her were sent two boats, to be dragged or navigated, according to circumstances, along the unknown and desolate expanse between Spitzbergen and the Pole. These boats, being built of successive thin planks of ash, fir, and oak, with sheets of water-proof canvass and stout felt, interposed, united the greatest possible degree of strength and elasticity. The interior was made capacious and flat-floored, somewhat as in troop-boats, and a runner attached to each side of the keel fitted them to be drawn along the ice like a sledge. Wheels were also taken on board, in case their use should be found practicable.

The adventurers started early. On the 27th of March, 1827, they were towed down the river by the *Comet* steamboat, and on the 4th of April weighed from the *Nore*. On the 19th they entered the fine harbour of Hammerfest in Norway, where they remained two or three weeks, and took on board eight reindeer, with a quantity of picked moss for their provender. Quitting Norway on the 11th of May, they soon found themselves among the ice, and met a number of whale ships. On the 13th, they were in view of Hakluyt's Headland, when the Captain endeavoured to push his way to the north-east in the track of Phipps. The vessel, however, was soon completely beset, and even enclosed in a large floe, which carried her slowly eastward along with it. As every day was now

an irretrievable loss, Captain Parry became impatient in the extreme, and formed a plan to push off northward, leaving the ship to find a harbour for herself, where he trusted on his return to trace her out. But the survey of the route in the proposed direction was most discouraging. In consequence of some violent agitation in the preceding season, the ice had been piled up in innumerable hummocks, causing the sea to resemble a stone-mason's yard, except that it contained masses six times larger. This state of the surface, which would have rendered it impossible to drag the boats more than a mile in the day, was found to prevail for a considerable space with little interruption. The current meantime continued to carry the ship, with the floe to which it was attached, slowly to the eastward, till it brought her into shoals in the vicinity of ice, where she grounded in six fathoms; after which Captain Parry felt it quite out of the question to leave her till she was lodged in a secure harbour. He worked on gradually, however, to the east and north, passing Walden Island, and obtaining a full view of the Seven Islands; but here the sea was covered with one unbroken land floe attached to all the shores, which destroyed every hope of finding a harbour among these islands. No choice was then left but to steer back for the coast of Spitzbergen, where he unexpectedly lighted on a very excellent harbour, named by him Hecla Cove, and which proved to be part of the bay to which an old Dutch chart had given the name of Treurenberg. It was now the 20th of June, and the best of the season had been spent in beating backwards and forwards on these ice-bound shores; he therefore resolved, without further delay, to prosecute the main object of his enterprise. Scarcely hoping to reach the Pole, he determined, at all events, to push as far north as possible. He took with him seventy-one days' provision, consisting of pemmican, (beef dried and pounded,) biscuit, cocoa, and rum. Spirits of wine, as the most portable and concentrated fuel, was alone used for that purpose. There were provided changes of warm clothing, thick fur dresses for sleeping in, and strong Esquimaux boots. The reindeer and also the wheels were given up at once as altogether useless in the present rugged state of the ice; but four sledges, constructed out of the Esquimaux snow-shoes, proved very convenient for dragging along the baggage.

On the 22d of June the expeditionary party quitted the ship, and betook themselves to the boats amid the cheers of their associates. Although all the shores were still frozen, they had an open sea, calm and smooth as a mirror, through which they sailed slowly but agreeably with their loaded vessels. After proceeding thus for about eighty miles, they reached, not as they had hoped, the main body of the ice, but a surface intermediate between ice and water. This could neither be walked nor sailed over, but was to be passed by the two methods alternately. However, on such a strange and perilous plan it behooved them to land, in order to commence their laborious and monotonous journey towards the Pole.

Captain Parry describes in an interesting manner the singular mode of travelling to which they were compelled to adhere. The first step was to convert night into day; to begin their journey in the evening, and end it in the morning. Thus, while they had quite enough of light, they avoided the snow-glare and the blindness which it usually produces; they had the ice drier and harder beneath them; and they enjoyed the greatest warmth, when it was most wanted, during the period of sleep: they were only a little annoyed by frequent and denser fogs. Thus their notions of night and day became inverted. They rose in what they called the morning, but which was really late in the evening, and having performed their devotions, breakfasted on warm cocoa and biscuit. They then drew on their boots usually either wet or hard frozen; and which, though perfectly dried, would have been equally soaked in fifteen minutes. The party then travelled five or six hours, and a little after midnight stopped to dine. They now performed an equal journey in what they called the afternoon; and in the evening, that is, at an advanced morning hour, halted as for the night. They then applied themselves to obtain rest and comfort, put on dry stockings and fur boots, cooked something warm for supper, smoked their pipes, told over their

exploits, and, forgetting the toils of the day, enjoyed an interval of ease and gayety. Then, wrapping themselves in their fur cloaks, they lay down in the boat, rather too close together perhaps, but with very tolerable comfort. The sound of a bugle roused them at night to their breakfast of cocoa, and to a repetition of the same round.

The progress for several days was most slow and laborious. The floes were small, exceedingly rough, and with interposed lanes of water, which could not be crossed without unloading the boats. It was commonly necessary to convey these and the stores by two stages, when the sailors, being obliged to return for the second portion, had to go three times over the same ground; sometimes they were obliged to make three stages, and thus to pass over it five times. There fell as much rain as they had experienced during the whole course of seven years in a lower latitude. A great deal of the ice over which they travelled was formed into numberless irregular needle-like crystals, standing upwards, and pointed at both ends. The horizontal surface of this part had sometimes the appearance of greenish velvet, while the vertical sections, when in a compact state, resembled the most beautiful satin-spar, and asbestos when going to pieces. These peculiar wedges, it was supposed, were produced by the drops of rain piercing through the superficial ice. The needles at first afforded tolerably firm footing; but becoming always more loose and movable as the summer advanced, they at last cut the boots and feet as if they had been pen-knives. Sometimes, too, there arose hummocks so elevated and rugged that the boats could only be borne over them, in a direction almost perpendicular, by those formidable operations called "a standing pull and a bowline haul." The result of all this was, that a severe exertion of five or six hours did not usually produce a progress of above a mile and a half or two miles, and that in a winding direction; so that, after having entered upon the ice on the 24th of June, in latitude  $81^{\circ} 13'$  they found themselves on the 29th only in  $81^{\circ} 23'$ , having thus made only about eight miles of direct *nothing*. Captain Parry soon relinquished all hope of reaching the Pole; however, it was resolved to push onward as far as possible. The party came at length to somewhat smoother ice and larger floes, and made rather better progress. While the boats were landing on one of these, the commander and Lieutenant Ross usually pushed on to the other end to ascertain the best course. On reaching the extremity, they commonly mounted the largest hummock, whence they beheld a scene of which nothing could exceed the dreariness. The eye rested only upon ice, and a sky hid in dense and dismal fogs. Amid this scene of inanimate desolation, the view of a passing bird, or of ice in any peculiar shape, excited an intense interest, which they smiled to recollect; but they were principally cheered by viewing the two boats in the distance, the moving figures of the men winding with their sledges among the hummocks, and by hearing the sound of human voices, which broke the silence of this frozen wilderness. The rain, and the increasing warmth of the season, indeed gradually softened the ice and snow, but this only caused the travellers to sink deep at every step. At one place they sunk repeatedly three feet, and required three hours to make a hundred yards. As they halted on the 5th of July, the margin of the floe broke, and a bag of cocoa fell into the sea, but luckily alighted on a tongue of ice and was taken up.\* At the same time pools and even lakes were formed on the frozen surface; and though the peculiar blue of these supereglacial lakes formed one of the most beautiful tints in nature, this was a poor compensation for being obliged to make a great *detour* in order to avoid them. Still, amid all these difficulties, the floes became on the whole larger, the lanes of water longer, and the day's journey was gradually extended. Having attained  $82^{\circ} 40'$ , they began to hold it as a fixed point that their efforts would be crowned with success so far as to reach the

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\* It may be mentioned, that the contents of the package here alluded to, were found to be quite uninjured after this rude immersion, a protection ascribed to "Mackintosh's water-proof canvass,"—a manufacture which, as a security for sea-stores, is mentioned by Captain Parry in terms of the highest commendation.

eighty-third parallel. This hope seemed converted into certainty, when, on the 22d they had travelled seventeen miles, the greater proportion of which was directly north. But there now occurred an unfavourable change, which baffled all their toils and hopes. Down to the 19th the wind had blown steadily from the south, and, without aiding them much, had at least checked the usual movement of the ice in that direction. On this last day, however, a steady breeze sprung up from the north, which opened, indeed, a few lanes of water; but this it was feared could not compensate for the degree in which it could not fail to cause the loosened masses of ice, with the travellers upon them, to drift to the southward. This effect was soon found to take place to an extent still more alarming than had been at first anticipated. Instead of ten or twelve miles, which they reckoned themselves to have travelled northward on the 22d, they were found not to have made quite four. This most discouraging fact was at first concealed from the sailors, who only remarked, that they were very long of getting to this 83d degree.

The expedition was now fast approaching the utmost limits of animal life. During their long journey of the 22d they saw only two seals, a fish, and a bird. On the 24th only one solitary *rotge* was heard; and it might be presumed that, from thence to the Pole, all would be a mighty scene of silence and solitude. The adventurers pushed on without hesitation beyond the realms of life; but now, after three days of bad travelling, when their reckoning gave them ten or eleven miles of progress, observation showed them to be four miles south of the position which they occupied on the evening of the 22d. The drifting of the snow-fields had in that time carried them fourteen miles backward. This was too much. To reach even the 83d degree, though only twenty miles distant, was now beyond the limits of hope. To ask the men to undergo such unparalleled toil and hardship, with the danger of their means being exhausted, while an invisible power undid what their most strenuous daily labours achieved, was contrary to the views of their considerate commander. In short, he determined that they should take a day of rest, and then set out on their return. This resolution was communicated to the crew, who, though deeply disappointed at having achieved so little, acquiesced in the necessity, and consoled themselves with the idea of having gone farther north than any previous expedition of which there was a well-authenticated record.

The return was equally laborious as the going out, and in some respects more unpleasant, from the increasing softness of the ice and snow; depriving them of confidence in any spot on which they could place their boats or persons, and often sinking two or three feet in an instant. However, the drift southward made no longer any deduction from their progress, but added to it, every observation giving them several miles beyond their reckoning. There was more open water, and it was a relief to them that the sun in their nightly journeying was lower in the horizon; while, being to the northward, he did not, as formerly, glare in their faces. They met several bears, and killed one, which was eagerly devoured by the hungry crew; but the meal was followed by such severe symptoms of indigestion as inspired an unfavourable opinion regarding the flesh of this animal. Captain Parry attributed the bad effects to the enormous quantity eaten. At length, on the 11th of August, they heard the sound of the surge beating against the exterior margin of the great ice-field. They were soon launched on the open sea, and reached Table Island, where a supply of bread had been deposited; but Bruen had discovered it, and devoured the whole. They found, however, some accommodations; while the stores left at Walden's Island were still quite undisturbed. On the 21st the navigators arrived in Hecla Cove, from whence soon afterward, they sailed for England.

Such was the result of the first and only attempt to penetrate to the Pole over the frozen surface of the deep. All the prowess, energy, and hardihood of British seamen were exerted to the utmost, without making even an approach towards the fulfilment of their object. A failure so complete has suspended for the present every idea of resuming the project; yet there seems nothing in the details just given to deter from the enterprise as impossible, or even to render it

very unfeasible. The unfavourable issue seems evidently owing to the advanced season of the year, when the thaw and consequent dissolution of the ice had made great progress, and all the materials of the great northern floor were broken up. The water, in its progressive conversion from solid into fluid, presented only a treacherous quicksand, in which the travellers sunk at every step, with the peril of being finally swallowed up. The ice in these intermediate stages of its transition into water, and in the breaches and pressures to which this gave rise, assumed a variety of much more rugged forms, than when it was spread and fast bound over the surface of the ocean. Its tendency also when loosened to float to the southward, carrying with it whatever is moving along its surface, inevitably defeats every attempt to proceed over it in a contrary direction. We entirely concur, therefore, in Mr. Scoresby's opinion, that a departure much earlier in the season would be quite indispensable to give any chance of success.





SIR JOHN ROSS.

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THE first voyage of this distinguished navigator, in the northern seas, has already been described in connection with those of Captain Parry. On the 23d of May, 1829, he again sailed from Wolwich in the *Victory*, fitted as a steamer, on a second expedition to the North Pole. By the power of steam, which has produced such wonders in modern navigation, he hoped to vanquish the obstacles which had arrested the progress of all former navigators. Another vessel, named the *John*, was taken up to carry stores and provisions, and to fish by the way. The two vessels were to meet at Lock Ryan. When the *Victory* was off the Mall of Galloway, the principal stoker got his arm entangled in the machinery, and the bone was so splintered, as well as fractured, that amputation was necessary; but the surgeon had not joined, and Ross was under the necessity of doing the best he could for the unfortunate sufferer. On the meeting of the two ships, the crew of the *John* mutinied, and refused to accompany the *Victory*. Three men, however, of the mutineers, entered for the latter, and having procured an Irish labourer as a fire-stoker, she proceeded alone on her voyage.

On the 23d of July, the party reached Holsteinburg, in Davis' Strait, where they purchased some stores from a wrecked vessel, and the governor made them a present of six Esquimaux dogs, which proved to be of essential use in dragging the sledges. All things being ready, they stood to the northward, along the coast

of Baffin's Bay; and having reached the latitude of  $74^{\circ} 14'$  on the 3d of August, ran across, and on the 5th reached the entrance of Lancaster Sound. On the 11th of August, they steered direct for the south side of Prince Regent's Inlet; and having passed Elwin and Batty Bays, saw the spot where the *Fury* was wrecked, and the poles of the tents standing, but could not discern the ship; she had gone to pieces, or to the bottom. The *Victory* was moored in a good ice harbour, within a quarter of a mile of the spot where the *Fury*'s stores were landed. Here the coast was almost lined with coal. One tent was nearly entire, but had evidently been visited by bears. Where the preserved meats and vegetables had been deposited every thing was found entire. The canisters had been piled up in two heaps, but though exposed to all the chances of the climate for four years, they had not suffered in the slightest degree. There had been no water to rust them, and the security of the joinings had prevented the bears from smelling their contents. The canisters were large and numerous, and they took as many as they could, together with whatever they wanted of wine, spirits, bread, flour, cocoa, sugar, lime-juice, &c., all being in excellent condition. They uncasked, moreover, ten tons of charcoal. The gun-powder, in patent cases, was perfectly dry; and of this, what they did not take, they destroyed,—by Sir E. Parry's request, as it appears, to prevent its falling into the hands of the Esquimaux.

Standing along the coast to the southward, they passed Cape Gerry; and from hence their progress was slow, and much impeded by snow, icebergs, and contrary winds. At the end of September, the *Victory* being beset with ice, and no hope of extrication presenting itself for eight successive days, there remained no doubt of her having reached her winter's home.

The first step therefore to be taken, was to lighten the ship, to throw overboard the steam-engine, and to make such arrangements and regulations for the long winter, as seemed necessary for their convenience and comfort; and which differed but little from those devised by Captain Parry. No time was lost in roofing the ship over, and surrounding her with an embankment of snow as high up as the gunwale, where it met the canvass roofing, and sheltered the people from all wind; the upper deck was also covered with snow two feet and a half thick, and trodden down until it became a solid mass of ice, and then sprinkled over with sand, so as to present the appearance of a rolled gravel walk. Though the temperature out of doors was frequently from 30 to 37 degrees below zero, the system of comfort and economy within was as perfect as could be desired; but even without, however low the temperature, provided there was no wind, the men could take exercise and make hunting excursions without much inconvenience. The men attended schools; and on Sundays, divine service was invariably performed. 'In some way or other,' says Captain Ross, 'the last three months passed away without weariness, and had, indeed, been almost unfelt.'

On the 9th of January, 1830, an unexpected source of amusement occurred in the visit of a tribe of Esquimaux, to the number of about thirty. The village of the tribe in question consisted of twelve snow huts, which had the appearance of so many inverted basins; and a passage leads to each through a long crooked mound. They are generally about ten feet in diameter, and immediately opposite the door-way is a bank of snow, two feet and a half high, level at top, and covered with various skins, which serves as the general sleeping place of the whole family. A lamp of moss and oil supplies both light and heat, so as to make the apartment perfectly comfortable. But light is admitted also by a large oval piece of ice fixed in the roof. In the crooked passage is a recess for the dogs; the passage appears to be made crooked to enable them to turn the opening to leeward when the wind blows. Being formed entirely of blocks of snow, the completion of the fabric is the work of a few hours.

Our voyagers soon discovered that these Esquimaux were able to give them some important geographical information; that they were acquainted with Winter Island and Repulse Bay, and had left Acoolee, a station opposite to the latter, only thirteen days before. One man drew with his pencil several large lakes close to that part of the country where they then were, and marked the spots

where their countrymen were to be found. There was also a female geographer in the party, who pointed out to them where they must sleep in their future progress, and where food was to be obtained. These people are provident, and in the summer season they kill immense quantities of game and fish, which they bury in the snow, for their winter provision, when land animals are less plentiful, and the weather so severe as to prevent them from making their hunting excursions. About the month of April, great herds of musk-oxen and rein-deer make their appearance from the southward: and bears, wolves, gluttons, foxes, hares, and ermines, are abundant. Among the birds, swans, grouse, ptarmigans, partridges, snipes, and sea-gulls are met with in considerable numbers. The seal is one of their most useful animals, both for food and clothing.

But the quantities of salmon that frequent the lakes on the neighbouring isthmus, which communicate by small rivers with the sea, are quite astonishing. Captain Ross states that a party once brought from the fishery five hundred fish, and returned for two hundred more, which was all they could carry. This was in the month of July.

They had now passed their first winter, not merely without suffering great inconvenience, but in comparative comfort; and as spring advanced they looked forward to the time when the truth of the Esquimaux geography should be put to the test by a journey on land. On the 1st of April, Captain Ross set out on this expedition; and he returned on the 10th. A second and third journey towards the end of April, put him in full possession of the geography of this isthmus, which connects the peninsula, named by Ross, Boothia, and the land which, for the present, we are to consider as part of the continent of America; it also separates Prince Regent's Inlet from the western sea; and, by a fourth journey, was ascertained to be about fifteen miles in width, consisting of a lake ten miles long in the centre, and five miles of land. This spot, until its geography was decided, had raised expectations that a passage might be found hereabouts into the sea to the westward.

But when the hope of a navigable passage into the western sea appeared to be at an end, and that, according to the Esquimaux geography, the southern, like the western shore of Prince Regent's Inlet was closed round with land, the next important point to be ascertained, was, whether the land to the southward of the isthmus was connected with, or a part of, the mainland of North America,—and this could only be done by tracing the western shore as far as their provisions would allow them to proceed. Coming to a projecting headland, which the commander named Cape Felix, the land was seen to tend to the south-west. A fatiguing journey of twenty miles over ice and snow, brought them to another projecting headland, which they named Victory Point. Finding their stores of provisions more than half consumed, notwithstanding a reduction of their allowance, they found themselves obliged to return to the ship by the shortest route. On Victory Point our travellers erected a cairn of stones, six feet high, in which was inclosed a canister containing a brief account of the proceedings of the expedition since its departure from England,—but without the remotest hope that this little history would ever meet the eye of any European.

Towards the end of June, while the ship was preparing for sea, in prosecution of further discovery, Sir John Ross went, with a party of his people and some natives, to a river about fifteen miles from the ship, on a fishing excursion, in which he appears to have been more successful in purchasing than in catching salmon. For a large knife, an Esquimaux gave him out of one of their frozen pits, two hundred and twenty fish, averaging five pounds each. The natives take them by a spear with two divergent barbs of bone or ivory. But they now learned for the first time the use of the net, and were fully aware of its value, when they afterwards saw so many thousands taken at a single draught. The seamen having taught them the art of making them, there is no doubt their skins, when split into stripes or threads will effectually serve the purpose, and that these poor people will thus be able to procure an inexhaustible supply of this species of food.

It was not until the 19th of August that any attempt was made to get the ship out of the ice, and even then it was found impossible to move her. 'The third

week in August,' says Captain Ross, 'found us where we had been since May in prospect, since September in place; the ice was still close. The temperature, however, was particularly favourable.' From the 1st to the 17th of September, the time was chiefly spent in futile attempts to get the ship released, but on the afternoon of the latter day they succeeded in warping her out into clear water, and getting her once more under sail. Their hopes of making progress at so late a season of the year, were soon at an end; the sea became covered with ice of the worst kind, and new ice was forming; the weather was most tempestuous. They were not yet, moreover, in a secure harbour. The whole of October was employed in the severe labour of cutting away the ice; thus they one day gained an advance of sixteen feet, on another fifty, another forty; and after a month's incessant toil, the amount of their progress was no more than eight hundred and fifty feet. Here they were doomed to pass another winter, and as much of the following summer as would expire before favourable circumstances might contribute to their liberation; here they once more commenced housing the ship, building the embankments, and levelling the hummocks of ice near them; and here they resumed their former devices for passing the long dreary winter, which appeared to have set in already with great severity.

In April, 1831, Captain Ross set out on an expedition towards the isthmus, with the view of ascertaining, as nearly as the nature of the operation and accuracy of his dipping needle would admit, the exact position of the north magnetic Pole. 'The place of the observatory,' he says, 'was as near to the magnetic Pole as the limited means which I possessed enabled me to determine. The amount of the dip, as indicated by my dipping needle, was  $89^{\circ} 59'$ , being thus within one minute of the vertical; while the proximity at least of this Pole, if not its actual existence where we stood, was further confirmed by the action, or rather by the total inaction of the several horizontal needles then in my possession. These were suspended in the most delicate manner possible, but there was not one which showed the slightest effort to move from the position in which it was placed: a fact, which even the most moderately informed of readers must now know to be one which proves that the centre of attraction lies at a very small horizontal distance, if at any. The latitude of this place is  $70^{\circ} 5' 17''$ , and its longitude  $96^{\circ} 46' 45''$  W.'

The party having proceeded to the northward as far as Cape Nicholas, the coast was seen stretching out due north, to the distance of ten or twelve miles farther; and the commander concluded it preserved, in all probability, the same direction as far as Cape Walker, in latitude  $74^{\circ} 15'$ . At this cape there is a great inlet, leading, no doubt, to the western sea, which washes the western shore of the Boothian Peninsula, and which, in all probability, extends down to the western coast of America.

It may well be supposed how slowly the time moved on while shut up, for the second year, during so many months. About the middle of August, 1831, the Captain says: We were weary for want of occupation, for want of variety, for want of the means of external exertion, for want of thought, and for want of society. To-day was as yesterday—and as was to-day, so would be to-morrow; while if there was no variety, as no hope of better, is it wonderful that even the visits of barbarians were welcome; or can any thing more strongly show the nature of our pleasures than the confession that these were delightful—even as the society of London might be amid the business of London? When the winter has once in reality set in, our minds become made up on the subject; like the dormouse we wrap ourselves up in a sort of furry contentment, since better cannot be, and wait for the times to come: it is a far other thing, to be ever awake, waiting to rise and become active, yet ever to find that all nature is still asleep, and that we had nothing more to do than to wish, and groan, and hope as best we might. When snow was our decks, snow our awnings, snow our observatories, snow our larders, snow our salt; and when all the other uses of snow should be at last of no more avail, our collins and our graves were to be graves and coffins of snow. Is not this more than enough of snow, than suffices for admiration? Is it not worse, that during ten of the months in a year, the ground is snow, and ice, and "*slush*;" that during the whole year, its tormenting,

chilling, odious presence is ever before the eye? Who more than I, has admired the glaziers of the extreme north; who more has loved to contemplate the icebergs sailing from the Pole before the tide and the gale, floating along the ocean, through calm and through storm, like castles, and towers, and mountains, gorgeous in colouring, and magnificent, if often capricious in form? and I have sought too amid the crashing, and the splitting, and the thundering roarings of a sea of moving mountains, for the sublime, and felt that nature could do no more. In all this there has been beauty, horror, danger, every thing that could excite; they would have excited a poet even to the verge of madness. But to see, to have seen, ice and snow, to have felt ice and snow forever, and nothing forever but snow and ice, during all the months of the year—to have seen and felt but uninterrupted and unceasing ice and snow, during all the months of four years—this it is that has made the sight of these most chilling and wearisome objects an evil which is still one in recollection, as if the remembrance would never cease.'

The ship was loose on the 28th of August, and crept to the northward on her intended return, about four miles in three days. Up to the end of September, their chance of liberation became less every day—the prospect was a dismal one, as it suggested the idea that the ship would never be extricated, and that they would be compelled to abandon her with all that was on board. 'When we first moved from our late harbour,' says Captain Ross, 'every man looked forward to his three years' wages, his return to England, and his meeting with friends and family; the depression of their spirits was now proportionate.'

Fast beset in Victoria Harbour, in October, they began to dismantle the ship, land the provisions, and place their two boats so as to be able to construct sledges under them. The winter passed over as usual, except that one case of scurvy occurred. In February, however, the medical report was less favourable than it had hitherto been; all were much enfeebled: an old wound which Captain Ross had in his side, broke out with bleeding—one of the indications of scurvy. The cold was intense, and Captain Ross says, 'I do not believe there is another record of such a continuous low temperature; and it was a state of things most certainly to confirm us in our resolution of leaving the ship to her helpless fate, and attempting to save ourselves in the best manner that we could.' Accordingly, towards the end of April, they commenced carrying forwards a certain quantity of provisions, and the boats with their sledges, for the purpose of advancing more easily afterwards. The labour of proceeding over ice and snow was most severe, and the wind and snow-drift rendered it almost intolerable.

On the 21st of May, all the provisions had been carried forward to the several deposits, except as much as would serve for about a month. In the process of forming these depôts, it was found that they had travelled two hundred and thirty-nine miles to gain about thirty in a direct line. Preparation was now made for their final departure, which took place on the 29th of May. Every thing on shore was secured, which could be of use in case they were to return, or which if they did not, would prove of use to the natives. The colours were therefore hoisted and nailed to the mast, and a parting glass was drank to the poor ship. On the 1st of July, after a full month's most fatiguing journey, they encamped on Fury Beach. The first thing to be done, was to construct a house, which was to be thirty-one by sixteen feet, and seven feet high; to be covered with canvass. The next was to set the carpenters to work in repairing the three boats of the Fury.

On the 1st of August the ice unexpectedly broke up, leaving some navigable clear water, on which they prepared to embark, in the hope of reaching Baffin's Bay before the departure of the whaling vessels. The boats were stored with two months' provisions, bedding, and other necessary articles; and each carried seven men with an officer. The sudden setting in of ice, however, obliged them to haul the boats on shore; and from this time they crept among rocks, and ice, and icebergs along shore, on to the last day of August, when they reached the north-eastern extremity of America; and here they were stopped by finding the sea, at the junction of Regent's Inlet with Barrows' Strait, covered with one solid mass of ice. They remained here three days, when every one agreeing

that all hope of escape was at an end, and that nothing remained for them but to return to Fury Beach, they prepared for this retrograde movement.

On the 25th of September they determined to commence their return. Their situation had now become truly serious; it was even doubtful whether the state of the ice would allow them to work their boats back to Fury Beach,—they had but ten days' provisions left, at half allowance, nor fuel enough remaining to melt the snow for their required consumption of water. They were now also experiencing the greatest sufferings they had yet endured from the cold. They were soon convinced that going back in the boats was out of the question; they therefore hauled them up on the beach above high-water mark, and the carpenter set about making sledges out of the empty bread casks.

On the 7th of October, after a most toilsome and harrassing journey, they reached their house—'our labours at an end, and ourselves once more at home.' Here, of the provisions left behind them, flour, sugar, soups, peas, vegetables, pickles, and lemon-juice were in abundance; but of preserved meats there remained not more than would suffice for their voyage in the boats during the next season. The winter at Fury Beach passed away in the same monotonous manner as the preceding had done. The chief event which cast a damp on all, was the death of the carpenter, on the last day of February, 1833. The want of exercise, of sufficient employment, short allowance of food, lowness of spirits, produced by the unbroken sight of the dull, uniform, melancholy waste of snow and ice had the effect of reducing the whole party to a more indifferent state of health than had hitherto been experienced. Two of the seamen were far gone with the scurvy, and all were weary of their miserable home.

At length the long looked for period arrived, when it was deemed necessary to abandon the house, in search of better fortune; and on the 7th of July, being Sunday, the last divine service was performed in their winter habitation. The following day they bade it adieu forever! and having been detained a short time at Batty Bay, and finding the ice to separate, and a lane of water open out, they succeeded in crossing over to the eastern side of Prince Regent's Inlet. Standing along the southern shore of Barrows' Strait, on the 26th of August they discovered a sail,—and, after some tantalizing delays, they succeeded in making themselves visible to the crew of one of her boats. The account of the meeting between the crew and our travellers, we give in the language of Captain Ross. "The vessel was soon along side, when the mate addressed us, by presuming that we had met with some misfortune and lost our ship. This being answered in the affirmative, I requested to know the name of his vessel, and expressed our wish to be taken on board. I was answered that it was "the Isabella, of Hull, once commanded by Captain Ross;" on which I stated that I was the identical man in question, and ray people the crew of the Victory. That the mate, who commanded this boat, was as much astonished at this information as he appeared to be, I do not doubt; while with the usual blunderheadedness of men on such occasions, he assured me that I had been dead two years. I easily convinced him, however, that what ought to have been true according to his estimate, was a somewhat premature conclusion; as the bear-like form of the whole of us might have shown him, had he taken time to consider, that we were certainly not whaling gentlemen, and that we carried tolerable evidence of our being "true men and no impostors," on our backs, and in our starven and unshaven countenances. A hearty congratulation followed of course, in the true seaman style, and, after a few natural inquiries, he added that the Isabella was commanded by Captain Humphreys; when he immediately went off in his boat, to communicate this information on board—repeating that we had long been given up as lost, not by them alone, but by all England.

As we approached slowly after him to the ship, he jumped up the side, and in a minute the rigging was manned; while we were saluted with three cheers as we came within cable's length, and were not long in getting on board of my old vessel, where we were all received by Captain Humphreys with a hearty seaman's welcome.

Though we had not been supported by our names and our characters, we should not the less have claimed from charity, the attentions that we received,

for never was seen a more miserable set of wretches; while, that we were a repulsive looking people, none of us could doubt. If, to be poor, wretchedly poor, as far as all our present property was concerned, was to have a claim on charity, no one could well deserve it more; but if to look so, be to frighten away the so-called charitable, no beggar that wanders in Ireland could have outdone us in exciting the repugnance of those who have not known what poverty can be. Unshaven since I know not when, dirty, dressed in the rags of wild beasts instead of the tatters of civilization, and starved to the very bones, our gaunt and grim looks, when contrasted with the well-dressed and well-fed men around us, made us all feel, I believe for the first time, what we really were, as well as what we seemed to others. Poverty is without half its mark unless it be contrasted with wealth; and what we might have known to be true in the past days, we had forgotten to think of, till we were thus reminded what we truly were, as well as seemed to be.

But the ludicrous soon took place of all other feelings; in such a crowd and such confusion, all serious thought was impossible, while the new buoyancy of our spirits made us abundantly willing to be amused by the scene which now opened. Every man was hungry and was to be fed, all were ragged and were to be clothed, there was no one to whom washing was not indispensable, nor one whom his beard did not deprive of all English semblance. All, every thing too, was to be done at once; it was washing, dressing, shaving, eating, all intermingled; while, in the midst of all, there were interminable questions to be asked and answered on all sides; the adventures of the *Victory*, our own escapes, the politics of England, and the news which was now four years old. But all subsided into peace at last. The sick were accommodated, the seamen disposed of, and all was done, for all of us, which care and kindness could perform. Night at length brought quiet and serious thought, and I trust there was not one man among us who did not there express, where it was due, his gratitude for that interposition which had raised us all from despair, and had brought us from the very borders of a not distant grave, to life, and friends, and civilization.

Long accustomed, however, to a cold bed on the hard snow or the bare rock, few could sleep amid the comfort of our new accommodations. I was myself compelled to leave the bed which had been kindly assigned me, and take my abode in a chair for the night; nor did it fare much better with the rest. It was for time to reconcile us to this sudden and violent change, to break through what had become habit, and to inure us once more to the usages of our former days." After a favourable passage the travellers landed at Hull on the 18th of October, 1833.

## SIR JOHN FRANKLIN.

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The discoveries of Hearne and Mackenzie established the great fact that there is a northern coast in America, washed by the Arctic Ocean, which forms, in all probability, its continuous boundary; and they demonstrated the practicability of reaching this limit by passing over the vast plains which stretch northward from Canada and Hudson's Bay. The voyages of Captain Parry, also, which have been already detailed, fully corroborated this opinion; and it appeared evident that another expedition, properly conducted, might reach this shore, and more fully examine its whole extent. Such an expedition, accordingly, sailed from England on the 23d of May, 1820, its command being intrusted to Lieutenant, now SIR JOHN FRANKLIN, assisted by Dr. Richardson, an able mineralogist and natural historian.

During the first portion of their journey, they followed the chain of the great lakes, instead of the more eastern track pursued by Hearne, and having descended the Coppermine River, arrived, on the 21st of July, at the shore of the Arctic Ocean, where they commenced their career of discovery. Important as were the particulars of this survey, when considered in relation to the furtherance of geographical science, a minute detail is here unnecessary, and we shall attempt only a general sketch.

Paddling along the coast to the eastward, on the inside of a crowded range of islands, they encamped on shore after a run of thirty-seven miles, in which they experienced little interruption, and saw only a small iceberg in the distance, though that beautiful luminous effulgence emitted from the congregated ices, and distinguished by the name of ice-blink, was distinctly visible to the northward. The coast was found of moderate height, easy of access, and covered with vegetation; but the islands were rocky and barren, presenting high cliffs of a columnar structure. In continuing their voyage, the dangers which beset a navigator in these dreadful polar solitudes thickened gloomily around them: the coast became broken and steril, and at length rose into a high and rugged promontory, against which some large masses of ice had drifted, threatening destruction to their slender canoes. In attempting to round this cape the wind rose, an awful gloom involved the sky, and the thunder burst over their heads, compelling them to encamp till the storm subsided. They then, at the imminent risk of having the canoes crushed by the floating ice, doubled the dreary promontory, which they denominated Cape Barrow, and entered Detention Harbour, where they landed. Around them the land consisted of mountains of granite, rising abruptly from the water's edge, destitute of vegetation, and attaining an elevation of 1400 or 1500 feet; seals and small deer were the only animals seen, and the former were so shy that all attempts to approach within shot were unsuccessful. With the deer the hunters were more fortunate; but these were not numerous; and while the ice closed gradually around them, and their little stock of provisions, consisting of pemmican and cured beef, every day diminished, it was impossible not to regard their situation with uneasiness.



Rounding Cape Kater, they entered Arctic Sound, and sent a party to explore a river upon the banks of which they expected to find an Esquimaux encampment. All, however, was silent, desolate, and deserted: even these hardy natives, bred amid the polar ices, had removed from so barren a spot, and the hunters returned with two small deer and a brown bear; the latter animal so lean and sickly looking that the men declined eating it; but the officers boiled its paws, and found them excellent.

Proceeding along the eastern shore of Arctic Sound, to which they gave the name of Bankes's Peninsula, the expedition made its painful way along a coast indented by bays, and in many places studded with islands, till on the 10th of August they reached the open sea; and sailing, as they imagined, between the continent and a large island, found to their deep disappointment that, instead of an open channel, they were in the centre of a vast bay. The state of the expedition now called for the most serious consideration on the part of the commander. So much time had already been spent in exploring the sounds and inlets, that all hope of reaching Repulse Bay was vain; both canoes had sustained material injury; the fuel was expended; their provisions were sufficient only for three days; the appearances of the setting in of the arctic winter were too unequivocal to be mistaken; the deer, which had hitherto supplied them with fresh meat, would, it was well known, soon disappear; the geese and other aquatic birds were already winging their way to the southward; while the men, who had up to this moment displayed the utmost courage, began to look disheartened, and to entertain serious apprehensions for their safety. Under these circumstances, Franklin, with the concurrence of his officers, determined not to endanger the lives of his people by a farther advance; and, after spending four days in a minute survey of the bay, it was resolved to return by Hood's River to Fort Enterprise. Franklin's researches, as far as prosecuted at this time, favoured the opinion of those who contended for the practicability of a north-west passage. It appeared probable that the coast ran east and west in the latitude assigned to Mackenzie's River, and little doubt could, in his opinion, be entertained regarding the existence of a continued sea in that direction. The portion over which they passed was navigable for vessels of any size; and the ice they met with, after quitting Detention Harbour, would not have arrested a strong boat, while the chain of islands afforded shelter from all heavy seas, and there were good harbours at convenient distances. Having with much severe privation completed their course from Point Turnagain in Melville Bay to the entrance of Hood's River, they ascended as high as the first rapid and encamped, terminating here their voyage on the Arctic Sea, during which they had gone over 650 geographical miles.

On the prospect of commencing their land journey the Canadians could not conceal their satisfaction; and the evening previous to their departure was passed in talking over their past adventures, and congratulating each other in having at length turned their backs upon the sea,—little anticipating that the most painful and hazardous portion of the expedition was yet to come. Before setting off, an assortment of iron materials, beads, looking glasses, and other articles, were put up in a conspicuous situation for the Esquimaux, and the English union was planted on the loftiest sand hill, where it might be seen by any ships passing in the offing. Here also was deposited in a tin box a letter containing an outline of the proceedings of the expedition, the latitude and longitude of the principal places, and the course intended to be pursued towards Slave Lake. They now proceeded up the river in their canoes, and though upon a short allowance of provisions, the produce of their nets and fowling-pieces furnished for a few days enough to ward off absolute want, but they were often on the very brink of it. Their progress was much interrupted by shoals and rapids, and one evening they encamped at the lower end of a narrow chasm, the walls of which were upwards of 200 feet high, and in some places only a few yards apart. Into this the river precipitates itself, forming two magnificent cascades, to which they gave the name of Wilberforce Falls. On taking a survey of its farther course, from a neighboring hill, it was discovered to be so rapid and shallow that all progress in the large canoes seemed impossible. Two smaller

boats were therefore constructed; and on the 1st of September, they set off with the intention of proceeding in as direct a line as possible to the part of Point Lake opposite their spring encampment,—a distance which appeared comparatively trifling, being only 149 miles. Their luggage consisted of ammunition, nets, hatchets, ice chisels, astronomical instruments, clothing blankets, three kettles, and the two canoes, each so light as to be carried easily by a single man. But disaster attacked them in their very first stage. A storm of snow came on, accompanied by a high wind, against which it was very difficult to carry the canoes, that were damaged by the falls of those who bore them. The ground was covered with small stones, and much pain was endured by the carriers, whose soft moose skin shoes were soon cut through. The cold was intense; and on encamping they looked in vain for wood; a fire of moss was all they could procure, which served them to cook their supper, but gave so little heat that they were glad to creep under their blankets.

Having ascended next morning one of the highest hills, they ascertained that the river took a westerly course, and Franklin, thinking that to follow it farther would lead to a more tedious journey than their exhausted strength could endure, determined to quit its banks and make directly for Point Lake. Emerging, therefore, from the valley, they crossed a barren country, varied only by marshy levels and small lakes. The weather was fine, but unfortunately no berry-bearing plants were found, the surface being covered in the more humid spots with a few grasses, and in other places with some gray melancholy lichens. On encamping, the last piece of pemmican, or pounded flesh, was distributed, with a little arrow root, for supper. The evening was warm; but dark clouds overspread the sky, and they experienced those sudden alternations of climate which occur in the polar latitudes at this season. At midnight it rained in torrents; but towards morning a snow storm arose, accompanied by a violent gale. During the whole day the storm continued, and not having the comfort of a fire the men remained in bed, but the tents were frozen; around them the snow had drifted to the depth of three feet, and even within lay several inches thick on their blankets. Though the storm had not abated, any longer delay was impossible, for they knew every hour would increase the intensity of an arctic winter; and though faint from fasting, and with their clothes stiffened by frost, it was absolutely necessary to push forward. They suffered much in packing the frozen tents and bedclothes, and could hardly keep their hands out of their fur mittens. On attempting to move, Franklin was seized with a fainting fit, occasioned by hunger and exhaustion, and on recovering refused to eat a morsel of portable soup, which was immediately prepared for him, as it had been drawn from the only remaining meal of the party. The people, however, kindly crowded round him, and overcame his reluctance. The effect of eating was his rapid recovery; and the expedition moved on.

Disaster now crowded on disaster. The wind rose so high, that those who carried the canoes were frequently blown down, and one of the boats was so much shattered as to be rendered unserviceable. The ground was covered with snow; and though the swamps were frozen, yet the ice was often not sufficiently strong; so that they plunged in knee deep. A fire, however was made of the bark and timbers of the broken canoe: and after having fasted three days, their last meal of portable soup and arrow root was cooked. Each man's allowance at this melancholy dinner was exceedingly scanty; but it allayed the pangs of hunger and encouraged them to press forward at a quicker rate. They had now reached a more hilly country, strewn with large stones, and covered with gray lichen, well known to the Canadians by its name *tripe de roche*. In cases of extremity, it is boiled and eaten; but its taste is nauseous, its quality purgative, and it sometimes produces an intolerable griping and loathing. The party, not being aware of this, gathered a considerable quantity. A few partridges also had been shot; and at night some willows were dug up from under the snow, with which they lighted a fire and cooked their supper.

Next day they came to Cracroft's River, flowing to the westward over a channel of large stones that rendered it impossible to cross in the canoe. No alternative was left but to attempt a precarious passage over some rocks at a rapid;

and in effecting this some of the men, losing their balance, slipped into the water. They were instantly rescued by their companions; but so intense was the frost, that their drenched clothes became caked with ice, and they suffered much during the remainder of the day's march. The hunters had fallen in with some partridges, which they shot, and they found enough of roots to make a fire; so that their supper, though scanty, was comparatively comfortable. Next morning they pushed forward with ardour, and passed the river Congecathawhachaga of Mr. Hearne. The country which lay before them was hilly, and covered with snow to a great depth. The sides of the hills were traversed by sharp angular rocks, where the drifted snow, filling up the interstices, presented a smooth but fallacious surface, which often gave way and precipitated them into the chasms with their heavy loads. In this painful and arduous manner they struggled forward several days, feeding on tripe de roche, which was so frozen to the rocks that their hands were benumbed before a meal could be collected, and so destitute of nutritive juices that it allayed hunger only for a very short time. At length reaching the summit of a hill, they, to their great delight, beheld a herd of musk oxen feeding in the valley below; an instant halt was made, the best hunters were called out, and while they proceeded with extreme caution in a circuitous route, their companions watched their proceedings with intense anxiety. When near enough to open their fire, the report reverberated through the hills, and one of the largest cows was seen to fall. "This success," says Franklin, in that simple and beautiful account of his journey which any change of language would only weaken, "infused spirit into our starving party. The contents of its stomach were devoured upon the spot; and the raw intestines, which were next attacked, were pronounced by the most delicate of the party to be excellent. A few willows, whose tops were seen peeping through the snow in the bottom of the valley, were quickly grubbed, the tents were pitched, and supper cooked and devoured with avidity. It was the sixth day since we had had a good meal. I do not think that we witnessed, through the course of our journey, a more striking proof of the wise dispensation of the Almighty, and of the weakness of our own judgment, than on this day. We had considered the dense fog which prevailed throughout the morning as almost the greatest inconvenience which could have befallen us, since it rendered the air extremely cold, and prevented us from distinguishing any distant object towards which our course could be directed. Yet this very darkness enabled the party to get to the top of the hill, which bounded the valley wherein the musk oxen were grazing, without being perceived. Had the herd discovered us and taken the alarm, our hunters, in their present state of debility, would in all probability have failed in approaching them."

On the following day a strong southerly wind blowing with a snow drift, they took a day's rest, and as only enough remained of the musk ox to serve for two days, they contented themselves with a single meal. Next morning, though the gale had not diminished, they pushed forward; and notwithstanding their rest and recent supply of animal food, the whole party felt greater weakness than they had hitherto experienced. The weather was hazy, but after an hour's march the sky cleared, and they found themselves on the borders of a lake, of which they could not discern the termination in either direction. In these circumstances they travelled along its banks to the westward in search of a crossing place. Credit, one of the Canadians, left the party in hopes of falling in with deer, but did not return; and on encamping in the evening, hungry and fatigued, they had to divide for supper a single partridge and some tripe de roche. This weed from the first had been unpalatable, but now became insupportably nauseous, and began in many to produce severe pains and bowel complaints, especially in Mr. Hood, one of the young officers attached to the expedition. This solitary partridge was the last morsel of animal food that remained; and they turned with deep anxiety to the hope of catching some fish in the lake, but discovered that the persons entrusted with them had improvidently thrown away three of the nets and burnt the floats on leaving Hood's River. Things now began to look very gloomy; and as the men were daily getting weaker, it was judged expedient to lighten their burdens of every thing except ammunition, clothing, and

the instruments necessary to guide them on their way. The dipping needle, the azimuth compass, the magnet, a large thermometer, and the few books they carried, were therefore deposited at this encampment, after having torn out from these latter the tables necessary for working the latitude and longitude. Rewards also were promised by Franklin to such of the party as should kill any animals, and in the morning they prepared to go forward.

At this moment a fine trait of disinterestedness occurred; as the officers assembled round a small fire, enduring an intense degree of hunger which they had no means of satisfying, Perrault, one of the Canadians, presented each of them with a piece of meat out of a little store which he had saved from his allowance. "It was received," says Franklin, "with great thankfulness, and such an instance of self-denial and kindness filled our eyes with tears." Pressing forward to a river issuing from the lake, they met their comrade Credit, and received the joyful intelligence that he had killed two deer. One of these was immediately cut up and prepared for breakfast; and having sent some of the party for the other, the rest proceeded down the river, which was about 300 yards broad, in search of a place to cross. Having chosen a spot where the current was smooth, immediately above a rapid, Franklin and two Canadian boatmen, St. Germain and Belanger, pushed from the shore. The breeze was fresh, and the current stronger than they imagined, so that they approached the very edge of the rapid; and Belanger, employing his paddle to steady the canoe, lost his balance, and upset the bark in the middle of it. The party clung to its side, and reaching a rock where the stream was but waist deep, kept their footing till the canoe was emptied of water, after which Belanger held it steady while St. Germain replaced Franklin in it and dexterously leaped in himself. Such was their situation that if the man who stood on the rock had raised his foot they would have been lost. His friends therefore were compelled to leave him, and after a second disaster, in which the canoe struck, and was as expeditiously righted as before, they reached the opposite bank. Meanwhile Belanger suffered extremely, immersed to his middle, and enduring intense cold. He called piteously for relief, and St. Germain, re-embarking, attempted to reach him, but was hurried down the rapid, and on coming ashore was so benumbed as to be incapable of further exertion. A second effort, but equally unsuccessful, was made by Adam: they then tried to carry out a line formed of the slings of the men's loads, but it broke, and was carried down the stream. At last, when he was almost exhausted, the canoe reached him with a small cord of one of the remaining nets, and he was dragged to shore quite insensible. On being stripped, rolled in blankets, and put to bed between two men, he recovered. During these operations Franklin was left alone upon the bank, and it seemed a matter of the utmost doubt whether he should ever be rejoined by his companions. "It is impossible," says he, "to describe my sensations as I witnessed the various unsuccessful attempts to relieve Belanger. The distance prevented my seeing distinctly what was going on, and I continued pacing up and down the rock on which I stood, regardless of the coldness of my drenched and stiffening garments. The canoe, in every attempt to reach him, was hurried down the rapid, and was lost to view among the rocky islets with a fury that seemed to threaten instant destruction; once indeed I fancied that I saw it overwhelmed in the waves; such an event would have been fatal to the whole party. Separated as I was from my companions, without gun, ammunition, hatchet, or the means of making a fire, and in wet clothes, my doom would have been speedily sealed. My companions, too, driven to the necessity of coasting the lake, must have sunk under the fatigue of rounding its innumerable arms and bays, which, as we learned afterward from the Indians, are very extensive. By the goodness of Providence, however, we were spared at that time and some of us have been permitted to offer up our thanksgiving in a civilized land for the signal deliverance we then and afterward experienced.

On setting out next morning, Perrault brought in a fine male deer, which raised the spirits of the party, as it secured them in provisions for two days; and they trusted to support themselves for a third on the skin which they carried with them. Having ascended the Willingham Mountains, they entered upon a rug-

ged country intersected by deep ravines, the passage of which was so difficult that they could only make ten miles with great fatigue. The deer was now picked to the last morsel, and they ate pieces of the singed hide with a little tripe de roche. At other times this meal might have sufficed; but, exhausted by slender food and continued toil, their appetites had become ravenous. Hitherto events had been so mercifully ordered that in their utmost need some little supply in the tripe de roche had never failed them; but it was the will of God that their confidence should be yet more strongly tried; for they now entered upon a level country covered with snow, where even this miserable lichen was no longer to be found; and a bed of Iceland moss, which was boiled for supper, proved so bitter that none of the party, though enduring the extremities of hunger, could taste more than a few spoonfuls. Another distress now attacked them: the intensity of the cold increased, while they became less fit to endure it. Their blankets did not suffice to keep them warm, and the slightest breeze pierced through their debilitated frames. "The reader," says Franklin, "will probably be desirous to know how we passed our time in such a comfortless situation. The first operation after encamping was to thaw our frozen shoes, if a sufficient fire could be made; dry ones were then put on. Each person then wrote his notes of the daily occurrences, and evening prayers were read. As soon as supper was prepared it was eaten, generally in the dark, and we went to bed and kept up a cheerful conversation until our blankets were thawed by the heat of our bodies, and we had gathered sufficient warmth to enable us to fall asleep. On many nights we had not even the luxury of going to bed in dry clothes; for, when the fire was insufficient to dry our shoes, we dared not venture to pull them off, lest they should freeze so hard as to be unfit to put on in the morning, and therefore inconvenient to carry."

Hunger, fatigue, and disappointment began now to have a calamitous effect upon the tempers of the men. One, who carried the canoe, after several severe falls, threw down his burden, and obstinately refused to resume it. It was accordingly given to another, who proved stronger, and pushed forward at so rapid a rate that Mr. Hood, whose weakness was now extreme, could not keep up with them; and as Franklin attempted to pursue and stop them, the whole party was separated. Dr. Richardson, who had remained behind to gather tripe de roche, joined him, and on advancing they found the men encamped among some willows, where they found some pieces of skin and a few bones of deer which had been devoured by the wolves. On these they had made a meal, having burnt and pounded the bones, boiled the skin, and added their old shoes to the mess. With this no fault could be found; but on questioning the person to whom the canoe had been intrusted, it was discovered that he had left the boat behind, it having, as he said, been broken by a fall and rendered entirely useless.

To the infatuated obstinacy of the men in refusing to retrace their steps and fetch it, even in its shattered state, is to be ascribed much of the distress of their subsequent journey. Every argument seemed entirely thrown away; and they had apparently lost all hope of being preserved. When the hunters, who had been out for some time, did not make their appearance, they became furious at the idea of having been deserted, and throwing down their bundles, declared they would follow them at all hazards, and leave the weakest to keep up as they best could. The remonstrances of the officers at length opened their minds to the madness of such a scheme; and on encamping in the evening they found some pines seven or eight feet high, which furnished a comfortable fire, when they made their supper of tripe de roche. Next morning a herd of deer came in sight, and they killed five,—a supply which, considering the extremity of hunger and despair to which they were reduced, was especially providential. It was evident that He, without whom not a sparrow falls to the ground, was with them in their extremity of distress; and casting themselves upon his care, every heart expanded with hope and gratitude.

The Canadians now earnestly petitioned for a day's rest. They pleaded their recent sufferings, and that the enjoyment of two substantial meals, after eight days of famine, would enable them to press forward more vigorously. The

flesh, the skins, and even the stomachs of the deer were accordingly equally divided among the party, and some of them suffered severely from too free an indulgence in the use of this food after so long an abstinence. Next morning the party resumed their journey, and after a walk of three miles came to the Coppermine River. Its current was strong, but with a canoe there would have been no difficulty in crossing; and the reckless folly of the men in abandoning their only means of transport was now brought strongly to their mind. No ford could be discovered, and the plan was suggested of framing a vessel of willows, covered with the canvass of the tent; but the most experienced boatmen declared the willows were too small to bear the weight; and no pines could be found. Nothing remained but to resume their march along the borders of the lake; and looking out eagerly, but in vain, for some fordable place, they encamped at the east end. Anxious to adopt every possible means for preserving the party, Franklin sent Mr. Back forward with the interpreters to hunt. He was directed to halt at the first pines and construct a raft; and if his hunters had killed animals sufficient to provision them, he was to cross immediately and send the Indians with supplies of meat to the party behind.

At this time it was discovered that two of the men had stolen part of the officer's provision, though it had been doled out with the strictest impartiality, and they saw their leaders suffering more acutely than themselves. To punish this was impossible, except by the threat that they should forfeit their wages, which produced little effect. Despondency had deeply seized upon the party, and in the morning strict orders could not prevent them from straggling in search of the remains of animals; in consequence of which much time was lost in halting, and ammunition in firing guns to collect them. The snow, however, had disappeared, and pressing forward with more alacrity they came to an arm of the lake running north-east. The idea of making the long circuit round it was distressing, and having halted to consult what was to be done, some one discovered in a cliff the carcass of a deer which had fallen into a chasm. It was quite putrid, but even in that state appeared delicious, and a fire being kindled a large portion was soon devoured; while the men, cheered by this unexpected breakfast, regained their confidence, and requested leave to return to the rapid, insisting on the practicability of constructing a sufficiently strong raft of willows, though they had formerly pronounced it impossible. Their advice was followed; and having sent off Augustus, one of the interpreters, to inform Mr. Back of this change of plan, they commenced their retrograde movement, and encamped at night in a deep valley among some large willows, where they supped on the remains of the putrid deer.

Next day they regained the rapids, commenced cutting willows for the raft, and a reward of 300 livres was promised by Franklin to the person who should convey a line across the river strong enough to manage the raft and transport the party. The willows when cut were bound into fagots, and the work completed; but the greenness of the wood rendered it heavy, and incapable of supporting more than one man at a time. Still they hoped to be able to cross; but all depended on getting a line carried to the opposite bank, through a current 130 yards wide, strong, deep, and intensely cold. Belanger and Benoit, the two strongest men of the party, repeatedly attempted to take the raft over, but for want of oars were driven back. The tent staves were then tied together, and formed a strong pole; but it was not long enough to reach the bottom even at a short distance from the shore. Dr. Richardson next produced a paddle he had brought from the coast, but which was found not powerful enough to impel the raft against a strong breeze. The failure of every attempt occasioned a deep despondency, which threatened to have the most fatal effects, when Dr. Richardson, with a disinterested courage that made him forget his own weakness, threw off his upper garments, and attempted to swim with a rope to the opposite bank. Plunging in with the line round his middle he at first made some way, but the extreme cold was too much for him, and in a few moments his arms became powerless; still, being an expert swimmer, he not only kept himself afloat, but made way by turning on his back and using his legs, so that he had nearly reached the other side, when, to the inexpressible anguish of those

who watched his progress, his limbs became benumbed, and he sank. All hands now hauled on the line, and drew him ashore almost lifeless; but placed before a fire of willows, and stripped of his wet clothes, he gradually revived enough to give directions as to the mode of treating him. His thin and emaciated limbs, which were now exposed to view, produced an involuntary exclamation of compassion and surprise:—"Ah, que nous sommes maigres!" said the French Canadians; but it is probable that few of them would have presented so gaunt and attenuated an appearance as the brave and excellent man who had thus nearly fallen a sacrifice to his humanity, for it was discovered about this time that the hunters were in the practice of withholding the game which they shot, and devouring it in secret.

Soon after this the party were joined by Mr. Back, who had traced the lake about fifteen miles farther up without discovering any place where it was possible to get across; and towards evening Credit, who had been out hunting, returned without any game of his own killing; but brought the antlers and backbone of a deer shot during the summer. These relics had already been picked clean by the wolves and birds of prey, but the marrow remained in the spine; and though completely putrid, and so acrid as to excoriate the lips, it was not the less acceptable. The bones were rendered friable by burning, and the whole eagerly devoured. St. Germain, one of the voyagers, now suggested that a canoe might be made of the painted canvass used to wrap up the bedding, and offered to construct it upon a frame of willows. For this purpose he and Adam removed to a clump of willows, while another party proceeded to the spot where they had encamped on the 25th, to collect pitch among the small pines to pay over the seams. A snow storm at this moment came on, and the sufferings of the men hourly increasing, a deep gloom settled upon their spirits. Mr. Hood was by this time reduced to a perfect shadow; Mr. Back required the support of a stick; Dr. Richardson was lame; and Franklin so feeble that, after a struggle of three hours, he found himself utterly unable to reach the spot where St. Germain was at work, a distance of only three-quarters of a mile, and returned completely exhausted. The Canadian voyagers had now fallen into a state of despondency which bordered on despair, and, indifferent to their fate, refused to make the slightest exertion. The officers were unable to undergo the labour of gathering the *tripe de roche*, and Samandre, the cook, sullenly declined continuing his labours. At this miserable crisis the conduct of John Hepburn, an English sailor, was especially admirable, presenting a striking contrast to the gloomy selfishness of the Canadians. His firm reliance on the watchful goodness of God, and a cheerful resignation to his will, never for a moment forsook him; and, animated by this blessed principle, his strength appeared to be preserved as the means of saving the party. He collected the *tripe de roche* for the officers' mess, cooked and served it out, and showed the most indefatigable zeal in his efforts to relieve their sufferings.

A gleam of hope at length arose when St. Germain completed the canoe. It was impossible not to feel that their last chance of escape seemed to hang upon this little bark;—would it prove sufficient for their purpose? or, constructed of such wretched materials, would it not at once sink to the bottom? Amid this conflict of contending emotions it was launched on the river, and every heart bounded with exultation when it floated, and St. Germain transported himself to the opposite side. It was drawn back, and, one by one, the whole party were ferried over, though from the leaky state of the little bark, their garments and bedding were completely drenched. Franklin immediately despatched Mr. Back and three men to push on to Fort Enterprise in search of the Indians, while he himself followed with the rest.

Nothing could exceed the joy of the Canadian voyagers at this unlooked for deliverance. Their spirits rose from the deepest despondency into tumultuous exultation. They shook the officers by the hand, cried out that their worst difficulties were at an end, and expressed a confident hope of being able to reach Fort Enterprise in the course of a few days,—a boisterous and sudden confidence, to which the silent gratitude and quiet resolution of the pious Hepburn presented a striking contrast.

Their tents and bedclothes were so much frozen, and the men, who had kindled a small fire, so weary, that it was eight in the morning before the bundles were packed, and the party set forward. They travelled in single files, each at a small distance from his neighbour. Mr. Hood, who was now nearly exhausted, was obliged to walk at a gentle pace in the rear, Dr. Richardson kindly keeping beside him; while Franklin led the foremost men, that he might make them halt occasionally till the stragglers came up. Credit, hitherto one of their most active hunters, became lamentably weak from the effects of tripe de roche on his constitution, and Vaillant, from the same cause was getting daily more emaciated. They only advanced six miles during the day, and at night satisfied the cravings of hunger by a small quantity of tripe de roche mixed up with some scraps of roasted leather. During the night the wind increased to a strong gale, which continuing next day, besides being piercingly cold, filled the atmosphere with a thick snow drift. Having boiled and eaten the remains of their old shoes, and every shred of leather which could be picked up, they set forward at nine over bleak hills separated by equally barren valleys.

In this manner they journeyed till noon, not without much straggling and frequent halts, at which time Samandre came up with the melancholy news that Credit and Vaillant had dropped down and were utterly unable to proceed. Dr. Richardson went back, and discovering Vaillant about a mile and a half in the rear, assured him that a fire was kindled a little way on, and that he would recover if he could but reach it; the poor fellow struggled up on his feet and feebly tried to advance, but fell down every step in the deep snow. Leaving him, Dr. Richardson retraced his steps about a mile farther in a fruitless search for Credit. In returning he passed Vaillant, who had fallen down, utterly unable to renew his efforts to rejoin the party. Belanger went back to carry his burden and assist him to the fire; but the cold had produced such a numbness that he could not speak or make the slightest exertion. The stoutest of the party were now implored to make a last effort to transport him to the fire, but declared themselves utterly unable for the task. They eagerly requested leave to throw down their loads, and proceed with the utmost speed to Fort Enterprise: a scheme projected in the despair of the moment, and which must have brought destruction upon the whole.

Matters had now reached a dreadful crisis; it was necessary to come to an immediate decision regarding their ultimate measures, and a plan proposed by Mr. Hood and Dr. Richardson was adopted. These gentlemen consented to remain, with a single attendant, at the first spot where there was sufficient firewood and tripe de roche for ten days' consumption, while Franklin and the rest were to proceed with all expedition to Fort Enterprise, and send immediate assistance. This scheme promised to relieve them of a considerable portion of their burdens: for one of the tents and various other articles were to be left; and it gave poor Credit and Vaillant a fairer opportunity, should they revive, of regaining their companions. On the resolution being communicated to the men, they were cheered with the prospect of an alleviation of their misery, and pressed forward in search of a convenient spot for the proposed separation. Near nightfall they encamped under the lee of a hill among some willows, which furnished a small fire, but not sufficient to thaw their frozen clothes; and no tripe de roche having been found during the day, they lay down hungry, cold, and full of the gloomiest apprehensions, while sleep fled from their eyelids, and the images of their dying companions rose before their imagination in colours which made them shudder for a fate that might soon become their own. Next morning the weather, providentially, was mild, and setting out at nine they arrived towards noon at a thicket of willows in the neighbourhood of some rocks bearing a pretty full supply of tripe de roche. Here Dr. Richardson and Mr. Hood determined to remain. The tent was pitched, a barrel of ammunition and other articles were deposited, and Hepburn, who volunteered the service, was appointed to continue with them. The rest of the party now had only to carry a single tent, the ammunition, and the officers' journals, in addition to their own clothes and a single blanket for Captain Franklin. When all was ready, the whole party united in thanksgiving and prayers to Almighty God for their mu-



tual preservation, and separated with the melancholy reflection that it might in all probability be the last time they should ever again meet in this world.

On leaving their friends, Captain Franklin and his party descended into a more level country; but the snow lay so deep, and they were so little able to wade through it, that they encamped after a painful march of only four miles and a half, in which Belanger and Michel, an Iroquois, were left far behind, yet still struggling forward. In the evening they came in dreadfully exhausted, and Belanger, till now one of the strongest of the party, could not refrain from tears as he declared he was totally unable to proceed, and implored permission to return to Dr. Richardson and Mr. Hood. Michel made the same request, and it was agreed that they should do so. The cold of the night was excessive, and the men were so weak that they could not raise the tent; from its weight it was impossible to transport it from place to place, and it was cut up, the canvass serving them for a covering; but, though they lay close together, the intense frost deprived them of sleep. Having no *tripe de roche*, they had supped on an infusion of the Labrador tea plant, with a few morsels of burnt leather. Michel and Belanger, being apparently more exhausted in the morning than over night, were left, while the rest moved forward. After a very short progress Perault was attacked with a fit of dizziness, but, on halting a little, again proposed to proceed. In ten minutes, however, he sank down, and weeping aloud, declared his total inability to go on. He was accordingly advised to join Michel and Belanger,—a proposal in which he acquiesced. These examples of the total failure of the strongest in the party, had a very unfavorable effect on the spirits of the rest, and the exertion of wading through the snow and crossing a lake on the ice, where they were frequently blown down, was so severe that Fontano, after having repeatedly fallen, piteously complained that he was utterly unable to go farther. Being not two miles from the others it was thought best that he should attempt to rejoin them, and as he was much beloved, the parting was very distressing. They watched him for some time, and were comforted by seeing that, though his progress was very slow, he kept his feet better than before.

The whole party was now reduced to five persons, Captain Franklin, Adam, Peltier, Benoit, and Samandre, the interpreter Augustus having pressed forward by himself during the late frequent halts. They made that day only four miles and a half, and encamped for the night under a rock, supping again on the Labrador tea plant and some shreds of burnt leather. The evening was comparatively mild, the breeze light, and having the comfort of a fire, they enjoyed some sleep. This was of infinite advantage; it gave them new spirits, which were further invigorated by a breakfast of *tripe de roche*, this being the fourth day since they had a regular meal. On reaching Marten Lake they found it frozen over,—a circumstance which they knew would enable them to walk upon the ice straight to Fort Enterprise.

It may be easily imagined what were the sensations of the party in approaching the spot which they trusted would be the end of all their toils and privations. From the arrangements previously made it was judged certain that they would here find relief, and be able to send assistance to their unfortunate companions. It was a spot where they had enjoyed, at a former period of the expedition, the greatest comfort; but it was possible, though they scarcely permitted themselves to contemplate so dreadful an idea, that circumstances might have occurred to defeat their present expectations. On approaching the house their minds were strongly agitated between hope and fear, and contrary to their usual custom, they advanced in silence. At length they reached it, and their worst apprehensions were realized. It was completely desolate. No provisions had been deposited; no trace of Indians could be discovered; no letter lay there from Mr. Wentzel to inform them where the Indians might be found. On entering, a mute despair seized the party. They gazed on the cold hearth, comfortless walls, and broken sashes, through which the wind and snow penetrated, and, awakening to a full sense of the horrors of their situation, burst into tears. On recovering a little, and looking round with more attention, a note was found from Mr. Back, stating that having two days before this reached the house, he

had proceeded in search of the Indians; but it described his party as so debilitated that it was doubtful whether they would be able to reach Fort Providence. The sufferings endured by this meritorious officer and his little party, one of whom was frozen to death, were equally dreadful with those which fell to the share of his excellent commander.

The poor sufferers, thus grievously disappointed, now examined the deserted habitation for the means of subsistence, and found several deer-skins thrown away during their former residence at the fort. The heaps of ashes were carefully raked, and a considerable collection of bones discovered, which were hoarded up for the purpose of being pounded and manufactured into soup. The parchment originally employed instead of glass had been torn from the windows, and the place was exposed to all the inclemency of an arctic winter; but they succeeded in filling the sashes with loose boards, and as the temperature of the outer air was now from  $15^{\circ}$  to  $20^{\circ}$  below zero, this precaution was especially necessary. To procure water they melted the frozen lumps of snow, and the flooring of the neighbouring apartment was broken up for fuel.

Having completed these arrangements, they assembled round the fire, and were busy singing the hair off a deer skin, when they were cheered by the entrance of the interpreter, who had made his way to the fort by a different route, through a country he had never traversed before. Though by far the strongest of the party, he was now so enfeebled by famine that he could not follow two deer which he had seen on his way. Next morning there was a heavy gale from the south-east, and the snow drifted so thick that no one ventured abroad. On the evening of the succeeding day, a figure covered with ice, benumbed with cold, and almost speechless, staggered into the house; it was one of the Canadians, who had been despatched with a note by Mr. Back, and having fallen into a rapid narrowly escaped being drowned. To change his dress, wrap him in warm blankets, and pour some soup over his throat, was their first care; and after a little he revived enough to answer the anxious questions with which he was assailed. From his replies but little comfort was derived. Mr. Back had seen no trace of the Indians, and the messenger's recollection appeared confused with regard to the part of the country where he had left his officer, who, as he stated, intended to proceed to the spot where the Indian chief Akaitcho had encamped last summer,—a distance of about thirty miles. Thither he proposed to follow when he was a little recruited; and, though dissuaded from the attempt, persisted that as the track was beaten he would be able to make it out, and to convey intelligence of the situation of Captain Franklin's party. Accordingly, the fifth day after his arrival, he departed from the fort with a small supply of singed hide.

Not long after, Adam, one of the five men who now remained with Captain Franklin, became so ill that he was utterly incapable of moving, and it was discovered that he had been for some time afflicted with œdematous swellings in various parts of his body, which he had hitherto generously concealed, from a wish not to impede the movements of his companions. As it was impossible for this poor man to travel, it was necessary to abandon the original intention of proceeding with the whole party to Fort Providence, and Peltier and Samandre, who were in almost as weak a state, having expressed a wish to remain with Adam, Captain Franklin, along with Augustus and Benoit, determined to press on to Fort Providence, and to send relief to their companions by the first party of Indians they should meet.

Having accordingly given directions regarding the journals and charts which were left in their custody, and the best mode of forwarding succour to Mr. Hood and Dr. Richardson, Franklin set forward with his two attendants; but so feeble had they become that the distance accomplished in six hours was only four miles. They encamped on the borders of Round Rock Lake, and, unable to find any tripe de roche, made their supper on fried deer skin. The night proved intensely cold, and although they crept as close to each other as possible, they shivered in every limb, and the wind pierced through their furnished frames. Next morning was mild, and they set out early, but had scarce proceeded a few yards when Franklin fell between two rocks and broke his snow shoes, an accident which

incapacitated him from keeping up with Benoit and Augustus. In a very short time his attempt to press forward completely exhausted him; and as the only hope of preserving the lives of the party appeared to rest on their speedily reaching Fort Providence, he determined, rather than retard them, to retrace his steps to the house, while they proceeded for assistance. Calling a moment's halt, he addressed one note to Mr. Back, requesting an immediate supply of meat from Reindeer Lake, and another to the commandant of Fort Providence, with urgent entreaties for assistance. This done, Augustus and Benoit resumed their journey and Franklin returned to the house.

On arriving he found Adam, Samandre, and Peltier still alive; but the two first, whose minds seemed quite enfeebled, could not be prevailed on to leave their bed, and their nervous weakness was so great that they scarcely ceased shedding tears all day. It was even with difficulty that they were prevailed on to take any nourishment; and the labour of cutting and carrying fuel, gathering the tripe de roche, and cooking fell entirely upon Franklin and Peltier. The frost was now so severe that it was evident this lichen would soon be bound up in ice, and as their strength daily declined every exertion became irksome. When once seated, it required a painful effort to rise up, and not unfrequently they had to lift each other from their chairs. This miserable condition could not last long. Peltier soon became almost incapable of holding the hatchet; the bone soup had become so acrid as to corrode the inside of their mouths; the tripe de roche, covered with ice, defied all efforts to detach it from the rock; and though the reindeer sported on the banks of the river, no one had strength enough to go after them, or to hold a gun so steadily as to secure an aim.

Still the hopes and cheerfulness of Franklin did not desert him. From his knowledge of the places mostly frequented by the Indians, he was sanguine as to the likelihood of their being found; and their speedy arrival formed a constant subject of conversation. At length, on the evening of the 29th, when talking of this long looked for relief, and sitting round the fire, Peltier suddenly leaped up and uttered a joyful exclamation, imagining he heard the bustle of the Indians in the adjoining room. It was not the Indians, however, but Dr. Richardson and Hepburn, who came in each carrying his bundle. The meeting was one of mingled joy and sorrow. Poor Hood's absence was instantly perceived, and their saddest anticipations were confirmed by Dr. Richardson declaring that this young officer and Michel were dead, and that neither Perrault nor Fontano had reached the tent or been heard of. Such news could not fail to create despondency. All were shocked at the emaciated countenances and hollow voices of Dr. Richardson and his companion, while Captain Franklin and his fellow-sufferers, having become gradually accustomed to the dreadful effects of famine upon each other, were not aware that, to the eyes of their friends who had just arrived, the alteration upon themselves was equally melancholy. "The doctor," says Franklin, "particularly remarked the sepulchral tone of our voices, which he requested us to make more cheerful if possible, not aware that his own partook of the same key.

The arrival of these friends, however, was soon attended with a favourable change. Though greatly reduced, they were still in a better condition than their unfortunate companions, and it was not long till Hepburn shot a partridge. Dr. Richardson speedily tore off the feathers, and having held it a few minutes at the fire divided it into six pieces: Franklin and his companions ravenously devoured their portions, "being the first morsel of flesh that any of them had tasted for thirty-one days," and Dr. Richardson cheered them with the prospect that Hepburn might possibly bring in a deer in his next expedition. The counsels and example of this pious and intelligent man produced the best effects on the spirits of the party. He had brought with him his Testament and Prayer Book; and by reading portions of Scripture appropriate to their situation, and encouraging them to join in prayer and thanksgiving, he led them to the only Source whence, under the awful circumstances in which they were placed, they could derive hope or consolation. He taught them the necessity of exertion, whatever pain it might at first cost; roused them to pay some attention to the cleanliness of their apartment, and insisted particularly that during the day they should roll up

their blankets, which they had been in the practice of leaving beside the fire where they slept.

Their several tasks were now allotted to each; Hepburn and Richardson went out in search of deer, while Franklin, being unable to walk far, remained nearer the house, and digged under the snow for skins, which, during their former happy winter residence at this station, when they killed and ate abundance of game, were thrown away as useless, but now, in their almost putrid state, formed their principal support. The cutting of firewood was intrusted to Peltier and Samandre; but both were so weak and dispirited that it was generally performed by Hepburn on his return from hunting; as for Adam, his legs were still so severely swollen that he kept his bed, though an operation performed by Dr. Richardson gave him some ease. In the midst of these necessary cares, all seemed for a while to dread approaching the subject of Hood and Michel's death; but at length, one evening, on the return of the doctor from hunting, and after having despatched their usual supper of singed skin and bone-soup, they requested him to relate the particulars; and a more afflicting, or in some respects a more terrific story, as it appears in his published narrative, could not well be conceived.

He stated, that after being left by Captain Franklin, they remained beside the fire as long as it lasted. Having no tripe de roche, they supped on an infusion of the country tea-plant, which was grateful from its warmth, but afforded no nourishment, and retired to rest. Next day proved stormy, and the snow being so deep that a fire could not be kindled with the green willows, they lay in bed reading some religious books, with which the party had been furnished before leaving England, by the affectionate and pious care of a lady. "They proved," says Richardson, "of incalculable value to us. We read portions of them to each other as we lay in bed, in addition to the morning and evening service, and found that they inspired us on each perusal with so strong a sense of the omnipresence of a beneficent God, that our situation in these wilds appeared no longer destitute; and we conversed not only with calmness, but with cheerfulness, detailing with unrestrained confidence the past events of our lives, and dwelling with hope upon our future prospects."

The weather clearing up, Dr. Richardson went out in search of tripe de roche, leaving Mr. Hood in bed and Hepburn cutting willows for a fire; but the rocks were covered with ice and snow, and he was unsuccessful. On his return he found Michel the Iroquois, who delivered the note from Franklin. All were surprised to see him alone; but he stated that Belanger had separated from him, and, as he supposed, lost his way, he himself having wandered far from the straight road. They had afterward good reason to suspect the truth of this story, but believed it at that moment, and were rejoiced to see him produce a hare and a partridge,—an unlooked-for supply, which they received with humble thankfulness to the Giver of all good. Franklin's note advised them to advance to a little wood of pines, which would afford better fuel; and to this they removed under the guidance of Michel, who led them straight to the spot.

As he had declared himself so little acquainted with the country as to lose his way, it seemed strange that he should at once conduct them to the thicket. This roused their attention, and made them feel rather uneasy as to his honesty; and various circumstances occurred to increase their suspicion. He requested the loan of a hatchet, when any other hunter would have taken only his knife. He remained abroad all day without any definite employment. He brought them some raw meat, saying that it was part of the carcass of a wolf; but which they had afterward reason to believe was a portion of the bodies of Belanger and Perrault, whom they suspected him to have murdered. He shunned the society of Dr. Richardson and Mr. Hood, refusing to sleep in the tent, and preferring to lie alone at the fire. On going out with the purpose of remaining a whole day, he often returned abruptly, and when questioned gave vague answers. In a few days he began to regret that he had left Captain Franklin's party, refused to take any share in the labour of cutting wood, talked in a surly and insolent manner, and could scarcely be prevailed upon to go out and hunt at all. These symptoms of gloomy dissatisfaction increased; he resisted all entreaties,

and when Mr. Hood, who was now reduced by famine to the last extremity, remonstrated with him, he flew into a violent passion, and exclaimed, "It is of no use hunting, there are no animals; you had better kill and eat me." He afterward, however consented to go out, but returned upon some frivolous pretence; and on the second day that dreadful catastrophe took place which will be best given in the words of Dr. Richardson's Journal.

"In the morning," says he, "being Sunday, October 20th, we again urged Michel to go a-hunting, that he might, if possible, leave us some provision, to-morrow being the day for his quitting us; but he showed great unwillingness to go out, and lingered about the fire under the pretence of cleaning his gun. After we had read the morning service, I went about noon to gather some tripe de roche, leaving Mr. Hood sitting before the tent at the fireside, arguing with Michel. Hepburn was employed in cutting down a tree at a small distance from the tent, being desirous of accumulating a quantity of firewood. A short time after I went out I heard the report of a gun, and about ten minutes afterward, Hepburn called to me in a voice of great alarm, to come directly. When I arrived I found poor Hood lying lifeless at the fireside, a ball having apparently entered his forehead. I was at first horror-struck with the idea that in a fit of despondency he had hurried himself into the presence of his Almighty Judge by an act of his own hand; but the conduct of Michel soon gave rise to other thoughts, and excited suspicions which were confirmed, when, upon examining the body, I found that the shot had entered the back part of the head and had passed out at the forehead, while the muzzle of the gun had been applied so close as to set fire to the nightcap behind. The gun, which was of the longest kind supplied to the Indians, could not have been placed in the position to inflict such a wound, except by a second person. Upon inquiring of Michel how it happened, he replied that Mr. Hood had sent him into the tent for the short gun, and that during his absence the long gun had gone off, he did not know whether by accident or not. He held the short gun in his hand at the time he was speaking. Hepburn afterwards asserted, that previous to the report of the gun, Mr. Hood and Michel were speaking to each other, in an elevated angry tone: he added, that Mr. Hood, being seated at the fireside, was hid from him by intervening willows; but that on hearing the report he looked up, and saw Michel rising up from before the tent door, or just behind where Mr. Hood was seated, and then going into the tent. Thinking that the gun had been discharged for the purpose of cleaning it, he did not go to the fire at first; and when Michel called to him that Mr. Hood was dead, a considerable time had elapsed. \* \* \* Bickersteth's Scripture Help was lying open beside the body, as if it had fallen from his hand, and it is probable that he was reading it at the instant of his death."

Such was the melancholy fate of Mr. Hood, a young officer of the highest promise, who by his conduct had endeared himself to every member of the expedition, and whose sufferings, as they were more intense from the peculiarity of his constitution, were borne with a placid and unpretending fortitude which it was impossible to contemplate without emotion. Both Dr. Richardson and Hepburn were convinced he had met his death from the hands of Michel; but to have accused him at that moment would have been the extremity of rashness. They were so reduced by famine that he could easily have overpowered both. His appearance showed that he possessed secret supplies of food; he was of great bodily strength, and was armed to the teeth, carrying, besides his gun, a brace of pistols, an Indian bayonet, and a knife. To have hinted a suspicion, therefore, might have been instantly fatal, and they affected to consider the death of their companion entirely accidental. As his weakness had been the chief cause of delaying their journey, they now set out for the fort, having first paid the last rites to the dead in the only way which their situation would permit. The ground was so hard and their strength so exhausted, that to dig a grave was impossible; so they carried the body into the willow grove behind the tent, and returning to the fire, read the funeral service in addition to their evening devotions.

In the morning, having singed the hair off a portion of Mr. Hood's buffalo robe, they boiled and ate it for breakfast. Meanwhile, the conduct of Michel was so extraordinary, that had they not been already convinced of his guilt, no doubt of it could have remained. Though not a breath of their suspicions reached his ears, he repeatedly protested that he was incapable of committing such an act; he kept constantly on his guard; appeared fearful of leaving Dr. Richardson and Hepburn alone even for the shortest time: and when Hepburn spoke he listened anxiously, though very imperfectly acquainted with the English language, fixed his eyes keenly upon him, and asked fiercely if he accused him of the murder. He evinced great unwillingness to set out for the fort, and wished Dr. Richardson to proceed to the Coppermine River, where he said the woods would supply plenty of deer. On finding this advice disregarded, his conduct became more and more alarming; he muttered to himself, fell into sullen fits of abstraction, and used those convulsive and abrupt gestures often involuntarily exhibited by a person whose mind is full of some dreadful purpose. Suddenly awakening from this revery, he again expressed his unwillingness to return to the fort, and renewed his solicitations to Dr. Richardson to repair to the southern woods, where they would find ample subsistence. On being requested to pursue his own plan alone, and leave them to continue their journey, he broke into an ungovernable fury, accused Hepburn of having told stories against him, and assumed such airs of superiority as showed that he knew they were both in his power, at the same time giving vent to expressions of hatred against the white people, calling them deadly enemies, and affirming they had killed and eaten his uncle and two of his relations.



DR. RICHARDSON SHOOTING MICHEL.

None of these menaces were lost upon Richardson and Hepburn; both felt they were not safe in this man's company; and these dreadful surmises rose into certainty when he threw out hints that he would free himself from all restraint on the morrow. Being now convinced that, as he had cruelly murdered Hood, he was resolved also to sacrifice them, they ascribed his not having already done so to the circumstance of his not knowing the way to the fort, and requiring their guidance. They came to this conclusion without any communication with each other; for their fierce companion would not leave them a moment, watching them with a malignant look, and frequently muttering threats against Hepburn. Towards evening, as they approached the spot where it would be necessary to

stop for the night, Michel halted to gather *tripe de roche*, and to their surprise bade them walk on, and he would soon overtake them. Hepburn and Dr. Richardson, now left alone together for the first time since Mr. Hood's death, rapidly opened their minds to each other. In addition to the facts already mentioned, others came to light which left not the slightest doubt as to Michel's guilt; and so convinced was Hepburn of there being no safety for them but in his death, that, though a man of extreme benevolence and deep religious principle, he offered to be the instrument of it himself. "Had my own life," says Dr. Richardson, "alone been threatened, I would not have purchased it by such a measure; but I considered myself also as intrusted with that of Hepburn's, a man who, by his humane attentions and devotedness had so endeared himself to me, that I felt more anxiety for his safety than for my own." Animated by such feelings, and convinced that Michel's death was necessary to self-preservation, he determined that it ought to be by his own, and not by Hepburn's hand; and on his coming up, shot him through the head with a pistol.

It appeared that he had gathered no *tripe de roche*, and had halted to put his gun in order, no doubt with the intention of attacking them when in the act of encamping.

Dr. Richardson and Hepburn now pursued their way to the fort; but fatigue, and want of food and fuel, had nearly proved fatal to them. They remarked, however, that repeatedly when death appeared inevitable, an unexpected supply of provisions again restored them; and the confidence that, when no human help was nigh, they were supported by a merciful God, inspired them with renewed hope. At last they had the delight of beholding from an eminence the smoke issuing from the chimney of the fort, and immediately after embracing those friends for whose fate they had entertained so many melancholy forebodings. So ended this interesting narrative.

The whole party was now once more united, but under circumstances of the most distressing privation; all emaciated to such a degree as to look like living skeletons; their hands shook from weakness, so that to take an aim was impossible; and the rein-deer, partridges, and other game flew or bounded past in joyousness and security, while the unhappy beings who beheld them were gaunt with hunger. The winter was closing in with all its horrors; it became daily more difficult to procure fuel, the labour of cutting and carrying the logs being so grievous that only Dr. Richardson and Hepburn could undertake it; and to scrape the ground for bones, and to cook this miserable meal, was all Captain Franklin could accomplish. On the 1st of November the doctor obtained some *tripe de roche*; and as Peltier and Samandre were in the last stage of exhaustion, it was hoped a little of the soup might revive them. All was in vain; they tasted a few spoonfuls, but soon complained of a soreness in their throats, and both died in the course of the night, apparently without pain. To inter the bodies, or even carry them to the river, was a task for which the united strength of the survivors was inadequate; all they could do was to remove them into an opposite part of the house; and the living and the dead remained in awful contiguity under the same roof.

The party was now reduced to four,—Franklin, Richardson, Hepburn, and Adam. The last had become dreadfully low since the death of his companions, and could not bear to be left alone for a moment. Their stock of bones was exhausted, and in a short time it was evident that the severity of the frost would render the gathering of the *tripe de roche* impossible. Under these circumstances, with death by famine approaching every hour, this little band of pious and brave men were supported by an unwavering reliance on the mercy of God. "We read prayers," says Captain Franklin, "and a portion of the New Testament in the morning and evening, as had been our practice since Dr. Richardson's arrival; and I may remark, that the performance of these duties always afforded us the greatest consolation, serving to reanimate our hope in the mercy of the Omnipotent, who alone could save and deliver us." It seemed as if it were the mysterious design of the Almighty to permit them to be reduced to the lowest depth of suffering, that his power might be magnified at the very moment when every human effort appeared utterly impotent. Hitherto Dr. Richardson

and Hepburn had been the healthiest of the party, but they had overwrought themselves and had sunk rapidly. Owing to their loss of flesh, the hardness of the floor, from which they were only protected by a single blanket, rendered the whole surface of their bodies sore; yet the labour of turning from one side to the other, was too much for them. As their strength sank, their mental faculties partook of the weakness of their frame; and, to employ the candid and simple expressions of the excellent leader, "an unreasonable pettishness with each other began to manifest itself, each believing the other weaker in intellect than himself, and more in need of advice and assistance." During this gloomy period, after the first acute pains of hunger (which lasted but for three or four days) had subsided, they generally enjoyed the refreshment of sleep, accompanied by dreams which, for the most part, partook of a pleasant character, and very often related to the pleasures of feasting.

Help, however, was now near at hand, and we shall not impair the affecting description of their deliverance by giving it in any other than Captain Franklin's own words. "On November the 7th, Adam had passed a restless night, being disquieted by gloomy apprehensions of approaching death, which they tried in vain to dispel. He was so low in the morning as scarcely to be able to speak, and Captain Franklin remained by his bedside to cheer him as much as possible, while the doctor and Hepburn went out to cut wood. They had hardly begun their labour when they were amazed at hearing the report of a musket, and could scarcely believe that there was any one near till they heard a shout, and espied three Indians close to the house. Adam and Franklin heard the latter noise, and were fearful that some part of the house had fallen upon one of their companions,—a disaster which had been thought not unlikely. The alarm was only momentary; for Dr. Richardson came in to communicate the joyful intelligence that relief had arrived. He and Captain Franklin immediately addressed their thanksgivings to the Throne of Mercy for this deliverance; but poor Adam was in so low a state that he could scarcely comprehend the information. When the Indians entered he attempted to rise, but immediately sunk down again. But for this seasonable interposition of Providence, his existence must have terminated in a few hours, and that of the rest probably in not many days."

The Indians, who had been despatched by Mr. Back, had travelled with great expedition, and brought a small supply of provisions. They imprudently presented too much food at first; and though aware of the effects which might arise from a surfeit, and warned by Dr. Richardson to eat very sparingly, the sight of the venison was irresistible: and it was devoured by them all, not, excluding the doctor himself, with an avidity that soon produced the most acute pains, which during the night deprived them of rest. Adam, whose weakness rendered him unable to feed himself, was not subjected to the same inconvenience, and taking moderate meals revived hourly. All now was thankfulness and cheerful activity. Boudel-kell, the youngest Indian, after an hour's rest, returned to the encampment of Akaitcho, the Dog-rib chief, carrying a note from Captain Franklin, and a request for another supply of provisions. The two others, named in their familiar manner, Crooked Foot, and the Rat, remained to nurse the white men. Under their care the apartment, lately so desolate, and something between a sepulchre and a lazaret, assumed a gladdened look, which had the best effect. The dead bodes were removed, the room cleared of its filth and fragments of pounded bones, and large cheerful fires produced a sensation of comfort to which they had long been strangers. The poor sufferers had often cast a wishful eye on a pile of dried wood near the river, but were utterly unable to carry it up the bank. When pointed out to the Indians, they fetched it home with a rapidity which astonished our feeble friends. "They set about every thing," says Franklin, "with an avidity which amazed us. Indeed, contrasted with our emaciated figures and extreme debility, their frames appeared gigantic, and their strength supernatural."

Under the care of the Indians, and the blessing of wholesome and regular meals, the strength of the party was so far restored, that, although still feeble, on the 16th, after having united in prayer and thanksgiving to God for their deliverance, they left Fort Enterprise,—a spot where, as they had formerly



enjoyed much comfort, if not happiness, they had latterly experienced a degree of misery scarcely to be paralleled. The Indians treated them with unremitted kindness, gave them their own snow-shoes, and walked by their side to be ready to pick them up when they fell. In this manner they pushed forward to the abode of Akaitcho, the Indian chief, who welcomed them with the utmost hospitality. Soon after they received letters from their friends at Fort Providence, and the messenger also brought two trains of dogs, a package of spirits and tobacco for the Indians, and a supply of shirts and clothes for Captain Franklin and his companions. The gratification of changing their linen, which had been uninterruptedly worn ever since their departure from the seacoast, is described as conveying an intensity of comfort to which no words can do justice. From this spot their progress to Fort Providence, and thence to Montreal, was prosperous and easy; and thus terminated their long, fatiguing, and disastrous travels in North America, having journeyed by water and by land, including their navigation of the Polar Sea, 5550 miles.

So disastrous had been the result of his first expedition, and so appalling the sufferings with which it was accompanied, that nothing assuredly can convey a more honorable testimony to the enthusiastic zeal and unshaken perseverance of Captain Franklin, than the statement of the simple fact, that towards the close of 1823, having learned the determination of government to make another attempt to effect a northern passage by sea between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, he, to use his own words, "ventured to lay before his majesty's government a plan for an expedition over land to the mouth of the Mackenzie River, and thence by sea to the north-western extremity of America, with the combined objects also of surveying the coasts between the Mackenzie and the Coppermine Rivers."

It was the opinion of this able officer, that in the course he now proposed to follow, reverses similar to those which had surrounded his first journey were scarcely to be apprehended; and his views having met the approbation of government, he received directions for the equipment of the expedition, and was nominated its commander. He had the satisfaction also of being once more accompanied by his valued friend Dr. Richardson; who, unappalled by his former dreadful sufferings, again offered his services as naturalist and surgeon, and volunteered to undertake the survey of the coast between the Mackenzie and Coppermine Rivers, while Captain Franklin was occupied in an attempt to reach Icy Cape. Previous to the departure of the ships a correspondence was opened with the governor and directors of the Hudson's Bay Company; who transmitted injunctions to their officers in the fur countries to provide depots of provisions at the stations pointed out by Franklin.

The building of proper boats for the navigation of the Arctic Sea, as well as the passage of the rapids between York Factory and Mackenzie River, formed the next object of attention. It was evident that the canoes of birch bark employed by Sir A. Mackenzie, and by Captain Franklin in his first journey, though excellently adapted for the American rivers, uniting lightness and facility of repair with speed, were yet, from the tenderness of the bark, little fitted to resist the force of the arctic waves, or the collision of the sharp-pointed masses of ice. Captain Franklin accordingly obtained the Admiralty's permission to have three boats constructed at Woolwich, under his own superintendence. "They were built," says he, "of mahogany, with timbers of ash, both ends exactly alike, and fitted to be steered either with a ship-oar or a rudder. The largest, being twenty-six feet long and five feet four inches broad, was adapted for six rowers, a steersman, and an officer; it was found to be capable of carrying three tons weight in addition to the crew, and could be transported with ease on the shoulders of six men. The other two boats were twenty-four feet in length, four feet ten inches broad, and held a crew of five men, besides a steersman and an officer, with an extra weight of two and a half tons. In addition to these, another little vessel was constructed, at Woolwich, which reflected great credit upon its inventor, Lieutenant-colonel Pasley, of the Royal Engineers. Its shape was exactly that of one of the valves of a walnut-shell, and it was framed of well-seasoned planks of ash, fastened together with thongs, and covered with Mackintosh's

prepared canvass. It weighed only eighty-five pounds, and when taken to pieces could be made up in five or six parcels, and again put together in less than twenty minutes, although it was nine feet long by four feet four inches in breadth." Each person on board was provided with two suits of water-proof dresses, prepared by Mr. Mackintosh, of Glasgow; the guns, which were of the same bore as the fowling-pieces furnished by the Hudson's Bay Company to the Indian hunters, had their locks tempered to resist the cold; each being fitted with a broad Indian dagger, similar to a bayonet, which, on being disjoined, could be used as a knife. Ammunition of the best quality, and a store of provisions sufficient for two years, were also supplied.

The expedition sailed from Liverpool on the 16th of February, 1825, and after a favourable passage to New-York, proceeded to Albany, travelled through Utica, Rochester, and Geneva, crossed the Niagara and Lake Ontario, coasted the northern shore of Lake Superior, and thence pushed forward through Rainy Lake, the Lake of the Woods, Lake Winnipeg, Saskatchewan River, and arrived at Cumberland House on the 15th of June. From this station, proceeding northward to Isle a la Crosse, and passing through Deep River, and Clear and Buffalo Lakes, they overtook their boats in Methye River, on the morning of the 29th of June. The advanced period of the season rendered it impossible to embark on the Mackenzie before the middle of August, so that it became necessary to postpone the great expedition till the ensuing summer. They accordingly established their winter quarters on the banks, erecting a habitation and a store, which they named Fort Franklin. The superintendence of these buildings was committed to Lieutenant Back, while Captain Franklin determined to descend the river, take a view of the Polar Sea, and return to winter quarters before the extreme cold should set in.

In this voyage there occurred nothing worthy of particular notice till the arrival at Whale Island, where, though Mackenzie had the strongest reasons to conclude that he had reached the sea, he appears not to have been completely satisfied on that point. Probably his doubts arose from the fresh taste of the water. Franklin, however, proceeded beyond Whale Island, and reached the shore of the great Arctic Ocean. "Embarking," says he, "at eleven A. M., we continued our course along the shore of Ellice Island, until we found its coast tending southward of east. There we landed, and were rejoiced at the sea-like appearance to the northward. An Island was now discovered to the north-east, looking blue from its distance, towards which the boat was immediately directed. The water, which for the last eight miles had been very shallow, became gradually deeper, and of a more green colour, though still fresh, even when we had entirely lost sight of the eastern land. In the middle of the traverse we were caught by a strong contrary wind, against which our crews cheerfully contended for five hours. Unwilling to return without attaining the object of our search, when the strength of the rowers was nearly exhausted, the sails were set double reefed, and our excellent boat mounted over the waves in a most buoyant manner, while an opportune alteration of the wind enabled us in the course of another hour to fetch into smoother water, under the shelter of the island. We then pulled across a line of strong ripple, which marked the termination of the fresh water, that on the seaward side being brackish; and in the further progress of three miles to the island, we had the indescribable pleasure of finding the water decidedly salt. The sun was setting as the boat touched the beach; we hastened to the most elevated part of the island, about two hundred and fifty feet high, to look around; and never was a prospect more gratifying than that which lay open to us. The Rocky Mountains were seen from S. W. to W. half N., and from the latter point, round by the north, the sea appeared in all its majesty, entirely free from ice, and without any visible obstruction to its navigation. Many seals and black and white whales were seen sporting on its waves, and the whole scene was calculated to excite in our minds the most flattering expectations of our own success, and that of our friends in the *Hecla* and the *Fury*." Franklin pronounces a high encomium on the accuracy of Mackenzie, and considers him as completely entitled to the praise of having reached the Arctic Sea, although, owing to the frail construction of the Indian canoes, it was impossible for him to sail to the point where the water became salt.

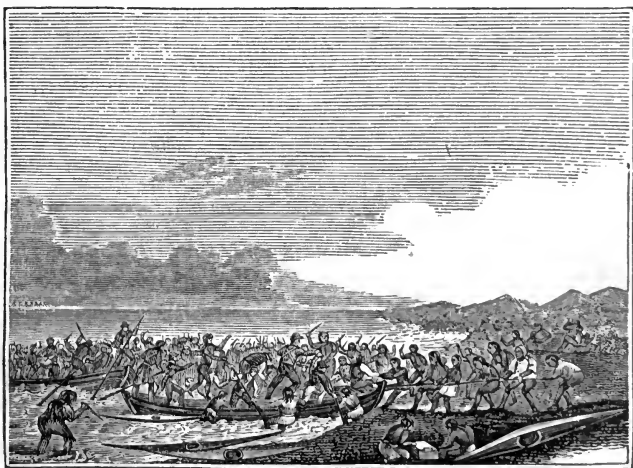
Having accomplished his design in this preliminary journey, Franklin returned on the 5th of September to his winter quarters on Great Bear Lake. About the same time Dr. Richardson returned from his excursion to the north-eastern shores of the same extensive sheet of water, having completed his survey as far as the influx of Dease's River, and ascertained that the first rapid was the best point to which the eastern detachment of the expedition should direct its course on their return from the Coppermine in the following season. Meantime the people were so busily employed that time never hung heavy on their hands, and the shortest day came almost unexpectedly upon them. The Canadians and Indians were engaged in fishing and hunting for the whole party, and during the autumn the nets yielded daily eight hundred fish of the kind called herring-salmon. Four Dog-rib Indians, along with the two interpreters, Augustus and Ooligbuck, were employed in hunting reindeer, and the sailors were divided into different parties to whom separate duties were allotted; such as attending on the nets, bringing home the venison killed by the hunters, felling, carrying, and splitting wood, running as letter carriers on snow shoes between Fort Franklin and two other small posts established on the Mackenzie and Slave Lake. A school also was opened, in which, during the long winter evenings, the officers instructed the sailors in reading, writing, and arithmetic; and during the hours of relaxation the hall was given up to the men to divert themselves with any game they chose; on which occasion they were always joined by the officers. Sunday was invariably a day of rest, and the whole party attended divine service morning and evening. Besides this, the officers had ample employment in noting down the thermometrical, magnetical, and atmospherical observations, in writing their journals, finishing their charts and drawings, and arranging the objects of natural history which had been collected. They were amused by occasional visits of the Dog-rib Indians and various other tribes; and Christmasday falling on a Sunday, they on the succeeding evening gave a dance and supper, which was attended by sixty persons, including savages. "Seldom," says Franklin, "in such a confined space as our hall, or among the same number of persons, was there a greater variety of character or greater confusion of tongues. The party consisted of Englishmen, Highlanders, (who mostly conversed with each other in Gaelic,) Canadians, (who spoke French,) Esquimaux, Chipewyans, Dog-ribs, Hare Indians, Cree women and children, all mingled together in perfect harmony, while the amusements were varied by English, Gaelic, and French songs."

The spring now approached, and the migratory animals, which observe with beautiful exactness their periods of departure and arrival began to appear, gladdening the yet wintry face of nature. On the 5th of October the last swan had passed to the southward, and on the 11th the last brown duck was noticed. On the 6th of May the first swan was seen, and on the 8th the brown ducks reappeared on the lake. The mosses began to sprout, and various singing birds and orioles, along with some swifts and white geese, arrived soon after. It is remarked by Dr. Richardson, that the singing birds, which were silent on the banks of the Bear Lake during the day, serenaded their mates at midnight; at which time, however, it was quite light. On the 20th of May, the little stream which flowed past the fort burst its icy chains, and the laughing geese arrived to give renewed cheerfulness to the lake. Soon after this, the winter-green began to push forth its flowers; and under the increasing warmth of the sun's rays, the whole face of nature underwent a delightful change. The snow gradually melted, the ice broke up from the shores of the lake, the northern sky became red and luminous at midnight, the dwarf birch and willows expanded their leaves, and by the 3d of June the anemones, the tussilago, the Lapland rose, and other early plants, were in full flower.

Admonished by these pleasing changes, Captain Franklin prepared to set out, and on the 15th of June the equipments for the boats were completed. Fourteen men, including Augustus the Esquimaux interpreter, accompanied the commander-in-chief and Lieutenant Back in the two larger boats, the *Lion* and the *Reliance*; while nine men, and Oolinbuck, another interpreter, attended Dr. Richardson and Mr. Kendall in the *Dolphin* and the *Unicorn*. Spare blankets, and all that could be useful for the voyage, or as presents to the Esqui-

maux, were divided between the eastern and the western parties. On the Sunday before their departure, the officers and men assembled at divine worship, and, in addition to the usual service, the special protection of the Almighty was implored for the enterprise upon which they were about to be engaged. All was now ready, and on Tuesday, the 28th of June, they embarked upon the Mackenzie, with the navigation of which the reader is already familiar. On the 4th of July; they reached that part where the river divides into various channels, and the two parties had determined to pursue different directions. The expedition which was to follow the western branch, commanded by Captain Franklin, embarked first, at Dr. Richardson's desire, with a salute of three hearty cheers from their companions, and as they dropped down the river and passed round a point of land they perceived their friends who were to follow the eastern branch employed in the bustle of embarkation. All were in high spirits, and it was impossible not to contrast their present complete state of equipment with the circumstances of their former disastrous journey.

On reaching the mouth of the Mackenzie, the western expedition came almost immediately into contact with the Esquimaux. Captain Franklin observed an encampment upon a neighbouring island, and instantly proceeded to open a communication. A selection of presents was made, and at the same time every man was directed to have his gun ready for use. Having adopted these precautions, they steered direct for the island with their ensigns flying. The boats touched ground when about a mile from the beach. Signals were made to the Esquimaux to come off, and the English pulled back a little to await their arrival in deeper water. Three canoes, carrying only a single person, pushed off, and these were followed rapidly by others; so that in a few minutes the whole space between the boats and the shore was alive with those little vessels, which they name kayaks. An attempt was at first made to count them, and the sailors got the length of seventy; but they increased in such quick succession as to baffle their further efforts.



ESQUIMAUX PILLAGING THE BOATS.

At first every thing proceeded in a friendly manner. Augustus, after delivering a present, informed them, that if the English succeeded in finding a navigable channel for large ships, an advantageous trade would be opened. This information was received with a deafening shout, and the sight of the presents which had been carried away by the three foremost kayaks inflamed the cupidity of their companions; so that the boats were in a moment surrounded by nearly

three hundred persons, offering for sale their bows, arrows, and spears, with a violence and perseverance which became at last exceedingly troublesome, and Captain Franklin directed the boats to be put to seaward. At this moment a hayak was upset by one of the oars of the *Lion*, and its unhappy possessor was stuck by the accident with his head in the mud and his heels in the air. He was instantly extricated, wrapped in a warm great-coat, and placed in the boat, where, although at first excessively frightened and angry, he soon became reconciled to his situation, and looking about, discovered many bales and other articles which had hitherto been carefully concealed. His first impulse was to ask for every thing he saw, his next to be indignant that his requests were not granted; and on joining his companions, as they afterwards learned, he harangued on the inexhaustible riches of the *Lion*, and proposed a plan for a general attack and pillage of both the boats. This scheme was immediately carried into execution; and although the plunderers at first affected to be partly in sport, matters soon assumed a serious complexion. Two of the most powerful men, leaping on board, seized Captain Franklin, forced him to sit between them, and when he shook them off, a third took his station in front to catch his arm whenever he attempted to raise his gun or lay his hand on the broad dagger which hung by his side. During this assault the two boats were violently dragged to the shore, and a numerous party, stripping to the waist and brandishing their long sharp knives, ran to the *Reliance*, and commenced a regular pillage, handing the articles to the women, who, ranged in a row behind, quickly conveyed them out of sight. No sooner was the bow cleared of one set of maranders than another party commenced their operations at the stern. The *Lion* was beset by smaller numbers, and her crew, by firmly keeping their seats on the canvass-cover spread over the cargo, and beating of the natives with the butt end of their muskets, succeeded in preventing any article of importance from being carried away. Irritated, at length, by their frequent failure, the Esquimaux made a simultaneous charge, and, leaping on board, began to wrest the daggers and shot belts from the sailors, and to strike with their knives. In the midst of this attack, when the crew in the *Lion* were nearly overpowered, and their commander disarmed, all at once the natives took to their heels, and concealed themselves behind the drift timber and canoes on the beach. This sudden panic was occasioned by Captain Back, whose boat at this time had been got afloat, commanding his crew to level their muskets,—a proceeding which was immediately observed by the Esquimaux, though not noticed by Captain Franklin's men, who were wholly occupied in defending themselves. The *Lion* happily floated soon after; and as both boats pulled off, Captain Franklin desired Augustus to inform some of the Esquimaux, who manifested a disposition to follow and renew the attack, that he would shoot the first man who ventured to approach within musket range.

In the evening, Augustus anxiously entreated permission to attend a conference of his countrymen on the shore, to which he had been formally invited. The courage and fidelity of this person had much endeared himself to the English, and it was not without much hesitation that Captain Franklin agreed to his request, as he stated his determination to reprove the natives for their disgraceful conduct. He was at length allowed to go, and by the time he reached the shore the number of Esquimaux amounted to forty, all of them armed. On landing, he walked undauntedly into the middle of the assembly, and addressed them in the following animated speech, which he afterwards repeated to his English friends:

"Your conduct," said he, "has been very bad, and unlike all other Esquimaux. Some of you even stole from me, you countryman—but that I do not mind. I only regret that you should have treated in this vile manner the white people, who came solely to do you kindness. My tribe were in the same unhappy state in which you now are before the white people came to Churchill; but at present they are supplied with every thing they need; and you see that I am well clothed, I get every thing I want, and am very comfortable. You cannot expect, after the transactions of this day, that these people will ever bring any articles to your country again, unless you show your contrition by returning the stolen goods. The white people love the Esquimaux, and wish to show them

the same kindness that they bestow upon the Indians. Do not deceive yourselves, and suppose that they are afraid of you ; I tell you they are not, and that it is entirely owing to their humanity that many of you were not killed to-day, for they have all guns with which they can destroy you either near or at a distance. I also have a gun, and can assure you that if a white man had fallen, I would have been the first to have revenged his death."

During this speech, which was delivered, as they perceived from the boats, with much energy and spirited gesticulation, the Esquimaux expressed their approbation by frequent shouts, and on its conclusion made a very penitent, though somewhat singular apology : " They had never seen white men before," they said, " and really all the things in the boat were so beautiful and desirable that it was impossible not to steal them. As they were very anxious, however, for the friendship and trade of the white men, they solemnly promised never to repeat such conduct, and at the request of Augustus, sent back the large kettle, the tent, and some pairs of shoes which they had carried off. The interpreter was afterward invited to a dance, and a friendly understanding seemed to be established; but Captain Franklin soon discovered that the professions of the natives were hollow and treacherous; and nothing but his jealous precautions saved him and his companions from massacre, in which it had been resolved to include the faithful Augustus.

Their voyage along the coast in the direction of west-north-west, after a progress of twelve miles, was impeded by the ice stretching from the shore far to seaward. The boats were in consequence hauled up; and as the frozen masses were piled round to the height of thirty feet, it became necessary to await the breaking up of this formidable barrier. Having gone to sleep, the officers were startled at midnight by the guard calling to arms: three Esquimaux, belonging to a large party encamped at some distance, had stolen forward, and been only discovered when close at hand. Alarmed at the appearance of the men, who stood to their arms, the strangers were on the point of discharging their arrows, when they were arrested by the loud voice of Augustus, who explained the object of the expedition, and dilated upon the advantages which they would derive from it. A present confirmed his statement, and an amicable intercourse was opened,—a line, however, being first drawn at a certain distance from the tents, across which no Esquimaux was to pass under the penalty of being instantly shot. Against this they made no remonstrance, only remarking, when informed of the treacherous conduct of the natives at the mouth of Mackenzie River, that " these were bad men, altogether different from them, and never failed either to steal or quarrel whenever an opportunity was offered." The delight exhibited by these people, including the most elderly among them, on receiving any little present, was exactly similar to that of children when they get hold of toys. They ran from one thing to another; examined with restless curiosity every part of Augustus's dress, who, to gratify his vanity, had put on his gayest apparel; and, ignorant of the uses of the articles presented to them, they walked about with cod fish hooks and awls dangling from the nose, and copper thimbles strung to their trousers or reindeer jackets. The men were robust, and taller than those seen on the east coast by Captain Parry, though their manner of life appeared to be nearly the same. With the broad nose and small eyes, which peculiarly distinguish the whole Esquimaux tribes, they had the cheek bones less projecting than those of the eastern coast. From a constant exposure to the glare of the ice and snow, the whole party were afflicted with sore eyes, and two of the old men seemed nearly blind. They wore the hair on the upper lip and chin, and every man had pieces of bone or shells thrust through the septum of the nose, while holes were pierced on each side of the under lip, in which were placed circular pieces of ivory with a large blue bead in the centre,—ornaments which they valued highly, and declined selling. Their clothes consisted of a jacket of reindeer skin, with a skirt behind and before, and a small hood; breeches of the same material, and large seal skin boots. The dress of the females differed from that of the men only in their wearing wide trousers, and in the size of their hoods, which did not fit close to their heads, but were made large for the purpose of receiving their children: these were ornamented with stripes of different co-

loured skins, and round the top was fastened a band of wolf's hair, made to stand erect. The women were from four feet and a half to four feet three-quarters high, and some of the younger, though too corpulent, were pretty; their black hair was tastefully turned up from behind to the top of the head, and braided with strings of white and blue beads and cords of white deer skin. Both men and women were much pleased by having their portraits sketched by Captain Back; and one young lady, who sat for a full length, and chose the extraordinary attitude of stuffing both hands into her breeches pockets, interrupted the labours of the draughtsman by repeatedly jumping into the air, and smiling in a very ludicrous and irresistible manner. The men were armed with bows and arrows, long knives, which they concealed in the shirt sleeve, and spears tipped with bone.

The Esquimaux had predicted that as soon as a strong wind began to blow from the land it would loosen the ice; and on the 12th of July a heavy rain with a pretty high gale set in and opened a passage. The boats accordingly were launched; and, passing by a wide bay named by the commander after his friends Captains Sabine and Kay, they were suddenly arrested by a compact body of ice, and enveloped at the same time in a dense fog. On attempting to pull back for the purpose of landing, they discovered that the ice had closed between them and the shore. In this situation only one alternative was left, which was to pull to seaward and trace the outer border of the ice. This they at last effected; though a sudden change of wind brought on a heavy swell, and surrounded them with floating masses of ice, which threatened to crush the boats to pieces. They succeeded, however, after five hours employed in sailing in and out between these floating icebergs, in reaching the shore and landing a little to the west of Point Sabine. After a detention of two days they proceeded as far as Point Kay; but being here again impeded by a compact body of ice, which extended to seaward as far as the eye could reach, they were obliged to encamp and wait patiently for the first strong breeze from the land.

The time of their sojourn in these arctic solitudes was pleasantly occupied in making astronomical observations, collecting specimens of the plants in flower, sketching scenery, and completing charts of the coast. Augustus went in search of his countrymen, and returned at night with a young Esquimaux and his wife, who, after a few presents, became loquacious, and informed them that the ice would soon break up. Symptoms of this desirable change were observed next day, and with great labour they reached Herschel Island. At the moment they made the shore a herd of reindeer came bounding down to the beach, pursued by three Esquimaux hunters, and immediately took the water, while the natives, startled at sight of the strangers, gazed for a moment, consulted among themselves, changed the heads of their arrows, and prepared their bows. Their hostile intentions, however, were laid aside when they were addressed by Augustus; and in the evening a large party arrived, bringing dried meat, fish, and game, for which they received presents in exchange, which set them singing and dancing round the encampment for the greater part of the night.

From these people was collected some curious information. They stated that they procured beads, knives, and iron, principally from Esquimaux residing far away to the west, and also from Indians who came annually from the interior by a river directly opposite the encampment, to which Captain Franklin gave the name of Mountain Indian River. Whence the Indians or the Esquimaux obtained these goods they could not tell, but supposed it was from Kabloonacht or white men, at a great distance to the west. The articles were not of British manufacture, from which Captain Franklin concluded that the Kabloonacht must be the Russian fur-traders.

It was with great difficulty that the boats made even a short distance from Herschel Island. The ice repeatedly closed in upon them, leaving only a narrow channel, often too shallow to float the boats, and dense fogs now became frequent, rendering their navigation peculiarly hazardous. These dreary curtains hanging over the ice gave it the appearance of water, and exposed them to the danger of being shut in by an impenetrable barrier when they expected an open sea. They continued their course, however, till they came abreast of

Mount Conybeare, when they encamped, and crossing a swampy level ascended to the summit, from which they enjoyed a striking view into the interior. Three noble ranges of mountains were seen parallel to the Buckland chain, but of less altitude, while the prospect was bounded by a fourth range, mingling their pyramidal summits with the clouds, and covered with snow. From this last encampment their advance was extremely slow. The boats were pushed forward through small lanes, the utmost vigilance being necessary to prevent their being entirely shut in, as a few hours often made essential changes, and their frail craft could only be saved by being frequently hauled upon the beach. The calm weather also retarded them, and they earnestly longed for a strong gale to break up the compacted fields of ice, and permit them to continue their voyage.

After a detention of some days their wishes seemed about to be gratified: at midnight, on the 25th of July, a strong south-westerly breeze sprang up, accompanied by thunder and lightning; but in the morning an impenetrable fog hung over the sea. On the land side the prospect was equally dreary; an extensive swamp, in which they sank ankle deep at every step, prevented any excursions into the interior, and the clouds of mosquitoes which forever buzzed around them kept them in a perpetual irritation. At length, however, the fog dispersed, disclosing an open lane of water about half a mile from shore; following its course for eight miles they came to the mouth of a wide river, which had its rise in the British range of mountains. Its course approached near the line of demarcation between the American dominions of Great Britain and Russia, and Captain Franklin named it Clarence River, after the Duke of Clarence, then lord high admiral, and subsequently King William IV. On the most elevated part of the coast near its mouth they erected a pile of drift wood, under which they deposited a tin box containing, a royal silver medal, and an account of the proceedings of the expedition; after which the union flag was hoisted with three hearty cheers.

They now continued their voyage, though often beset by ice and interrupted by fogs, and, passing the boundary between Russian and British America, descried an encampment of natives on a low island, surrounded by many ooniaks and kayaks guarded by Esquimaux dogs, while their masters were fast asleep in the tents. The interpreter being despatched to arouse them, a singular scene took place. At his first call a little squabby woman rushed out in a state of perfect nudity, uttered a loud yell, and instantly ran back again to rouse her husband, who, shouting out that strangers were at hand, awoke the whole band. In a moment all seized their arms, and, without waiting to put on their deer skin breeches or jackets, swarmed out upon the beach, which in an instant was covered with fifty-four grown up persons completely naked, very outrageous, dirty, and ugly. A short parley quieted their fears, an interchange of presents took place, and the boats crossed Camden Bay, having in view the noble range of the Romanzoff Mountains, whose peaks were covered with snow.

Soon after they arrived at the mouth of a river which discharged into the sea so great a volume of water that even three miles from land the taste was perfectly fresh; and having reached latitude  $70^{\circ} 7'$ , further progress was prevented by ice closely packed on the outer border of a reef, and they discovered that the great chain of the Rocky Mountains either terminated abreast of their present situation, or receded so far to the southward as to fade away in the distance. During their detention, Captain Back, to whose pencil we are indebted for many admirable drawings of arctic scenery, made a sketch of the most western mountain, which they named Mount Copleston. Various circumstances now warned them that much further progress along this inhospitable coast was impracticable. The fogs became more frequent and perilous, the water was often so shallow that even two miles from shore the boats grounded, and on getting into deeper soundings, the repeated shocks received from masses of floating ice severely injured their timbers, especially those of the *Lion*, which was very leaky. Still they struggled on from Flaxman Island along a low, desolate shore, rendered more dreary by the stormy weather, till on the 10th a gale brought along with it a thick fog, and they hauled up the boats, encamping on a low spot which they



named Foggy Island. Here they kindled fires, dried their clothes, which were completely wet with the moisture of the atmosphere, and amused themselves in their murky prison by proceeding in search of reindeer. The fog caused frequent and sometimes ludicrous mistakes; and on one occasion, after the men had spent a long time in stealing upon some deer, and were congratulating themselves on coming within shot, to their amazement the animals took wing and disappeared in the fog, with a scream and a cackle which at once declared their genus, and seemed to deride the credulity of their pursuers. "We witnessed with regret," says Captain Franklin, "in these short rambles, the havoc which this dreary weather made among the flowers. Many which had been blooming upon our arrival were now lying prostrate and withered, and these symptoms of decay could not fail painfully to remind us that the end of our operations was fast approaching. Often at this time did every one express a wish that we had some decked vessel, in which the provisions could be secured from the injury of salt-water, and the crew sheltered when they required rest, that we might quit this shallow coast and steer at once towards Icy Cape." So frequently did they attempt to fulfil this desire, and so perpetually were they driven back by the fog closing upon them, that the sailors declared the island was enchanted. Indeed, to a superstitious mind the appearances furnished some ground for believing it. The fog would often disperse, and permit a short glimpse of a point about three miles distant, bearing north-west by west; and in a moment every hand was at work, the boats were launched, the crews embarked; but before they could be dragged into deep water the spirit of the mist once more drew his impenetrable curtain round them, and after resting a while on their oars, they were compelled to pull back to their old quarters. Scarcely had they kindled a fire and begun to dry their clothes, soaked with wading over the flats, when the fog again opened, the boats were launched, and the desired point almost gained; but their tormentor once more enveloped earth and ocean in a thicker gloom than before. "Fog is, of all others," says Captain Franklin, "the most hazardous state of the atmosphere for navigation in an icy sea, especially where it is accompanied by strong breezes; but particularly so for boats where the shore is unapproachable. If caught by a gale, a heavy swell, or drifting ice, the result must be their wreck, or the throwing their provisions overboard to lighten them, so as to proceed in shoal water. Many large pieces of ice were seen on the border of the shallow water, and from the lowness of the temperature we concluded that the main body was at no great distance."

The nights were now lengthening; the grasses and the whole aspect of the vegetation was autumnal; their stores of drift wood had been so much drawn upon that, though the tents were wet through, and they were for warmth obliged to wrap their feet in blankets, no fire was allowed except to cook the victuals. The provisions were barely sufficient for the support of the party on their return, while the frequency of the fogs, the shallowness which prevented the boats from floating, the heavy swell that, as the wind freshened, rose upon the flats, compelled them to haul farther from the land, and the danger which in doing so they necessarily incurred from drift ice, formed an accumulation of difficulties which rendered their progress from Point Anxiety across Pudhoe Bay to Return Reef the most discouraging and painful part of the whole voyage. It was now the 19th of August, and the boats, though the exertions of the crew had been unwearied, were only half way between the mouth of Mackenzie's River and Icy Cape. The young ice had already begun to form at night on the pools of fresh water, and the mind of the commander recurred naturally and wisely to his former experience. He recollected that only one day later, and in a latitude two degrees southerly, he had in his first voyage encountered severe storms of wind and snow, and that in a fortnight the winter would set in with all its horrors. Already the sun began to sink below the horizon, and with this change the mean temperature of the atmosphere rapidly decreased; the deer were hastening from the coast; the Esquimaux had ceased to appear; no winter houses gave indications that this remote coast was inhabited; and the autumnal parties of geese hourly winging their flight to the westward, indicated that winter had already surprised them in their polar solitudes. It had been Franklin's great object to

double Icy Cape, and meet the expedition under Captain Beechey in Kotzebue's Inlet, but from the distance and the advanced season this was now impracticable. On the other hand, his instructions directed him, "if, in consequence of slow progress, or other unforeseen accident, it should remain doubtful whether the expedition should be able to reach Kotzebue's Inlet the same season, to commence their return on the 15th or 20th of August." To relinquish the great object of his ambition; and to disappoint the confidence reposed in his exertions, was a sacrifice which cost him no ordinary pain; and had he been aware of the fact, (with which the reader will be immediately acquainted,) that the barge of the Blossom was at that moment only 146 miles distant, we have his own authority for stating that no difficulties or dangers would have prevailed on him to return; but, under the circumstances in which he was placed, to make any further effort in advance was incompatible with the higher duties which he owed to his officers and crew. After a mature consideration of every thing, he formed the reluctant conclusion that they had reached the point where perseverance would have been rashness, and their best efforts must have only led to a more calamitous failure. It was resolved therefore to return; and on the morning of the 18th of August they began their retreat to the Mackenzie River, which, without any material danger, with the exception of a severe gale encountered off Point Kay, they reached on the 4th of September. Thence they proceeded to Fort Franklin, where they met Dr. Richardson, Mr. Kendall, and their friends of the eastern expedition, who, after a prosperous and interesting voyage to the mouth of the Coppermine, had returned to the Fort on the 1st of September.

Of this interesting journey our limits will only permit a very cursory glance. Fortunately for the eastern expedition, the coast between the mouths of Mackenzie and Coppermine Rivers presented none of those serious obstacles which at every step were starting up in the dreary and protracted route of the western party; and they consequently accomplished a voyage of about 500 miles, between the 4th of July and the 8th of August. It was eminently successful in the accurate survey of this hitherto unexplored coast, but unvaried by any remarkable incidents. The Esquimaux, on various parts of the coast, were more numerous, pacific, comfortable, and wealthy than the western tribes; but their civilization had not eradicated the propensity for thieving. On one occasion the boats were surrounded by a fleet of about fifty kayaks, and an attack was made exactly similar to that upon Franklin; but though their object was the same, it was pursued with less vigour, and the moment the sailors levelled their muskets the whole party dispersed with precipitation.

On arriving at Atkinson Island they discovered, under shelter of a chain of sand hills drifted by the wind to the height of thirty feet, a small Esquimaux town, consisting of seventeen winter houses, besides a larger building, which Dr. Richardson at first conjectured to be a house of assembly for the tribe. Ooligbuck the interpreter, however, whose ideas were more gross and commonplace, pronounced it to be a general eating room. "This large building," says Dr. Richardson, "was in the interior a square of twenty-seven feet, having the roof supported on two strong ridge poles two feet apart, and resting on four upright posts. The floor in the centre formed of split logs, dressed and laid with great care, was surrounded by a raised border about three feet wide, which was no doubt meant for seats. The walls, three feet high, were inclined outwards, for the convenience of leaning the back against them, and the ascent to the door, which was on the south side, was formed of logs. The outside, which was covered with earth, had nearly a hemispherical form, and round its base were ranged the skulls of twenty-one whales. There was a square hole in the roof, and the central log of the floor had a basin shaped-cavity one foot in diameter, which was perhaps intended for a lamp. The general attention to comfort in the construction of the village, and the erection of a building of such magnitude, requiring a union of purpose in a considerable number of people, were evidences of a more advanced progress towards civilization than had yet been found among the Esquimaux. Whale skulls were confined to the large building, and to one of the dwelling houses, which had three or four placed round it. Many

wooden trays and handbarrows for carrying whale blubber were lying on the ground, most of them in a state of decay."

On making the traverse of Harrowby Bay, land was seen round the bottom; and on nearing the shore twelve tents were distinguished on an adjoining eminence. When the boats appeared, a woman, who was walking along the beach, gave the alarm, and the men rushed out, brandishing their knives, and employing the most furious expressions. In vain Ooligbuck endeavoured to calm their apprehensions, explaining that the strangers were friends; they only replied by shouts, leaps, or hideous grimaces, intended to inspire terror, and displayed great agility, frequently standing on one foot and throwing the other nearly as high as their head. Dr. Richardson, nothing intimidated by these gesticulations, bethought himself of enouncing, at the highest key he could reach, the word "Noo-wœrlawgo," meaning "I wish to barter," and the sound operated like a spell. The savages instantly became quiet; one of them ran to his kayak, paddled off to the boats, and was followed by crowds, who fearlessly came along side, readily exchanging bows, arrows, spears, and dressed seal skins, for bits of old iron hoop, files and beads. "The females," says Dr. Richardson, "unlike those of other Indian tribes, had much handsomer features than the men; and one young woman of the party would have been deemed pretty even in Europe. Our presents seemed to render them perfectly happy, and they danced with such ecstasy in their slender boats as to incur more than once great hazard of being overset. A bundle of strings of beads being thrown into an oomiak, it was caught by an old woman, who hugged the treasure to her breast with the strongest expression of rapture; while another elderly dame, who had stretched out her arms in vain, became the very picture of despair. On its being explained, however, that the present was intended for the whole party, an amicable division took place; and to show their gratitude, they sang a song to a pleasing air, keeping time with their oars. They gave us many pressing invitations to pass the night at their tents, in which they were joined by the men; and to excite our liberality the mothers drew their children out of their wide boots, where they were accustomed to carry them naked, and holding them up begged beads for them. For a time their entreaties were successful; but being desirous of getting clear of our visitors before breakfast time, we at length told them the stock was exhausted, and they took leave."

"The voyage, owing to the clear atmosphere, the unencumbered state of the coast, and the abundant supply of provisions, was pursued with ease and comfort; and on the 8th of August, having made a bold cape, rising precipitously from the sea to the height of 350 feet, Dr. Richardson and Mr. Kendall climbed the promontory, and descried in the distance the gap in the hills at Bloody Falls, through which the Coppermine holds its course. Delighted with the prospect of so near a termination of their labours, they communicated the intelligence to the crew, who received it with expressions of profound gratitude to the Divine Being for his protection during the voyage. On reaching the river the men were in excellent condition, fresh and vigorous, for the march across the barren grounds on their return to Fort Franklin, which, as already mentioned, they reached in safety on the 1st of September. On approaching within a few days' journey of the fort, a pleasant adventure occurred, characteristic of Indian gratitude and friendship. The party had supped, and most of the men had retired to rest, when Mr. Kendall, in sweeping the horizon with his telescope, descried three Indians coming down a hill towards the encampment. More moss was thrown on the fire, and the St. George's ensign hoisted on the end of a musket, to show the comers that they were approaching friends; but they hid the youngest of their number in a ravine, and approached slowly and with suspicion. Mr. Kendall and Dr. Richardson immediately went unarmed to meet them, and as they came up one held his bow and arrows ready in his hand, and the other cocked his gun; but as soon as they recognised the doctor's dress,—the same he had worn the preceding autumn in his voyage round Bear Lake, and which was familiar to most of the Hare Indians, they shouted in an ecstasy of joy, shook hands most cordially, and called loudly for the young lad whom they had hid to come up. "The meeting," says Dr. Richardson, "was highly gratifying

to ourselves as well as to the kind natives: for they seemed to be friends come to rejoice with us on the happy termination of our voyage."

It had naturally occurred to Government, that if the expeditions under Captains Parry and Franklin should be successful, their stores would be exhausted by the time they reached Behring's Strait. It was certain also that Franklin would be destitute of any means of conveyance to Europe; and to supply these wants Government resolved that a vessel should be sent out to await their arrival in Behring's Strait. For this purpose, accordingly, Captain F. W. Beechey sailed in the *Blossom* from Spithead on the 19th of May, 1824. The vessel was a twenty-six gun ship, but on this occasion mounted only sixteen. She was partially strengthened, and adapted to this peculiar service by increasing her stowage. A boat was also supplied to be used as a tender, built as large as the space on her decks would allow, schooner-rigged, decked, and fitted up in the most complete manner. Cloths, beads, cutlery, and various other articles of traffic, were put on board, and a variety of antiscorbutics were added to the usual allowance of provision. Aware that he must traverse a large portion of the globe hitherto little explored, and that a considerable period would elapse before his presence would be required on the coast of America, Captain Beechey was instructed to survey the parts of the Pacific within his reach, of which it was important to navigators that a more correct delineation should be laid down. These observations were not, however, to retard his arrival at the appointed rendezvous later than the 10th of July, 1826; and he was directed to remain at Behring's Strait to the end of October, or to as late a period as the season would admit, without incurring the risk of spending the winter there. During this interval he was to navigate from Kotzebue's Sound northward, and afterward to continue in an easterly course along the main shore as far as the ice would allow.

On the 2d of June, having left the Sandwich Isles, he shaped his course for Kamtschatka, and on the 27th was becalmed within six miles of Petropalauski. The best guides to this harbour are a range of high mountains, on one of which, upwards of 11,000 feet in height, a volcano is in constant action. It was a serene and beautiful evening when they approached this remote quarter of the world, and all were struck with the magnificence of the mountains capped with perennial snow, and rising in solemn grandeur one above the other. At intervals the volcano emitted dark columns of smoke; and from a sprinkling of black spots upon the snow to the leeward it was conjectured there had been a recent eruption. From Petropalauski Captain Beechey sailed on the 1st of July for Kotzebue's Sound. "We approached," says he, "the strait which separates the two great continents of Asia and America, on one of those beautiful still nights well known to all who have visited the arctic regions, when the sky is without a cloud, and when the midnight sun, scarcely his own diameter below the horizon, tinges with a bright hue all the northern circle. Our ship, propelled by an increasing breeze, glided rapidly along a smooth sea, starting from her path flocks of aquatic birds, whose flight in the deep silence of the scene could be traced by the ear to a great distance." Having closed in with the American shore some miles to the northward of Cape Prince of Wales, they were visited by a little Esquimaux squadron belonging to a village situated on a low sandy Island. The natives readily sold every thing they possessed, and were cheerful and good humoured, though exceedingly noisy and energetic. Their bows were more slender than those of the islanders to the southward, but made on the same principle, with drift pine, assisted with thongs of hide or pieces of whalebone placed at the back, and neatly bound with small cord. The points of their arrows were of bone, flint or iron, and their spears headed with the same materials. Their dress was similar to that of the other tribes on the coast. It consisted of a shirt which reached half way down the thigh, with long sleeves and a hood of reindeer skin, and edged with gray or white fox fur. Besides this they had a jacket of eider drake skins sewed together, which, when engaged in war they wore below their other dress, reckoning it a tolerably efficient protection against an arrow or a spear thrust. In wet weather they threw over the fur dress a shirt made of the entrails of the whale, which, being well saturated with oil and grease, was water-

tight; and they also used breeches of deer's hide and seal skin boots, to the upper end of which were fixed strings of sea horse hide. It was the fashion to tie one of these strings round the waist, and attach to it a long tuft of hair, the wing of a bird or sometimes a fox's tail, which, dangling behind as they walked, gave them a ridiculous appearance, and may probably have occasioned the report of the Tschuktschi, recorded in Muller, that the people of this country have tails like dogs.

On the 22d of July, the ship anchored in Kotzebue's Sound, and after exploring a deep inlet on its northern shore, which they named Hotham Inlet, proceeded to Chamisso Island, where the Blossom was to await Captain Franklin. A discretionary power had, however, been permitted to Captain Beechey, of employing the period of his stay in surveying the coast, provided this could be done without the risk of missing Captain Franklin. Having accordingly directed the barge to keep in shore on the look out for the land party, he sailed to the northward, and doubling Cape Krusenstern, completed an examination of the coast by Cape Thomson, Point Hope, Cape Lisburn, Cape Beaufort, and Icy Cape, the farthest point reached by Captain Cook. As there were here strong indications of the ice closing in, and his instructions were positive to keep in open water if possible, he determined to return to Kotzebue's Sound, while he despatched the barge under Mr. Elson and Mr. Smyth to trace the coast to the north-eastward, as far as they could navigate.

On this interesting service the barge set out on the 17th of August, while Beechey returned towards Kotzebue's Sound. On the night of the 25th they beheld for the first time in these northern latitudes, a brilliant display of the Aurora Borealis. "It appeared first," says Captain Beechey, "in an arch extending from west-by-north to north-east; but the arch, shortly after its first appearance, broke up and entirely disappeared. Soon after this, however, a new display began in the direction of the western foot of the first arch, preceded by a bright flame, from which emanated coruscations of a pale straw colour. An almost simultaneous movement occurred at both extremities of the arch, until a complete segment was formed of wavering perpendicular radii. As soon as the arch was complete, the light became greatly increased, and the prismatic colours, which had before been faint, now shone forth in a very brilliant manner. The strongest colours, which were also the outside ones, were pink and green, on the green side purple and pink, all of which were as imperceptibly blended as in the rainbow. The green was the colour nearest the zenith. This magnificent display lasted a few minutes; and the light had nearly vanished, when the north-east quarter sent forth a vigorous display, and nearly at the same time a corresponding coruscation emanated from the opposite extremity. The western foot of the arch then disengaged itself from the horizon, crooked to the northward, and the whole retired to the north-east quarter, where a bright spot blazed for a moment and all was darkness. There was no noise audible during any part of our observations, nor were the compasses perceptibly affected.

During the voyage back to Chamisso Island, where they arrived on the 27th of August, they had repeated interviews with the Esquimaux, whose habits and disposition were in no respect different from those of the natives already described. They found them uniformly friendly, sociable, devotedly fond of tobacco, eager to engage in traffic, and upon the whole honest, though disposed to drive a hard bargain. On some occasions they attempted to impose upon their customers by skins artfully put together so as to represent an entire fish; but it was difficult to determine whether they intended a serious fraud or only a piece of humour, for they laughed heartily when detected, and appeared to consider it a good joke. Their persons, houses, and cookery were all exceedingly dirty, and their mode of salutation was by a mutual contact of noses; sometimes licking their hands and stroking first their own faces, and afterward those of the strangers. The rapidity with which these people migrated from place to place was remarkable. On one occasion the motions of two baidars under sail were watched by the crew of the Blossom. The people landed at a spot near Choris Peninsula, drew up their boats on the beach, turning them bottom upwards, pitched tents, and in an incredible short time transferred to them the whole con-

tents of their little vessels. On visiting the encampment an hour after, every thing was found in as complete order as if they had been domiciliated on the spot for months; and the surprise of the sailors was raised to the highest by the variety of articles which, in almost endless succession, they produced from their little boats. "From the two baidars they landed fourteen persons, eight tent-poles, forty deer skins, two kayaks, many hundred weight of fish, numerous skins of oil, earthen jars for cooking, two living foxes, ten large dogs, bundles of lances, harpoons, bows and arrows, a quantity of whalebone, skins full of clothing, some immense nets made of hide for taking small whale and porpoises, eight broad planks, masts, sails, paddles, &c., besides sea horse hides and teeth, and a variety of nameless articles always to be found among the Esquimaux."

In the mean time, Mr. Elson in the barge proceeded along the shore for seventy miles, to a promontory, denominated by Beechey Cape Barrow, which was afterwards discovered to be only distant 146 miles from the extreme point of Franklin's discoveries. Upon this new line of coast posts were erected at various distances, with directions for Captain Franklin, should he succeed in pushing so far to the westward. A frequent communication was opened with the inhabitants, who were found to resemble the other Esquimaux, with the unpleasant difference that their manners were more rude and boisterous, and their conduct in some instances decidedly hostile. Point Barrow, the most northerly part of America yet discovered, formed the termination to a spit of land jutting out several miles from the more regular coast line. The width of the neck did not exceed a mile and a half; on the extremity were several small lakes, and on its eastern side a village. The danger of being shut in by the ice was now great, and Mr. Elson determined to land, obtain the necessary observations, erect a post, and deposit instructions for Franklin. This plan, however, was frustrated by the violent conduct of the natives, who assembled in formidable numbers, and threatened to attack the crew of the barge, which consisted only of eight men. It was therefore judged prudent to proceed as speedily as possible to the rendezvous at Chamisso Island, which they reached on the 9th of September, not without considerable difficulty, having been obliged to track the barge round Cape Smyth, through a sea thickly beset with ice, that threatened every moment to close its impenetrable walls, and cut off their return. The result of Captain Beechey's voyage, and of the expedition undertaken under his orders by Mr. Elson and Mr. Smyth, was the addition of a new and extensive line of coast to the geography of the polar regions. The actual difference between the extreme points reached by Captain Franklin and Mr. Elson being so small, there is reason to believe that the navigation of this remaining portion will not be attended with any very formidable or insurmountable obstacles.

## THE GREAT ARCTIC PROBLEM SOLVED.

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THE most western point reached by Sir John Franklin, in his survey of the shores of the Arctic Sea, as our readers have seen, was denominated "Return Reef," situated at some distance west of the mouth of Mackenzie's River. From this point westward remained a region yet unexplored by the footsteps of civilized man. So late as the summer of 1833, it was unknown to the civilized world, whether or not the Arctic Ocean extended westward until its icy waters mingled with the great Pacific Sea, but in the Spring of this year an expedition was fitted out, which solving this great problem, acquired to themselves the honour of crowning the unexampled enterprises of Parry, Ross, Franklin, and other intrepid adventurers in the polar seas and regions, with the successful results of complete discovery. The following is a brief account of the expedition.

The lively interest which the British public, for such a length of time, manifested in the further discovery of the Arctic regions, induced the Hudson's Bay Company to determine on equipping an expedition, solely at their own expense, and composed of their own officers and servants, with the view of endeavouring to complete the survey of the northern shores of the American continent.

The formation and equipment of the expedition were entrusted to Mr. George Simpson, the resident governor of the Company.

That gentleman, on his arrival from England at Norway House, Lake Winnipeg, in June 1836, beat up for volunteers for this arduous service. Two enterprising and active leaders, Messrs. P. W. Dease, and Thomas Simpson, and twelve men, were immediately selected, and forwarded with the necessary supplies to Fort Chipewayan, Athabasca Lake, where they passed the winter of 1836-7.

On the 1st of June, 1837, immediately after the opening of navigation, the party started from Fort Chipewayan in two small boats, descended the Slave River, passed the western end of the Great Slave Lake, and descended Mackenzie's River to Fort Norman, where they arrived on the 1st of July. From Fort Norman two of the party, in connection with two men from the fort, were despatched to the eastern end of Great Bears Lake for the purpose of erecting a small establishment in which the party might pass the winter of 1837, and whence they might extend their survey in the summer of 1838.

Messrs. Dease and Simpson, with the remainder of the party continuing their route down Mackenzie's River, on the 9th of July reached the great Arctic Ocean by the most westerly mouth of that river.

From this point, they prosecuted their voyage westward along the coast, through many obstacles and perils, now enclosed by ice, obstructed by fogs and strong head winds, and now obliged to carry their canoes over unbroken masses of ice, until the 23d of July, when they reached Point Anxiety, and had the satisfaction of discovering a range of the Rocky Mountains not seen by Sir John Franklin, but being within the limits of his survey, they called it the Franklin Range, as a just tribute to his character and merits. The evening of the same day they reached the westernmost point of Sir John Franklin's survey, called Return Reef. Beyond this point no adventurer had ever advanced, and from this point their exploration commenced. Continuing their way amid the usual

obstacles of ice, cold, fog, and contrary winds, they beheld at one point another picturesque branch of the Rocky Mountains rearing its lofty peaks above the flat shores, which were covered with short grass and moss—the favorite resort of reindeer, of which they saw numerous herds. Farther on in their voyage, the coast presented to the eye nothing but a succession of low banks of frozen mud; the weather was dismally cold and foggy, the wild fowl passed in long flights to the westward, and at length there remained no prospect of their being able to prosecute their journey by water.

Accordingly, on the 1st of August, Mr. Thomas Simpson undertook to complete the journey on foot, and started with five men, Mr. Dease, and the other five remaining in charge of the boats. The pedestrians carrying with them their arms, some ammunition, pemmican, a small oiled canvass canoe for crossing rivers, and a few trinkets for the natives, prosecuted their perilous and difficult way westward, sometimes on foot, and sometimes in an *oomiak* or skin canoe which they obtained of the Esquimaux, until at length they had the satisfaction of beholding the great Arctic Sea extending away to the southward to unite with the Pacific Ocean. Our happy adventurers, on beholding this spectacle, never before seen by the eye of civilized man, hoisted their flag, and with three cheers, took possession of their discoveries in his Majesty's name. Thus the problem which has been the object of so many perilous enterprises and anxious researches, has at last been solved, it being satisfactorily ascertained that the Arctic Sea, extending from the Atlantic Ocean on the east to the Pacific on the west, separates the American Continent from the pole.

175









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